This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

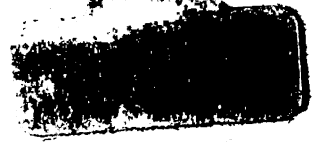
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 08171036 4



Bancroft
HV

THE WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

THE WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME IX.

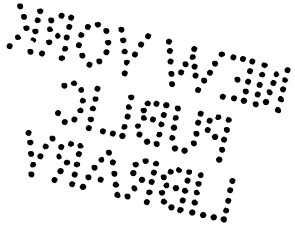
HISTORY OF MEXICO.

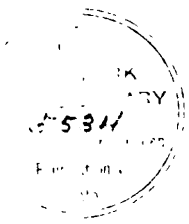
VOL. I. 1516-1521.

SAN FRANCISCO:
THE HISTORY COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
1886.

Entered according to Act of Congress in the Year 1883, by
HUBERT H. BANCROFT,
In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

All Rights Reserved.





PREFACE.

As the third greatest of the world's republics, wherein society and civilization are displayed under somewhat abnormal aspects, under aspects at least widely different from those present in other than Spanish-speaking communities, configurations and climates, races and race intermixtures, civil and religious polities, and the whole range of mental and physical environment being in so many respects exceptional and individual, Mexico presents a study one of the most interesting and profitable of any among the nations of to-day.

A brilliant though unjust and merciless conquest was followed by the enforcement of Spain's institutions upon the survivors, who were themselves so far advanced in arts, industries, and intellectual culture as to render such metamorphosis most disastrous. After the awful success of Cortés, Spain neither exterminated the natives, like the United States, nor left them in their aboriginal independence, like the fur-magnates of British America. Aiming at the utmost kindness, the Spanish government fastened on body and soul the iron fetters of tyranny and superstition; aiming at liberty and humanity, slavery and wrong were permitted. With grants of land, grants of men

and women were made. The church fought valiantly against the evils of the encomienda system, and against the cruelty and injustice imposed by the colonists upon the natives. There was here little of that wholesome indifference to the welfare of her colonies later manifested by England with regard to her settlements in America. Spain's American possessions belonged not to the Spanish people but to the Spanish sovereign; the lands and the people were the king's, to be held or disposed of as he should direct. Hence among the people were encouraged dividing castes; commerce was placed under the severest restrictions, and in many ways it became clear that provinces were held and governed almost exclusively for the benefit of the crown. And so they remained, Europeans and Americans intermingling their loves and hates for three hundred years, which was indeed Mexico's dark age, two civilizations being well nigh crushed therein. Light at last breaking in upon the people, the three centuries of viceregal rule were brought to a close by their taking a stand for independence, such as their Anglo-American neighbor had so recently achieved. And now during these latter days of swift progression Mexico is happily aroused from her lethargy, and is taking her proper place among the enlightened nations of the earth, to the heart-felt joy of all.

The first of the five great periods of Mexican history, embracing the aboriginal annals of Anáhuac, has been exhaustively treated in the fifth volume of my *Native Races*. The second is that of the conquest by Cortés; the third covers nearly three centuries of viceregal rule in New Spain; the fourth comprises the struggle for independence and the founding of the republic;

and the fifth extends thence to the present time, including as salient features a series of internal revolutions, the war with the United States, the imperial experiment of Maximilian, and the peaceful development of national industries and power in recent years. It is my purpose to present on a national scale, and in a space symmetrically proportioned to the importance of each, the record of the four successive periods.

The conquest of Mexico, filling the present and part of another volume, has been treated by many writers, and in a masterly manner. In the three periods of Mexican history following the conquest there is no comprehensive work extant in English; nor is there any such work in Spanish that if translated would prove entirely satisfactory to English readers. Of the few Spanish and Mexican writers whose researches have extended over the whole field, or large portions of it, none have been conspicuously successful in freeing themselves from the quicksands of race prejudice, of religious feeling, of patriotic impulse, of political partisanship; none have had a satisfactory command of existing authorities; none in the matter of space have made a symmetrical division of the periods, or have appreciated the relative importance of different topics as they appear to any but Spanish eyes. Yet there has been no lack among these writers of careful investigation or brilliant diction. Indeed there is hardly an epoch that has not been ably treated from various partisan standpoints.

The list of authorities prefixed to this volume shows approximately my resources for writing a HISTORY OF MEXICO. I may add that no part of my

collection is more satisfactorily complete than that pertaining to Mexico. I have all the standard histories and printed chronicles of the earliest times, together with all the works of writers who have extended their investigations to the events and developments of later years. On the shelves of my Library are found the various *Colecciones de Documentos*, filled with precious historical papers from the Spanish and Mexican archives, all that were consulted in manuscript by Robertson, Prescott, and other able writers, with thousands equally important that were unknown to them. My store of manuscript material is rich both in originals and copies, including the treasures secured during a long experience by such collectors as José María Andrade and José Fernando Ramirez; a copy of the famous *Archivo General de Mexico*, in thirty-two volumes; the autograph originals of Cárlos María Bustamante's historical writings, in about fifty volumes, containing much not found in his printed works; the original records of the earliest Mexican councils of the church, with many ecclesiastical and missionary chronicles not extant in print; and finally a large amount of copied material on special topics drawn from different archives expressly for my work.

Documents printed by the Mexican government, including the regular *memorias* and other reports of different departments and officials, constitute a most valuable source of information. Partisan writings and political pamphlets are a noticeable feature of Mexican historical literature, indispensable to the historian who would study both sides of every question. Prominent Mexicans have formed collections of such works, a dozen of which I have united in one, making two hundred and eighteen volumes of *Papeles Varios*,

some five thousand pamphlets, besides nearly as many more collected by my own efforts. The newspapers of a country cannot be disregarded, and my collection is not deficient in this class of data, being particularly rich in official periodicals.

The conquest of Mexico, which begins this history, has the peculiar attractions of forming the grandest episode in early American annals from a military point of view, and in opening to the world the richest, most populous, and most civilized country on the northern continent, and of gradually incorporating it in the sisterhood of nations as the foremost representative of Latin-American states. On the other hand, an episode which presents but a continuation of the bloody path which marked the advance of the conquerors in America, and which involved the destruction not only of thousands of unoffending peoples but of a most fair and hopeful culture, is not in its results the most pleasing of pictures. But neither in this pit of Acheron nor in that garden of Hesperides may we expect to discover the full significance of omnipotent intention. From the perpetual snow-cap springs the imperceptibly moving glacier. A grain of sand gives no conception of the earth, nor a drop of water of the sea, nor the soft breathing of an infant of a hurricane; yet worlds are made of atoms, and seas of drops of water, and storms of angry air-breaths. Though modern Mexico can boast a century more of history than the northern nations of America, as compared with the illimitable future her past is but a point of time.

CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE OF HERNANDEZ DE CÓRDOBA TO YUCATAN.

1516–1517.

PAGE.

A Glance at the State of European Discovery and Government in America at the Opening of this Volume—Diego Velazquez in Cuba—Character of the Man—A Band of Adventurers Arrives from Darien—The Governor Counsels them to Embark in Slave-catching—Under Hernandez de Córdoba thay Sail Westward and Discover Yucatan—And are Filled with Astonishment at the Large Towns and Stone Towers they See there—They Fight the Natives at Cape Catoche—Skirt the Peninsula to Champoton—Sanguinary Battle—Return to Cuba—Death of Córdoba..... 1

CHAPTER II.

JUAN DE GRIJALVA EXPLORES THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE MEXICAN GULF.

1518.

Velazquez Plans a New Expedition—Gives the Command to his Nephew, Juan de Grijalva—Who Embarks at Santiago and Strikes the Continent at Cozumel Island—Coasts Southward to Ascension Bay—Then Turns and Doubles Cape Catoche—Naming of New Spain—Fight at Champoton—Arrival at Laguna de Términos—Alaminos, the Pilot, is Satisfied that Yucatan is an Island—They Coast Westward and Discover the Rivers San Pedro y San Pablo and Tabasco—Notable Interview at this Place between the Europeans and the Americans—The Culhua Country—They Pass La Rambla, Tonalá, the Rio Goazacoalco, the Mountain of San Martin, the Rivers of Alvarado and Banderas, and Come to the Islands of Sacrificios and San Juan de Ulua..... 15

CHAPTER III.

RETURN OF GRIJALVA. A NEW EXPEDITION ORGANIZED.

1518.

Refusal of Grijalva to Settle—Alvarado Sent back to Cuba—Grijalva Continues his Discovery—After Reaching the Province of Pánuco he

PAGE.

Turns back—Touching at the Rio Goazacoalco, Tonalá, the Laguna de Términos, and Champoton, the Expedition Returns to Cuba—Grijalva Traduced and Discharged—A New Expedition Planned—Velazquez Sends to Santo Domingo and Spain—Characters of Velazquez and Grijalva Contrasted—Candidates for the Captaincy of the New Expedition—The Alcalde of Santiago Successful—His Standing at that Time 23

CHAPTER IV.

THE HERO OF THE CONQUEST.

Birthplace of Hernan Cortés—His Coming Compensatory for the Devil-sent Luther—Parentage—Hernan a Sickly Child—Saint Peter his Patron—He is sent to Salamanca—Returns Home—Thinks of Córdoba and Italy—And of Ovando and the Indies—Chooses the Latter—Narrow Escape during a Love Intrigue—Ovando Sails without Him—Cortés Goes to Valencia—Is there Ill—Returns Home—Finally Sails for the Indies—His Reception at Santo Domingo—He Fights Indians under Velazquez, and is Given an Encomienda—Goes to Cuba with Velazquez—Makes Love to Catalina Suarez—But Declines to Marry—Velazquez Insists—Cortés Rebels—Seizures, Imprisonments, Escapes, and Reconciliation 41

CHAPTER V.

SAILING OF THE EXPEDITION

1518-1519.

The Quality of Leader Desired—Instructions Issued to Hernan Cortés, Commander-in-chief—The Character of Cortés Undergoes a Change—Cost of the Expedition—By whom Borne—Places Established for Enlistment—The Banner—Cortés Puts on the Great Man—More of his Character—The Scene at Santiago Harbor—The Governor's Jester—Dark Suspicions of Velazquez—Departure from Santiago—Cortés at Trinidad—Fresh Recruits—Verdugo Receives Orders to Depose Cortés—The Fleet Proceeds to San Cristóbal, or the Habana—Review at Guaguanico—Speech of Cortés—Organization into Companies—Departure from Cuba 53

CHAPTER VI.

THE VOYAGE.

1519.

Something of the Captains of Cortés—Alvarado—Montejo—Ávila—Olid—Sandoval—Leon—Ordaz—Morla—The Passage—The Fleet Struck by a Squall—Arrival at Cozumel—Alvarado Censured—Search for the Captive Christians—Arrival of Aguilar—His Chaste Adventures—They Come to Tabasco River—Battles there—Conquest of the Natives—Peace Made—Twenty Female Slaves among the Presents—The Fleet Proceeds along the Shore—Puertocarrero's Witticism—Arrival at San Juan de Ulua 73

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT MONTEZUMA THOUGHT OF IT.

PAGE.

Home of Mexican Civilization—The Border Land of Savagism—Configuration of the Country—The Nahuas and the Mayas—Toltecs, Chichimecs, and Aztecs—The Valley of Mexico—Civil Polity of the Aztecs—King Ahuitzotl—Montezuma Made Emperor—Character of the Man—His Career—The First Appearing of the Spaniards not Unknown to Montezuma—The Quetzalcoatl Myth—Departure of the Fair God—Signs and Omens concerning his Return—The Coming of the Spaniards Mistaken for the Fulfilment of the Prophecy—The Door Opened to the Invader 94

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COMBATANTS SALUTE.

April–May, 1519.

The Embassy from the Shore—The New Interpreter—Marina—Her Appearance and Quality—Her Romantic History—She Cleaves to the Spaniards and to Cortés—And Becomes One of the most Important Characters of the Conquest—The Spaniards Land and Form an Encampment—The Governor Comes with Presents—The Spaniards Astonish the Natives—Who Report all to Montezuma—Cortés Sends the Monarch Presents—Council Called in Mexico—Montezuma Determines not to Receive the Strangers—Reciprocates in Presents a Hundredfold—Cortés Persists—Montezuma Declines more Firmly—Olmedo Attempts Conversion—Teuhtlile, Offended, Withdraws his People from the Camp of the Spaniards 116

CHAPTER IX.

THE MIGHTY PROJECT IS CONCEIVED.

May, 1519.

Serious Dilemma of Cortés—Authority without Law—Montejo Sent Northward—Recommends another Anchorage—Dissensions at Vera Cruz—Prompt and Shrewd Action of Cortés—A Municipality Organized—Cortés Resigns—And is Chosen Leader by the Municipality—Velazquez' Captains Intimate Rebellion—Cortés promptly Arrests Several of Them—Then he Conciliates them All—Important Embassy from Cempoala—The Veil Lifted—The March to Cempoala—What was Done there—Quiahuiztlan—The Coming of the Tribute Gatherers—How They were Treated—Grand Alliance 131

CHAPTER X.

MULTIPLICATION OF PLOTS.

June–July, 1519.

Cortés, Diplomate and General—The Municipality of Villa Rica Located—Excitement throughout Anáhuac—Montezuma Demoralized—Arrival

PAGE.

of the Released Collectors at the Mexican Capital—The Order for Troops Countermanded—Montezuma Sends an Embassy to Cortés—Chicomacatl Asks Aid against a Mexican Garrison—A Piece of Pleasantry—The Velazquez Men Refuse to Accompany the Expedition—Opportunity Offered them to Return to Cuba, which they Decline through Shame—The Totonacs Rebuked—The Cempoala Brides—Destruction of the Idols—Arrival at Villa Rica of Salcedo—Efforts of Velazquez with the Emperor—Cortés Sends Messengers to Spain—Velazquez Orders them Pursued—The Letters of Cortés—Audiencia of the Emperor at Tordesillas..... 152

CHAPTER XI.

THE SINKING OF THE FLEET.

July–August, 1519.

Diego Velazquez once More—His Supporters in the Camp of Cortés—They Attempt Escape—Are Discovered—The Leaders are Seized and Executed—Cortés' Ride to Cempoala, and what Came of it—He Determines on the Destruction of the Fleet—Preliminary Stratagems—Several of the Ships Pronounced Unseaworthy—The Matter before the Soldiers—The Fleet Sunk—Indignation of the Velazquez Faction—One Vessel Remaining—It is Offered to any Wishing to Desert—It is finally Sunk—Francisco de Garay's Pretensions—Seizure of Some of his Men..... 174

CHAPTER XII.

MARCH TOWARD MEXICO.

August–September, 1519.

Enthusiasm of the Army—The Force—The Totonacs Advise the Tlascalan Route—Arrival at Jalapa—A Look Backward—The Anáhuac Plateau—Meeting with Olintetl—Arrival in the Country of the Tlascaltecs—The Senate Convenes and Receives the Envoys of Cortés—An Encounter—A More Serious Battle—Xicotencatl Resolves to Try the Prowess of the Invaders, and is Defeated..... 191

CHAPTER XIII.

ENTRY INTO TLASCALA.

September, 1519.

Native Chiefs Sent as Envoys to the Tlascalan Capital—Their Favorable Reception—Xicotencatl Plans Resistance to Cortés—Sends out Spies—Cortés Sends them back Mutilated—The Spaniards Attack and Defeat Xicotencatl—Night Encounters—General Dissatisfaction and a Desire to Return to Villa Rica—Envoys Arrive from Montezuma—Cortés Receives Xicotencatl and the Tlascalan Lords—Peace Concluded—Tlascala—Festivities and Rejoicings—Mass Celebrated—Cortés Inclined to Extreme Religious Zeal—Brides Presented to the Spaniards—Appropriate Ceremonies—Preparing to Leave Tlascala for Cholula—Communications with the Cholulteca..... 211

CHAPTER XIV.

SUBJUGATION OF CHOLULA.

October, 1519. PAGE.

Departure from Tlascala—Description of Cholula—The Welcome—Army Quarters in the City—Intimations of a Conspiracy between the Mexicans and Cholultecs—Cortés Asks for Provisions and Warriors—He Holds a Council—Preparations for an Attack—The Lords Enter the Court with the Required Supplies—Cortés Reprimands them in an Address—The Slaughter Begins—Destruction of the City—Butchery and Pillage—Amnesty finally Proclaimed—Xicotencatl Returns to Tlascala—Reconciliation of the Cholultecs and Tlascaltecs—Dedication of a Temple to the Virgin—Reflections on the Massacre of Cholula..... 235

CHAPTER XV.

FROM CHOLULA TO IZTAPALAPAN.

October–November, 1519.

Montezuma Consults the Gods—He again Begs the Strangers not to Come to him—Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl—News from Villa Rica—Death of Escalante—Return of the Cempoalan Allies—Again en route for Mexico—Reception at Huexotzinco—First View of the Mexican Valley—Exultations and Misgivings—Resting at Quauhtechcatl—The Counterfeit Montezuma—Munificent Presents—The Emperor Attempts to Annihilate the Army by Means of Sorceries—Through Quauhtechcatl, Amaquemecan, and Tlalmanalco—A Brilliant Procession Heralds the Coming of Cacama, King of Tezcuco—At Cuitlahuac—Met by Ixtlilxochitl—The Hospitality of Iztapalapan..... 252

CHAPTER XVI.

MEETING WITH MONTEZUMA.

November, 1519.

Something of the City—The Spaniards Start from Iztapalapan—Reach the Great Causeway—They are Met by many Nobles—And Presently by Montezuma—Entry into Mexico—They are Quartered in the Axayacatl Palace—Interchange of Visits..... 275

CHAPTER XVII.

CAPTURE OF THE EMPEROR.

November, 1519.

Cortés Inspects the City—Visits the Temple with Montezuma—Discovery of Buried Treasure—Pretended Evidences of Treachery—Cortés Plans a Dark Deed—Preparations for the Seizure of Montezuma—With a Few Men Cortés Enters the Audience-chamber of the King—Persuasive Discourse—With Gentle Force Montezuma is Induced to Enter the Lion's Den..... 294

CHAPTER XVIII.

DOUBLY REFINED DEALINGS.

1519–1520.

PAGE.

Hollow Homage to the Captive King—Montezuma has his Wives and Nobles—He Rules his Kingdom through the Spaniards—The Playful Page—Liberality of the Monarch—The Sacred Treasures—Cortés Resents the Insults of the Guard—Diversions—Quauhpopoca, his Son and Officers, Burned Alive—Plantations Formed—Villa Rica Affairs—Vessels Built—Pleasure Excursions..... 309

CHAPTER XIX.

POLITICS AND RELIGION.

1520.

Growing Discontent among the Mexicans—Cacama's Conspiracy—He Openly Defies both Montezuma and Cortés—The Council of Tepetzinco—Seizure of Cacama—The Tezcucan Ruler Deposed—Cuicuitzcatl Elevated—Montezuma and his People Swear Fealty to the Spanish King—Gathering in the Tribute—Division of Spoils—The Spaniards Quarrel over their Gold—Uncontrollable Religious Zeal—Taking of the Temple—Wrath of the Mexicans..... 328

CHAPTER XX.

THE CUBAN GOVERNOR IN PURSUIT.

1519–1520.

The Mexicans Threaten Revolt—The Clergy in Arms—They Denounce the Conduct of Montezuma—The Emperor Declares he can no longer Restrain his People—Tidings of Velazquez' Fleet—Sailing from Cuba of an Expedition under Narvaez—Arrival in Mexico—Conflict with Cortés—Interchange of Threats and Courtesies—Attempted Union of Forces—Narvaez Remains Loyal to Velazquez—Desertion of Some of his Men to Cortés..... 353

CHAPTER XXI.

THE COUP DE MAÎTRE OF CORTÉS.

May, 1520.

Dismal Prospects—Empire to Hold, Invasion to Repel—The Army Divides—Alvarado Guards Montezuma, while Cortés Looks after Narvaez—The March Seaward—The Rendezvous—The Chinantecs and their Pikes—Cortés Sows Alluring Words in the Camp of the Enemy—Proposals of Peace—Defiance—Night Attack—Cortés Captures Narvaez and his Army..... 374

CHAPTER XXII.

ALVARADO'S MERCILESS MASSACRE.

May, 1520.

After the Battle—Victory Made Secure—Conduct of the Conquered—A General Amnesty—Disposition of the Forces—Affairs at the Capital—

PAGE.

Insurrection Threatened—The Spaniards Hold a Council—Alvarado's Resolve—The Great Day of the Feast—The Spaniards Proceed to the Temple—The Grand Display there Witnessed—The Attack of the Spaniards—Horrors upon Horrors..... 399

CHAPTER XXIII.

UPRISING OF THE AZTECS.

May–June, 1520.

Character of the Aztecs—Spanish Quarters—The City in Arms—Growing Hatred toward the Invaders—Perilous Position of Alvarado—Montezuma Called to Interfere—Failing Provisions—Miraculous Water—Cortés to the Rescue—Rendezvous at Tlascala—The City and its People—The Army Joins Alvarado—Desperate Encounters..... 419

CHAPTER XXIV.

FIGHT UPON THE TEMPLE SUMMIT.

June, 1520.

The Natives Continue the Assault—Their Fierce Bravery—The Spaniards Build Turrets—Still the Mexicans Prove too Strong for Them—Montezuma Called to Intercede—He is Insulted and Stoned by his Subjects—Cortés Attempts Egress by the Tlacopan Causeway—Failure of Escobar to Take the Pyramid—Cortés Gains the Slippery Height—The Gladiatorial Combat There..... 436

CHAPTER XXV.

DEATH OF MONTEZUMA.

June, 1520.

A Living Death—The Old Imperial Party and the New Power—Aztec Defiance—Perilous Position of the Spaniards—Disappointment to Cortés—Another Sally—The Dying Monarch—He has No Desire to Live—His Rejection of a New Faith—He will None of the Heaven of the Spaniards—Commends his Children to Cortés—The Character of Montezuma and of his Reign..... 449

CHAPTER XXVI.

LA NOCHE TRISTE.

June 30, 1520.

The Captive-King Drama Carried too Far—Better had the Spaniards Taken Montezuma's Advice, and have Departed while Opportunity Offered—Diplomatic Value of a Dead Body—Necessity for an Immediate Evacuation of the City—Departure from the Fort—Midnight Silence—The City Roused by a Woman's Cry—The Fugitives Fiercely Attacked on All Sides—More Horrors..... 463

CHAPTER XXVII.

RETREAT TO TLASCALA.

July, 1520.

Fatal Mistake of the Mexicans—A Brief Respite Allowed the Spaniards—The Remnant of the Army at Tlacopan—They Set out for Tlascala—An ever increasing Force at their Heels—Rest at the Tepzolac Temple—Cortés Reviews his Disasters—The March Continued amidst Great Tribulation—Encounter of the Grand Army—Important Battle and Remarkable Victory—Arrival at Tlascala—The Friendly Reception Accorded them There..... 482

CHAPTER XXVIII.

INVALUABLE FRIENDSHIP.

July–September, 1520.

Divers Disasters to the Spaniards—Mexico Makes Overtures to Tlascala—A Council Held—Tlascala Remains True to the Spaniards—Disaffection in the Spanish Army—Cortés again Wins the Soldiers to his Views—Renewal of Active Operations against the Aztecs—Success of the Spanish Arms—Large Reënforcements of Native Allies—One Aztec Stronghold after another Succumbs..... 509

CHAPTER XXIX.

KING-MAKING AND CONVERTING.

October–December, 1520.

Conquest in Detail—Barba Caught—Other Arrivals and Reënforcements—The Small-pox Comes to the Assistance of the Spaniards—Letters to the Emperor—Establishing of Segura de la Frontera—Certain of the Disaffected Withdraw from the Army and Return to Cuba—Division of Spoils—Head-quarters Established at Tlascala..... 536

CHAPTER XXX.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE FLEET.

December, 1520—February, 1521.

The Objective Point—Vessels Needed—Martin Lopez Sent to Tlascala for Timber—Thirteen Brigantines Ordered—Cortés at Tlascala—Drill and Discipline—Address of the General—Parade of the Tlascaltecs—March to Tezcuco—New Ruler Appointed—Sacking of Iztapalapan—The Chalcans—Arrival at Tezcuco of the Brigantine Brigade..... 561

CHAPTER XXXI.

PRELIMINARY CAMPAIGNS.

March–May, 1521.

Plan for the Investment of Mexico—Reconnoitring Tour round the Lake—Cortés in Command—Alvarado and Olid Accompany—They

PAGE.

Proceed Northward from Tezcuco—Capture of Cities and Strongholds—Xaltocan, Quauhtitlan, Tenayocan, Azcapuzalco, Tlacopan, and back to Tezcuco—Chalco Disturbed—Peace Proposals Sent to Mexico—Further Reconnoissance of the Lake Region—Many Battles and Victories—Quauhnahuac Captured—Burning of Xochimilco—Second Return to Tezcuco—Conspiracy..... 582

CHAPTER XXXII.

INVESTMENT OF MEXICO.

May–June, 1521.

Phases of Heroism—The Brigantines upon the Lake—Division of Forces between Alvarado, Sandoval, and Olid—Desertion, Capture, and Execution of Xicotencatl—Departure of the Troops from Tezcuco—Naval Battle—Possession Taken of the Causeways—At One Point Cortés Unexpectedly Gains Entrance to the City—But is Driven Out 613

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE SIEGE.

June–July, 1521.

Something about Quauhtemotzin—Infamous Pretensions of European Civilization and Christianity—Prompt Action of the Mexican Emperor—Repetitions of the Entry Assault—Submission of the Surrounding Nations—Dire Condition of the Mexicans—Spanish Defeat and Disaffection—Resolution to Raze the City..... 636

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE CONQUEST ACHIEVED.

July–August, 1521.

The Destroyers Advance—Fierce Fighting in the Plaza—Dismal Situation of the Mexicans—The Work of Demolition—Movements of Alvarado—The Emperor Refuses to Parley—Misery of the Aztecs Unbearable—Horrible Massacre of Women and Children—The Tender-hearted Cortés Mourns over his own Work—Capture of the Emperor—The Conquest Completed—Banquets and Thanksgivings—Dispersion of the Allies to their Homes—Reflections..... 669

AUTHORITIES QUOTED

IN

THE HISTORY OF MEXICO.

[It is my custom to prefix to each work of the series the name of every authority cited in its pages. In this instance, however, it is impracticable. So immense is my material for the HISTORY OF MEXICO *that a full list of the authorities would fill a third of a volume, obviously more space than can properly be allowed even for so important a feature. I therefore reduce the list by omitting, for the most part, three large classes: first, those already given for* CENTRAL AMERICA; *second, those to be given in the* NORTH MEXICAN STATES; *and third, many works, mostly pamphlets, which, though consulted and often important, have only an indirect bearing on history, or which have been cited perhaps but once, and on some special topic. These, and all bibliographic notes, are accessible through the index.]*

Abbot (Gorham D.), Mexico and the United States. New York, 1869.

Abert (S. T.), Is a ship canal practicable. Cincinnati, 1870.

Abispa de Chilpancingo (La). Mexico, 1821–2.

Abreu (Antonio Joseph Alvarez de), Víctima Real Legal. Madrid, 1769. folio.

Abreu (Francisco), Verdad Manifiesta que declara ser la jurisdiccion ordinaria. n.pl., n.d.

Abusos del poder judicial en la Suprema Corte. Guadalajara, 1844.

Academia de Derecho Español. Solemne Accion de Gracias al Congreso. 15 de Marzo de 1813. [Mexico], 1814.

Academia Nacional de San Cárlos de Mexico. Catálogo de los objetos. Mexico, 1850; Sétima Esposicion. Mexico, 1855.

Acapulco, Exposicion de la Junta del camino de. Mexico, 1845.

Acapulco, Provision para tripulantes de los galeones y para guarnicion. MS. 1766–8. folio.

Accion de Gracias que Tributa el Clero y Pueblo Mexicano al Todopoderoso por el Triunfo de la Religion. Mexico, 1834.

Aciopari (José Querien), Ratos desgraciados. Mexico, 1819. MS.

Acta Capituli Provincialis celebrati in hoc Imperiali S. P. N. Dominici Mexiceo Cœnobio. Mexico, 1808 et seq.

Acusacion contra El Sr. Gobr. Don José Gomez de la Cortina. Mexico, 1836.

Acusacion que hacen el Soberano Congreso muchos Profesores. Mexico, 1836.

Adalid (Ignacio), Causa formada contra. Mexico, 1815. MS. 3 vols.

Adamdicosio y Canto (Perez José María Alejo), El Jacobinismo de Méjico. Mexico, 1833. MS.

Adams (John Quincy), Discurso del Ex-Presidente. Mejico, 1836.

Adams (W.), Actual state of the Mexican Mines. London, 1825.

Addey (Markinfield), Geo. Brinton McClellan. New York, 1864.

Adorno (Juan Nepomuceno), Análisis de los males de Mexico. Mexico, 1858.

Adorno (Juan N.), Memoria acerca de la Hidrografía Meteorología. Mexico, 1865.

Afectos de un Moribundo Arrepentido. MS.
Afectos Piadosos de un Pecador Convertido. Mexico, 1787.
Agras (Jesus), Reflecciones sobre la Naturaleza y Orígen de los Males y Trastornos, etc. Guadalajara, 1864.
Agreda (Diego de), Representacion al Rey por Don Miguel Joseph de Azanza. Mexico, 1801. MS.
Agricultura, Escuela de, Indicacion de Modificaciones del Programa. Mexico, 1844.
Aguardiente de Caña, Reglamento. Mexico, 1796. folio.
Aguascalientes, Acta del I. Ayuntamiento y vecindario de la ciudad sobre Separarse del Estado de Zacatecas. Méjico, 1835.
Aguascalientes, Comunicaciones oficiales de la Legislatura. Orizava, 1847.
Aguascalientes, Dictámen sobre el arreglo de la Hacienda pública. Aguascalientes, 1855.
Aguascalientes, Esposicion que los vecinos dirigen al Gen. Santa-Anna. Mexico, 1841.
Aguascalientes, Ocurso que todas las clases del Estado elevan á la H. Lejislatura. Aguascalientes, 1868.
Agueda de S. Ignacio (María Anna), Marabillas del Divino Amor, etc. [Mexico, 1758.]
Aguilar (Bruno), Informe sobre las Minas del Rincon del Mineral de Temascaltepec. Mexico, 1851.
Aguilar (Estévan de), Navtica sacra y viaje prodigiosa. Mexico, 1653.
Aguilar (Gerónimo), Certificacion 10 de Enero de 1624. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii. tom. iii.
Aguilar (Ignacio), Reflexiones sobre la carta escrita por. Madrid, 1866.
Aguilar y Ortiz (J. M.), Biblioteca de mi Abuelo. Mejico, 1864. 5 vols.
Aguilera Castro y Sotomayor (Joseph Miguel de), Elogio Christiano del B. Sebastian de Aparicio 26 de Oct. de 1790. Mexico, 1791. folio.
Aguilera Castro Sotomajor (J. Michaelis de) and Augustini Bustamante, Palaestra Theológica. Mexico, 1790.
Aguirre (José María), Acusacion que el Dr. como defensor de matrimonios hizo ante al Supremo Corte de Justicia. Mexico, 1842.
Aguirre (José María), Denuncia y acusacion, que el C. hizo del impreso titulado. [Mexico], 1827.
Aguirre (José María), Voto del ciudadano sobre el proyecto de solemnidad. Mexico, 1831.
Aguirre (Josephi Saenz de), Collectio Maxima conciliorum omnium Hispaniæ et Novi Orbis. Romæ, 1693–4. folio. 4 vols.
Aguirre y Espinosa (J. F. de Cuevas), Extracto de los autos de diligencias, y reconocimientos de los rios y lagunas de la capital. Mexico, 1748.
Aguirre y Espinosa (J. F. de Cuevas), Informe del derecho que assiste al Licenciado. Mexico, 1741. 4to.
Agurto (Pedro de), Tractado de que se deben administrar los Sacramentos, etc. Mexico, 1573.
Ahrens (J. B. A), Mexiko und Mexikanische. Göttingen, 1866.
Ahumada (Juan Antonio de), Representacion Político Legal, que haze a D. Phelipe Quinto. n.pl., n.d. 4to.
Alaman (Juan B.), Informe en derecho. Mexico, 1860.
Alaman (Lúcas), Apuntes para la Biografía. Mexico, 1584.
Alaman (Lúcas), Defensa del Ex-Ministro de Relaciones. Mejico, 1834.
Alaman (Lúcas), Disertaciones sobre la Historia de la República Mejicana. Méjico, 1844–9. 3 vols.
Alaman (Lúcas), Exposicion por el Duque de Terranova. Mexico, 1828.
Alaman (Lúcas), Esposicion que hace á la Cámara de Diputados. Mexico, 1828.
Alaman (Lúcas), Esta Memoria sirve de Apéndice a la Liquidacion General de la Deuda Contraida por la República. Mexico, 1848.
Alaman (Lúcas), Historia de Méjico. Méjico, 1849–52. 5 vols.
Alaman (Lúcas), Liquidacion general de la deuda esterior. Mexico, 1845.
Alaman (Lúcas), Noticias Biográficas. Mexico, 1853.

Alaman (Lúcas), and Francisco Lerdo de Tejada. Noticia de la Vida y escritos del R. P. Fr. Man. de San Juan Crisóstomo. Mexico, 1854. 4to.
Alamos, La Voz de. Alamos, 1878 et seq.
Alas (Ignacio), Esposicion que dirige á sus Conciudadanos. Mexico, 1836.
Alatorre (Agustin Flores), Contestacion dada al Supremo Gobierno. Mexico, 1850.
Alatorre (Francisco Flores), Manifiesto del Gobernador de Aguascalientes a consecuencia de la guerra de Francia. Aguascalientes, 1838.
Albuerne (Manuel de), Orígen y Estado de la causa sobre la Real Orden de 17 Mayo de 1810. Cádiz, 1811.
Album Mexicano. Mexico, 1849 et seq.
Alcala (Francisco Xavier de), Descripcion en bosquexo de la Pvebla de L. A. MS.
Alcocer (P. Joseph de), Excelencias de la archicofradia de la Santissima Trinidad. Mexico, 1738.
Aldaiturreaga (Juan), Gabinete de lectura. Morelia, 1860.
Aldama (Bér. Francisco Antonio), Solicitud de una canongía. MS., 1786, folio.
Aldazoro (Santiago), Esposicion presentada a la Cámara de Diputados. Megico, 1841.
Alegacion de los Derechos que por parte del fiscal del Obispado de la Puebla. Puebla, 1771. 4to.
Alegre (Francisco Javier), Historia de la Compañía de Jesus en Nueva España. Mexico, 1841. 3 vols.
Alejandro VI., Bula del Sto. Padre contra la Independencia de la America. Mejico, 1823.
Alerta á los Mejicanos. [Mexico], 1820.
Alesna (Cándido), Cuatro cartas que en desahogo de su amor a la constitucion y a los Americanos. Mexico, 1820.
Alfaro y Ochoa (José Antonio), Los Tristes. MS. folio.
Alfonso el Sabio, Las Siete Partidas del Rey. Paris, 1847. 4 vols.
Algo de Mazones ó sea diálogo entre un filósofo y una maestra de amiga. Morelia, 1850.
Algodon, Breve memoria del Estado. Puebla, 1837; Esposicion respetuosa. Pueblo, 1835; Reflecsiones sobre la prohibicion. Mexico, 1835.
Algunas Consideraciones económicas (dirigidas al E. S. P. Y. D. I. I. Corro.) n.pl. n.d.
Algunas Observaciones Acerca de la Conveniencia de Terminar la Presente Crisis. Mexico, 1845.
Algunas Observaciones sobre la Circular del Señor Rosa. [Mexico, 1847.]
Algunas Observaciones sobre el Opúsculo Intitulado el Imperio y el Clero Mexicano, etc. Mexico, 1865.
Alison (R. E.), To the Shareholders of the Mexican and South American Company. London, 1856.
Allen (A. C.), Algunas reflexiones sobre el privilegio para el corte de maderas concedido. Merida, 1861.
Allen (Charles), Speech in U.S. House of Rep., Jan. 23, 1852. Washington, 1852.
Allen (Fred H.), Cortés: or the Discovery, Conquest, and more Recent History of Mexico. Boston, 1882.
Alleye de Cyprey, Documentos relativos á lo occurrido. [Mexico], 1845.
Allsopp (J. P. C.), Leaves from my Log-book. MS.
Almaraz (Ramon), Memoria de los trabajos ejecutados por la comision científica de Pachuca, 1864. Mexico, 1865.
Almodoar (Marcos G. de), Ó se reforman los frailes, ó es urgente su Extincion. Mexico, 1826.
Almonte (Juan N.), Proyectos de Leyes sobre Colonizacion. Mexico, 1852.
Al Pueblo Mexicano, Relacion de las causas que influyeron en los desgraciados sucesos del dia 20 de Agosto de 1847. Mexico, 1847.
Altamera (M. de), Puntos del parecer que el Senor Auditor de Guerra espuso al virey conde de Fonclara, 1774. MS.
Altamirano (Ignacio Manuel), Algunas Palabras acerca de Mr Wagner. Mexico, 1862.

Altamirano (Ignacio Manuel), Revistas Literarias de Mexico. Mexico, 1868.
Alvarado (Francisco), Cartas de Filósofo Rancio. Mexico, 1851–2. 2 vols. folio.
Alvarado (Francisco), Cartas filosóficas. Mexico, 1853.
Alvarado (Ignacio), Satisfaccion que da al público. Mexico, 1826.
Alvarado (Pedro de), Cartas Varias desde 1534 hasta 1541. MS. folio.
Alvarez (Antonio), Manifestacion que hace al público el ex-general. Saltillo, 1864.
Alvarez (Diego), El ciudadano General á sus conciudadanos. Acapulco, 1868.
Alvarez (Francisco de Paula), Santa-Anna hasta 1822. Guadalajara, 1844.
Alvarez (Januario), Vindicacion de. Matamoros, 1844.
Alvarez (Juan), Documentos relativos á la sublevacion del General. México, 1835.
Alvarez (Juan), Manifiesto á los pueblos cultos de Europa y América. Mexico, 1857.
Alvarez (Juan), Manifiesto con motivo de la Representacion calumniosa que unos emigrados de la villa de Chilapa. Mexico, 1845.
Alvarez (J. J.) and R. Duran, Itinerarios y Derroteros de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1856.
Alvensleben (Max., Baron von), With Maximilian in Mexico. London, 1867.
Alvires (José Manuel T.), Reflexiones sobre los Decretos Episcopales que prohiben el Juramento Constitucional, 1ª 2ª y 3ª partes. Mexico, etc., 1857. 3 vols.
Alzate (J. A.), Memoria en que se trata del insecto grana ó cochinilla. Mexico, 1831.
Alzate y Ramirez (José Antonio), Diario literario de Mexico. Mexico. 1768.
Alzate y Ramirez (José Antonio), Gacetas de Literatura de Mexico. Mexico, 1790–4. 3 vols.; and Puebla, 1831. 4 vols.
Alzate y Ramirez (José Antonio), Memoria sobre la naturaleza cultivo y beneficio de la Grana. Mexico, 1777. MS. folio.
Amadei (Beat.), Apocalypsis nova Sensvm. MS. [1650.] folio.
Amado (F. M.), Compendio de la historia general de la Iglesia. Mexico, 1850.
Amador (Juan), El Despertador de los Fanáticos. Aguascalientes, 1867.
Amante al cumplimiento de nuestra sabia constitucion. Mexico, 1820.
Amarillas, Diario notable de la marquesa de las Amarillas. Mexico, 1757.
America, Pictorial History of Remarkable Events. New York, 1849.
American Confederation and Alliance. Sketch of Politics, etc., of Western World. Philadelphia, 1827.
American Inquiry into the Plans, Progress, and Policy of Mining Companies. London, 1825.
American and Mexican Joint Commission. Alfred A. Green vs Mexico. n.pl., n.d.
Americano (El.) Méjico, 1820 et seq.
Americano (El), Sincero en defensa del Señor Virey. Mexico, 1820.
Americanos, Manifesto de los que residen en Madrid á las naciones de la Europa. Mexico, 1820.
Americanos de Buenos-Aires, Contestacion de los con el ministerio Frances. Mexico, 1820.
Américas Vindicadas. Méjico, 1820.
Amigo del Pueblo. Mexico, 1827 et seq.
Amigo de la Religion, 2 de Enero. Mexico, 1840.
Amnistía, Dictámen de la mayoría de las comisiones sobre la iniciativa de. Mexico, 1845.
Amortizacion de la moneda de cobre, Comunicaciones sobre. Mex., 1841; Proyecto de Ley para la. Mex., 1841.
Ampère (J. J.), Promenade en Amérique. Paris, 1855. 2 vols.; Paris, 1860. 2 vols.
Ampudia (Pedro de), El Ciudadano-General ante el Tribunal Respetable de la Opinion Pública. San Luis Potosí, 1846.
Ampudia (Pedro de), Manifiesto fechado 10 de Julio de 1846. San Luis Potosí, 1846.

Ampudia (Pedro de), Manifiesto del General Ampudia. Mexico, 1847.
Ana de San Francisco, Revelacion que tuvo sobre el tumulto de 15 de Enero de 1624. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii. tom. iii.
Anáhuac, Contrato de Asociacion para la República de los Estados Unidos del. Guadalaxara, 1823.
Anales Mexicanos de Ciencias y Literatura. Mexico, 1860.
Análisis Crítico de la Constitucion de 1836. [Mexico, 1842.]
Análisis del Papel Titulado aviso á los Señores Electores. Mexico, 1821.
Anaya (Juan Pablo), Alocucion á sus Conciudadanos. Tabasco, 1840.
Ancillon (Fréderic), Mélanges de Politique. Paris, 1801.
Anderson (Adam), Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce. London, 1801. folio. 4 vols.
Anderson (Alex. D.), The Tehuantepec Inter-Ocean Railroad. New York, etc., 1881.
Andrade, Documentos sobre la evacuacion de San Antonio de Bejar. Monterey, 1836.
Andrade (Jose), Memoria sobre el cultivo del Algodon. Mexico, 1865.
Andrade (Juan J. de), Calificacion legal de la conducta. Mexico, 1838.
Andrade (Juan J. de), Revolucion en S. Luis Potosí el dia 14 de Abril de 1837. Documentos. Mexico, 1837.
Andrade (Manuel), Manifiesto de nombramiento de Comandante general de Chihuahua. Mexico, 1840.
Andrade (Manuel), Manifiesto que el ciudadano. Mexico, 1840.
Andrés y Alcalde (Joaquin), Manual estadistico Histórico-Político, etc. Madrid, 1831.
Anglo-Saxon (The). Chihuahua, 1847 et seq.
Anibal Cartaginense (El). n.pl., n.d.
Año Nuevo de 1837–40. 4to.
Ansorena (José Ignacio de), Defensa. Mexico, 1850.
Antepara (Luis), Defensa legal que hace por Don José Gregorio Arana. Mexico, 1827; Mexico, 1829.
Anteojo del Desengaño (El). Mexico, 1812.
Antoneli (Antonio de), Descripcion de Santiago Papasquiaro, 1793. MS. folio.
Antonelli (Bautista), Memoriales del ingeniero al Consejo de Indias 1509. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.
Antorcha. Mexico, 1833 et seq.
Antuñano (E. de), Documentos para la Historia de la Industria en Mexico. Mexico, 1845.
Antuñano (E. de), Economía política en Mexico. Puebla, 1839–44. [A series of essays.]
Antuñano (E. de), Insurreccion Industrial. Economía Política en Mexico. Puebla, 1846.
Antuñano (E. de), Manifiesto sobre el Algodon. Puebla, 1833.
Antuñano (E. de), Memoria breve de la Industria Manufacturera de Mexico. [Puebla, 1835.]
Antuñano (E. de), Mexicanos!! El primer asunto de la Patria. 20 de Noviembre, 1845. [Puebla, 1845.]
Antuñano (E. de), Pensamientos para la regeneracion industrial de Mexico. Puebla, 1837.
Antuñano (E. de), Raciocinios para un plan. [Puebla, 1840.]
Antuñano (E. de), Reimpresion anotada con relacion á la industria de Mexico. Puebla, 1835.
Antuñano (E. de), Teoría fundamental de la industria de algodones en Mexico. Puebla. 1840.
Antuñano (E. de), Ventajas políticas civiles fabriles. Puebla, 1837.
Anzorena (José Mariano de), Respuesta de, a la contestacion que dió. Mexico, 1850.
Aoust (V. d'), Coup d'œil sur la topographie, etc., du Mexico. Paris, [1865.]
Aoust (V. d'), Sur les salures, etc., des lacs du Mexico. Paris, [1865.]

Aparicio (Manuel Ramirez), Los Conventos suprimidos en Méjico. Mejico, 1861.
Apología, Carta que en defensa de la Pastoral del Illmo Sr Dn Francisco Xavier Lizana. MS. 1803.
Appello Corbulacho y Guevara (J. Cárlos), Accentos Morales. Mexico, 1710.
Apuntamientos para la historia de lo occurrido en el ejército. Mexico, 1841.
Apuntamientos sobre derecho público eclesiástico. Mexico, 1857.
Apuntamientos sobre la necesidad de promover el cultivo del azúcar. Mexico, 1822.
Apuntes para la Historia de la Guerra Europea con Mexico. Mexico, 1862.
Aquino (Nicolao de), Proceso contra. MS. 1575.
Arango y Escandon (Alejandro), Acusacion hecha ante la cámara de Diputados. Mexico, 1850.
Arango y Escandon (Alejandro), Frai Luis de Leon. Mexico, 1866.
Aranzel de los derechos, que deben percibir los Escribanos Mayores. [Mexico, 1746.]
Araujo y San Ramon (Pedro Gonzales), Impugnacion de algunos, etc., articulos del código de Anarquía. Megico, 1815.
Arce (José Mariano de), Instruction sobre alcavalas. Mexico, 1848. MS. folio.
Arce (Manuel José), Memoria de la conducta pública, etc. Mexico, 1830.
Archicofradía de la purísima concepcion. Mexico, 1819.
Archicofradía del Arcángel San Miguel, Constituciones. Mexico, 1794; 4to. Mexico, 1838.
Arco Iris. Vera Cruz, 1847 et seq. folio.
Arellano (Emmanuele de), Elogia selecta. Mexico, 1755.
Arellano (Lorenzo), Actos Administrativos del Gobernador de Guanajuato. Mexico, 1848.
Arellano (Manuel Ramirez de), Oracion cívica. Mexico, 1859.
Arellano (Manuel Ramirez de), Apuntes de la Compañía de Oriente, 1859. Mexico, 1859.
Arellano (Manuel Ramirez de), La Ley de 12 de Octubre último. Mexico, 1865.
Arellano (Manuel Ramirez de), Ultimas horas del Imperio. Mexico, 1869.
Arenas (Padre), Causas que se han seguido y terminado contra los comprendidos. Mexico, 1828.
Argaiz (Gregorio de), Vida y Escritos. Madrid, 1678.
Argos (El). Mejico, 1820 et seq.
Argüelles (Diego), Anuncio á mis amigos. Mexico, 1857.
Arguixo (Presb. Alonso), Cuestion de pessadumbre. MS. 1652. folio.
Arias (J. de Dios), Reseña Histórica de la formacion operaciones del Ejército del Norte. Mexico, 1867.
Arispe (Pedro Joseph Rodriguez de), Colosso Eloquente que en la sol. aclamacion del D. Fernando VI. erigió Mexico. Mexico, 1748.
Arispe (Pedro Joseph Rodrigvez de), Relacion de lo acaecido en la celebridad de el jubileo. Mexico, 1753.
Arista (Mariano), Ecsámen de la Esposicion. México, 1841.
Arista (Mariano), Manifiesto que hace á sus conciudadanos. Megico, 1839.
Arista (Mariano), Observaciones sobre la cuestion suscitada con motivo de la autorizacion concedida. Mexico, 1841.
Arista (Mariano), Oficio y documentos que dirige al Gob. de Coahuila. Mexico, 1841.
Arista (Mariano), Proclama. Mexico, 1833.
Arista (Mariano), Al Proyecto para el arreglo del ejército. Mexico, 1848.
Arista (Mariano), Reseña Histórica de La Revolucion. Mejico, 1835.
Arístides, La Deuda Estranjera. Mexico, 1869.
Arizaga (Ignacio Ramon de), Advertencias Utiles. Merico, 1764.
Arizcorreta (Mariano), Informe que dió á la comision. Mexico, 1850.
Arizcorreta (Mariano), Manifestacion que hace al público. [Mexico], 1849.
Arizcorreta (Mariano), Respuesta de algunos. Mexico, 1849.
Arizpe (Ignacio de), Contestacion del Gobernador de Coahuila. Saltillo, 1841.
Arizpe (Miguel Ramos de), Idea general sobre la conducta política de D. [Mexico, 1822.]

Arizpe (Miguel Ramos de), Memorial on the natural, political, and civil state of the Province of Coahuila. Philadelphia, 1814.
Arlegui (Joseph), Chrónica de la Provincia de S. Francisco de Zacatecas. Mexico, 1737.
Armin (Th.), Das Alte Mexiko. Leipzig, 1865.
Armin (Th.), Das heutige Mexiko. Leipzig, 1865.
Arpide (Fr. Antonio), Perdicion de los Indios de Nueva España y sus causas. MS. 1753.
Arrangoiz (Francisco de Paula de), Apuntes para la Historia del Segundo Imperio Mejicano. Madrid, 1869. 4to.
Arrangoiz (Francisco de Paula de), Mejico desde 1808, hasta 1867. Madrid, 1871–2. 4 vols.
Arreglo de Las Universidades Y Colegios. Mexico, 1855.
Arricivita (J. D.), Crónica Seráfica y Apostólica. Madrid, 1792. folio.
Arrillaga (Basilio), Terceras observaciones sobre el Opúsculo. Mexico, 1865.
Arrillaga (Basilio), Breve Resúmen de los Méritos y Servicios. Mexico, 1837.
Arrillaga (Basilio), Cartas al Dr Mora. Mexico, 1839.
Arrillaga (Basilio), Defensa de la Mystica Ciudad de Dios. MS. folio.
Arrillaga (Basilio), Exámen crítico de la Memoria. Méjico, 1835.
Arrillaga (Basilio), Recopilacion de Leyes, etc. Mexico, 1838–50. 16 vols.
Arriola (Juan de), Vida Y Virtudes. [Mexico], 1768. MS. 3 vols.
Arróniz (Marcos), Manual de Biografía Mejicana. Paris, 1857.
Arróniz (Marcos), Manual de Historia Y Cronología de Méjico. Paris, 1859.
Arróniz (Marcos), Manual Del Viajero en Méjico. Paris, 1858.
Arze y Miranda (Andrés de), El cielo venido á nuestras manos por las de Ignacio, y su Compañia. Mexico, 1751. 4to.
Arze y Portería (Tomás de), Informe dado al P. Guardian del Colegio de Pachuca, 19 de Octubre de 1787. MS.
Arzobispo de Mejico, Representacion del Ilmo Sr Arzobispo de Mejico concerniente á algunos sucesos anteriores á la independencia. Habana, 1822. 4to.
Arzobispo de Mexico, Relacion sobre tributos y las órdenes religiosas, 15 Mayo, 1556. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. iv.
Atenéo Mexicano, Reglamento. Mexico, 1843.
Atentados Escandalosos Cometidos Por El Juez De Minas. Rincon de Romos, 1850.
Atleta (El), Mexico, 1829 et seq.
Atocha (Alexander J.), Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives. n.pl., n.d.
Atocha (Alexander J.), Statement of case and claim of against Mexico. n.pl., n.d.
Auld (Robert O.), and John H. Buchan, Silver Mines of Fresnillo in Zacatecas. London, 1834.
Aumada (Juan Antonio), Representacion Político-legal que hace. MS.
Auto General De La Fee, 19 de Noviembre de 1659. Mexico, n.d.
Auttos Secrettos, Catthedral mettropolitana de Mexico. MS. 1735–6. folio.
Auxiliar De La Canoa. Mexico, 1820 et seq.
Avendaño (Pedro de), Fee de Erratas respuesta Apologética. MS. 1703. 4to.
Avila (Joseph de), Coleccion de noticias de muchas de las indulgencias plenarias, etc. Mexico, 1787.
Avila y Uribe (Mariano Gonzales de), Pœma cómico historial. MS.
Aviso á los Señores Diputados de Nueva España. Mexico, 1820.
Aviso (Artículos de armisticio ratificados el 7 de setiembre de 1821). Mexico, 1821.
Aviso, [Invitation to the Mexicans to welcome Iturbide on his entrance to the city; dated September 26, 1821.] Mexico, 1821.
Aviso Patrióticо de un Americano Imparcial. Mexico, 1821. folio.
Ayala (Ivan de Mendoza), Virtvd jviziosa, 17 de Noviembre, 1685. Mexico, 1686.
Ayeta (Francisco de), Representacion por los Franciscanos. n.pl., n.d. folio.

Ayuntamiento, Cuarto reglamento para el cobro de los Derechos de Introduccion. Mexico, 1848.
Ayuntamiento, Manifiesto de la Conducta de los capitulares. Mexico, 1849.
Ayuntamiento, Tercera Representacion dirigida al Exmo. Mexico, 1849.
Ayuntamiento de Mexico (El), carta del 26 de Abril, 1531. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.
Ayuntamiento de Mégico (El), Manifiesta al Público los motivos. Mégico, 1840.
Ayuntamiento de Mexico (El), Representacion que al Congreso General eleva en defensa de su fondos. Mexico, 1852. See also "Mexico."
Azanza (José de), Ynstruccion sobre las provincias de la Nueva España. MS.
Azcárate (Miguel María de), Noticias estadísticas que sobre los efectos de consumo. Mexico, 1839.
Azcárate (Miguel María), Reseña hecha de administracion municipal. Mexico, 1853.
Azpiroz (Manuel), Código de Extranjería de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. Mexico, 1876.

B. (G. A.), El Espíritu de la Democracia. MS.
Backer (A. A. de), Bibliotheque des ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus, etc. Liége, 1853–61. 7 vols.
Badger (George E.), Speech on The Regimental Bill in U. S. Senate, January 18, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Bajamar (Marqués de), Discurso exhortatorio, 2 de Enero 1798. Madrid, 1798.
Balbontin (Juan María), Apuntes estadísticos que escribió D. J. Francisco Bustamante relativos á Querétaro. In Soc. Mex. Geog. Boletin, tom. vii.
Balbontin (Juan María), Estadística del Estado de Querétaro. Mexico, 1867.
Balbuena (Bernardo), Grandeza Mejicana. Madrid, 1829; Méjico, 1603.
Ballesteros (D. S.), Dos Acusaciones contra el Supremo Tribunal de Justicia. Mazatlan, 1870.
Ballesteros (D. S.), Informe que rinde al Supremo Tribunal de Justicia. Mazatlan, 1870. 4to.
Balmes (Jaime), Suma de civilizacion. Guadalajara, 1843.
Banco Nacional de Amortizacion, Contestacion de la Junta Directiva del. Mexico, 1841.
Bancroft (Hubert Howe), Native Races of the Pacific States. New York, 1875. 5 vols.
Banda (Longinos), Estadística de Jalisco. Guadalajara, 1873.
Baptista (Hieron), Treatise on canon law respecting marriage. MS., 17th century.
Baquiero (Serapio), Ensayo Histórico sobre las Revoluciones de Yucatan. Mérida, 1871–2. 3 vols.
Barante (M. de), Historia de la convencion nacional. Mexico, 1854–5. 4 vols.
Barbachano (Tomás Aznar), Las Mejoras Materiales. Campeche, 1859.
Barbachano (Tomás Aznar) y Juan Carbó, Memoria sobre la Conveniencia, etc. Mexico, 1861. 4to.
Bárcena (José María Roa), Catecismo Elemental de Geografía Universal. Mexico, 1870.
Bárcena (J. M. Roa), Catecismo Elemental de la Historia De Mexico. Mexico, 1862.
Bárcena (J. M. Roa), Leyendas Mexicanas. México, 1862.
Bárcena (Manuel de la), Exhortacion que hizo al tiempo de jurarse la constitucion política de la monarquía Española. Mexico, 1820.
Bárcena (Rafael Roa), Manual razonado del litigante Mexicano. Mexico, 1862.
Barcia (Andrés Gonzalez de), Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales. Madrid, 1749. folio. 3 vols.
Baréa (Juan Bautista), Oracion fúnebre de Don Bernardo de Galvez. Havana, 1787. Small 4to.
Baril (V. L.) Le Mexique. Douai, 1862.
Barquera (Juan María Wenceslao), Directorio Político de Alcaldes Constitucionales. Mexico, 1820.

Barreda (C.), Oracion cívica, 15 de Setiembre 1853. Mexico, 1853.
Barreiro (Miguel), Porvenir de Yucatan. Mérida, 1864.
Barrera (Manuel), Esposicion que acerca de la contrata. Mexico, 1837.
Barricon (Manuel Lopez), Exhortacion. Mexico, 1811.
Barrow (Washington), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., January 24, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Bartolache (Joseph Ignacio), Manifiesto Satisfactorio. Mexico, 1790.
Basch (Dr S.), Erinnerungen aus Mexico. Leipzig, 1868. 2 vols.
Basch (Samuel), Recuerdos de Mexico. Mexico, 1870.
Bases sobre las que se ha formado un plan de colonizacion en el istmo de Hoazacoalco o Tehuantepec. Mexico, 1823.
Baylies (Francis), Narrative of Wool's Campaign in Mexico. Albany, 1851.
Baz (Gustavo), Vida de Benito Juarez. Mexico, 1874. 4to.
Bazancourt, Le Mexique contemporain. Paris, 1862.
Beadle (J. H.), The Undeveloped West. Philadelphia, 1873.
Beale (Enrique M.), Prospecto de las diversiones. Mexico, 1851.
Beaufort (Conde A.), Historia de los Papas. Mexico, 1851. 5 vols.
Beaufoy (Mark), Mexican Illustrations in 1825-7. London, 1828.
Beaumont, Instruccion del Arzobispado de Paris. Mexico, 1822.
Beaumont (Baron de), Résumé et solution de la Question Mexicaine. Paris, 1839.
Beaumont (Gustavo de), María ó la esclavitud en los Estados-Unidos. Mexico, 1849. 2 vols.
Beccatini (Francisco), Vida de Cárlos III. Madrid, 1790.
Becerra Tanco, (Luis), Felicidad de Mexico en la admirable aparicion de la Vírgen María de Guadalupe. Madrid, 1740. 4to. Mex., 1780, 1723.
Becher (C. C.), Mexico in den ereignitzvollen Jahren 1832 und 1833. Hamburg, 1834.
Becher (H. C. R.), A Trip to Mexico. Toronto, 1880.
Bédollière (Émile de la), Histoire de la Guerre du Mexique. Paris, n.d. folio.
Bejarano (José), Informe sobre la mision de Aguayo, 8 de Feb. de 1786. MS.
Belaunzaran (José María de Jesus), Breve Tratado Litúrgico sobre funerales. Mexico, 1835.
Belaunzaran (José María de Jesus), Contestacion á la Consulta Bienes Eclesiásticos. Mexico, 1852.
Belaunzaran (José María de Jesus), Representacion sobre la anulacion de las leyes. Mexico, 1837.
Belderrain (José), Exhortacion Instructiva. Mexico, 1810.
Belem (El), Dulce periódico. Mexico, 1858 et seq.
Beleña (Eusebio Bentura), Recopilacion Sumaria de todos los Autos. Mexico, 1787. 4to. 2 vols.
Bell (John), Speech of, on the Mexican War, in U. S. Senate, Feb. 2d and 3d, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Bellido (Joseph), Vida de la María Anna Agueda de S. Ignacio. Mexico, 1758.
Bellido Faxardo (Francisco Cristóbal), Informe relativo á las tres misiones de este Nuevo Reyno de Leon. MS. 1790.
Beltrami (J. C.), Le Mexique. Paris, 1830. 2 vols.
Benedicti XIV., Concession Despensationum Matrimonialium. Rome, 1757. 4to.
Beneski (Charles de), A narrative of the last moments, etc., of Don Augustine de Iturbide. New York, 1825.
Berasueta (Pedro), El Licenciado al síndico D. Juan Rodriguez de San Miguel en su respuesta de 24 de Abril. Mexico, 1838.
Berghes (Cárlos de), Descripcion de la Serrania de Zacatecas. Mejico, 1834. 4to.
Bergosa y Jordan (Antonio), Sermon, etc., en accion de gracias, 8 de Diciembre 1814. Mexico, 1814.
Beristain (José Mariano), Elogio de los sacerdotes difuntos 14 de Enero de 1800. MS.
Beristain (José Mariano), La Felicidad De Las Armas De España. Mexico, 1815.
Beristain de Sousa (Joseph Mariano), Cantos De Las Musas Mexicanas. Mexico, 1804. 4to.

Bermudez (J. M.), Verdadera Causa de la Revolucion Del Sur. Toluca, 1831.
Bermudez de Castro (Cárlos), Parecer fiscal, expresion de Privilegios, y méritos de Justicia. Mexico, 1714. folio.
Bernal y Malo (Waldo Indalecio), Alegato año de 1792. Oajaca, 1844. 4to.
Bernal y Malo (Ubaldo Yndalecio), Defensa hecha á nombre de la Sagrada Prov de Nra Sra de la Merced. MS.
Bernardez (J. de R.) Descripcion breve de la ciudad de Zacatecas. Mexico, 1732.
Berrien, Speech on Bill appropriating $8,000,000, Feb. 5, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Bertoldino. Periódico Bisemanal. Mexico, 1865 et seq.
Betanzos, (Domingo de), Carta que escribieron varios Padres de la Orden de Santo Domingo. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. vii.
Biart (Leon), Vie au Méxique. In Revue Francaise, No. 48.
Biart (Lucien), Le Mexique d'Hier et le Mexique De Demain. Paris, 1865.
Biblioteca Eclesiástica Mexicana. Conferencias Eclesiásticas de la Diocesi De Angers. Mexico, 1852. 4to. 3 vols.
Bibliotheca Grenvilliana. [London, 1843.] 4to.
Biblioteca Mexicana Popular y Económica. Amenidades. Mexico, 1851-2. 2 vols. Cosmos. Mexico, 1851-2. 2 vols. Novelas. Mexico, 1851-2. 2 vols. Teatro-Galería Dramática. Mexico, 1851-2. 2 vols.
Bienes de Difuntos, Nuevas Instrucciones. Mexico, 1805.
Bienes de la Iglesia, Defensa de los. Mexico, 1820.
Bienes del Clero, Carta de un filósofo. Mexico, 1837.
Bienes Eclesiásticos. A Collection.
Bienes Eclesiásticos, Breve resúmen de lo ocurrido en esta Diocesis Arzobispal. Mexico, 1846.
Bienes Eclesiástic s, Despojo de los Bienes. Mexico, 1847. 4to.
Bienes Eclesiásticos, Dictámen de la comision y acuerdo del illmo metropolitano de Mexico. Mexico, 1837.
Bienes Eclesiásticos, Disertacion que manifiesta la propriedad. Mexico, 1834. 4to.
Bienes Eclesiásticos, Disertacion sobre la naturaleza. Méjico, 1833.
Bienes Eclesiásticos, Disertacion sobre la restitucion. Mégico, 1838.
Bienes Eclesiásticos, Segunda protesta del venerable Metropolitano. Mexico, 1847.
Bienes Monacales, Remitido á los Señores Editores del Cosmopolita. Mexico, 1838.
Bienvenida (Lorenzo de), Carta al Príncipe Don Felipe, Feb. 10, 1548. In Cartas de Indias.
Billault, Refutacion del discurso. Mexico, 1862. 4to.
Billault, The French in Mexico. London, 1863.
Bingley (William), Travels in North America. London, 1821.
Biso (J. Lúcas), Resúmen breve y esplicatorio del Partido de Arizpe. In Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin, tom. ii.
Bivouacs (Les) de Vera-Cruz à Mexico. par un Zouave. Paris, etc., 1865.
Blair (Hugo), Lecciones sobre la Retórica y las bellas letras. Mexico, 1834. 3 vols.
Blake (William P.), Description of the various Silver Ores and Minerals. New Haven, 1861.
Blanchard (P.), San Juan de Ulùa, ou Relation de l'expédition française au Mexique. Paris, 1839.
Blas (A. Gil), Inauguracion Del Telégrafo en Ario De Rosales. Morelia, 1873.
Blasquez (Pedro Ignacio), Memoria sobre el Maguey Mexicano. Mexico, 1865.
Bodega y Mollineda (Manuel de la), Representacion hecha al rey. Madrid, Oct. 27, de 1814. Mexico, 1820.
Boguslawski (Dr B. von), Ueber Deutsche Colonisation in Mexico. Berlin, 1851.
Boletin Municipal. Puebla, 1840 et seq.
Bonnevie (J. B.), Les volontaires Belges au Mexique. Bruxelles, 1864.
Borbon (Luis de), Ciudadanos, March 19, 1820. Mexico, 1820.
Borbon (María Luisa de), Breve Noticia de las solemnes exequias de la Reina Madre. Méjico, 1820.

Borbon (María Luisa de), Relacion de las demonstraciones fúnebres. Mexico, 1820.
Bordonova (Silvestre), Conducta Del Obispo De Puebla. Paris, 1857.
Bossu (M.), Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes occidentales. Paris, 1768. 2 vols.
Boturini Benaduci (Lorenzo), Idea de una nueva Historia General de la America. Madrid, 1846.
Boucher de la Richarderie (G.), Bibliothèque Universelle Des Voyages. Paris, 1808. 6 vols.
Bouterwek (Frederick), History of Spanish Literature. London, 1847.
Box (Capt. Michael James), Adventures and Explorations in New and Old Mexico. New York, 1869.
Brackenridge (B. H. M.), Mexican Letters. Washington, 1850.
Brackett (Albert G.), General Lane's Brigade in Central Mexico. Cincinnati, 1854.
Bradaen (Louis), The Early Peopling of America. New York, 1847.
Brady (J. E.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., June 27, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Brady (James), Report of the Wonder, Zacatecas, Canton, Cotopaxi, and Tengahoki Mines. San Francisco, 1873.
Braganza (Isabel de), Relacion de lo ejecutado en la siempre fiel ciudad de Mexico. Mexico, 1820. folio.
Branciforte (Marqués de), Ynstruccion que dejó al Señor su sucesor. [Orizava, Marzo 16, 1797.] MS.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, Cartas para servir de introduccion á la Historia primitiva de las Naciones Civilizadas. Mexico, 1851.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, Esquisses d'Histoire d'Archéologie. [Mexico]. 1864. 4to.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale. Paris, 1857–9. 4 vols.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, Lettres pour servir d'Introduction à l'Histoire primitive des Nations Civilisées de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Mexico, 1851. 4to.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, Quatre Lettres sur le Mexique. Paris, 1868.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, S'il existe des sources de l'histoire primitive du Mexique. Paris, 1864.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, Sommaire des voyages scientifiques. Saint-Cloud, 1862.
Brasseur de Bourbourg, Voyage sur l'Isthme de Tehuantepec. Paris, 1861.
Bravo (Nicolás), Contestacion. Mex., 1821; Destierro. Mex., 1828; Espediente Instructivo. Mex., 1828; Esposicion. Mex., 1822; Esposicion, Apr. 19. [Mex., 1828]; Manifiesto. Mex., n.d.; Manifiesto. Mex., 1828; Manifiesto que un oficial. Mex., 1830; Las Razones. Mex., 1828; Representaciones del Ayunt. de Chilpancingo. Mex., 1828; Vindicacion. Mex., 1825.
Braye (C. L. Y.), Compendio de La Religion. Mexico, 1858.
Breve Exposicion del Proyecto de la Compañía Mexicana para la Construccion del Ferrocarril entre Mexico y Veracruz. Mexico, 1868.
Breve Impugnacion á las Observaciones, tratados de Paz celebrados con el Gobierno Anglo-Americano. Mexico, 1848.
Breve Pontificio autorizando á los diocesanos de La República Mexicano. Mexico, 1836.
Breve Pontificio sobre diminucion De Dias Festivas en la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1839.
Breve refutacion al dictámen de los Señores Jueces, ramo de pulques. Mexico, 1852.
Breves Noticias del órden que se debe guardar y observar en las siembras de Magueyes. MS.
Breves Observaciones sobre el nombramiento de jueces de primera instancia, etc. Mexico, 1831.
Bringas (Diego Miguel), Sermon que en la reconquista de Guanaxuato predicó. Mexico, 1811. 4to.
Bringas y Encinas (Diego Miguel), Impugnacion del papel Sedicioso y Calumniante. Mexico, 1812.
Bringas y Encinas (Diego Miguel), Sermon político-moral. Mexico, 1813. 4to.

Bringas de Manzaneda y Encinas (Diego), El maná de los Christianos. Mexico, 1792. 2 vols.
Brink (C. W.), A Lecture on the Future of Mexico. New York, 1876.
Brissot (M. A.), Voyage au Goazacoalcos. Paris, 1837.
Brockett (L. P.) Our Great Captains. New York, 1865.
Brodhead (Richard), Speech on the Mexican War, etc., Feb. 9, 1847. n.pl., n.d.
Brooks (N. C.), A Complete History of the Mexican War. Philadelphia, 1849.
Brocks (Noah), The Career of an American Princess. In Overland Monthly, vol. v. 1870.
Bucareli (Antonio), Cordilleras y Ordenes. MS. 1772.
Bucareli y Ursua (Antonio María), Breve descripcion. Mexico, 1779.
Bucareli y Ursua (Antonio María), Real Cédula, Jan. 16, 1776. Mexico, 1776. folio.
Bucareli y Ursua (Antonio María), Reglamento Provisional para el prest, Vestuario, Gratificaciones. Mexico, 1774.
Buedo (Francisco), Informes acerca de mas misiones de la mitre de Nueva Leon. MS.
Buena Vista, Battle of. Charleston, S. C., 1851.
Buenrostro (Agustin), Manifestacion al Gobierno Supremo. Mexico, 1835. 4to.
Bullock (W.) Catalogue of the exhibition called Modern Mexico. London, 1825.
Bullock (W.), A Description of the unique exhibition called Ancient Mexico. London, 1824.
Bullock (W.), Six months' residence and travels in Mexico. London, 1824; London, 1825. 2 vols.
Bullock (W. junior), Description of the Panorama of the superb City of Mexico. Philadelphia, 1833.
Bullock (W. H.), Across Mexico in 1864–5. London, etc., 1866.
Buques Mejicanos, Justos Reclamos. Mexico, 1849.
Burgoa (Francisco), Geográfica Descripcion de la Parte Septentrional, del Polo Artico de la America (Oajaca). Mexico, 1674. 4to. 2 vols.
Burgoa (Francisco), Extractos. MS. folio.
Burgoa (Francisco), Palestra Historial de Virtvdes, etc. Mexico, 1670. folio.
Burguillos (Fr. Bartolomé de), Memorial para Martin Carillo Inqvisidor, etc. MS. 4to.
Burke (Edmund), An Account of European Settlements in America. London, 1808, 4to; also editions London, 1760, 2 vols.; London, 1770, 2 vols.
Bustamante (Anastacio), Decretos del Congreso General de 2 de Marzo y 2 de Mayo del corriente año. Mexico, 1841.
Bustamante (Anastacio), El Presidente al ejército (Octubre 23, 1840). Mexico, 1840.
Bustamante (Anastacio), El Presidente á sus conciudadanos (Octubre 24, 1840). Mexico, 1840.
Bustamante (Anastacio), El Presidente á sus Habitantes. Mexico, 1838.
Bustamante (Anastacio), Iniciativa que hace la Junta Departamental De Mexico, etc. Mexico, 1840.
Bustamante (Anastacio), Manifiesto que dirige á sus Compatriotas como general en gefe sobre Tamaulipas. Mexico, 1839.
Bustamante (Anastacio), Manifiesto que el Vice Presidente dirige. Mexico, 1830.
Bustamante (Anastacio), Manifiesto que el Vice Presidente dirige á la Nacion. Mexico, 1850.
Bustamante (Anastacio), Memorial de Justas Quejas. Mexico, 1837.
Bustamante (Anastacio), Reflecsiones sobre el manifiesto dado en 14 de Agosto, 1832. Mexico, 1832.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), La Aparicion Guadalupana. Mexico, 1843.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), La Aparicion de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Mexico. Mexico, 1840.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Apuntes para la Historia del gobierno del General Guadalupe Victoria. Mexico, [1830.] MS.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Apuntes para la Historia del Gobierno del General Santa-Anna. Mexico, 1841–3. MS. 3 vols.

Bustamante (Cárlos María), Apuntes para la Historia del Gobierno del General Santa-Anna. Mexico, 1845.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Campaña sin Gloria y guerra como la de los cacomixtles. Mexico, 1847.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Campañas del General D. Felix María Calleja. Mexico, 1828.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Carta á un Diputado del honorable Congreso de Zacatecas. [Mexico, 1832.]
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Cuadro Histórico de la Revolucion Mexicana. Mexico, 1823–7. 5 vols.; Mexico, 1832–46. 6 vols.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Defensa de la peticion hecha al Soberano Congreso solicitando la restitucion de la Compañía de Jesus. Mexico, 1841.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Diario de lo especialmente occurrido en Mexico, Sept. de 1841 á Junio de 1843. Mexico, 1841–3. MS. 4to. 4 vols.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Efemeridades histórico-político literarias. Mexico, 1835.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), El General D. Felipe de la Garza Vindicado de las Notas de Traidor. Mexico, 1826.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Elogio histórico del Dr D. José María de Santiago y Carrero. Mexico, 1845.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Elogio histórico del General J. M. Morelos. Mexico, 1822.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Exámen crítico sobre la Muerte del General Morelos. [Mexico, 1843.] MS. folio.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Expatriacion de los Jesuitas. n.pl., n.d.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Gabinete Mexicano. Mexico, 1839–41. MS. 4 vols.; also print. Mexico, 1842. 2 vols.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), El Gran dia de Mexico, 10 Diciembre, 1836. [Mexico, 1836.]
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Historia del Emperador D. Agustin de Iturbide (Continuacion del Cuadro Histórica). Mexico, 1846.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Historia del Emperador Moctheuzoma Xócoyotzin. Mexico, 1829.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), El Honor y patriotismo del General Nicolás Bravo. Mexico, 1828.
Bustamante (Cárlos María) Informe Crítico-Legal de la Imágen de Guadalupe. Mexico, 1835.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Mañanas de la Alameda de Mexico. Mexico, 1835–6. 2 vols.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Manifiesto de la Junta Guadalupana. Mexico, 1831.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Manifiesto Histórico á las Naciones y Pueblos del Anáhuac. Mexico, 1823.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Martirologio de algunos de los primeros insurgentes. Mexico, 1841.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Materiales para la Continuacion del Cuadro Histórico. Mexico, 1833–9. MS.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Medidas para la Pacificacion de la America Mexicana. MS. 1820.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Memorandum, ó sea Apuntes de lo principalmente occurrido en Mexico. Mexico, 1844–7. MS.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Memoria Histórica de los servicios que hizo a la República D. N. Bravo. Mexico, 1845.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Memoria Principal de la Piedad de Mexico. [Mexico, 1810.]
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Mexico en Cautiverio. Mexico, 1847.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Mexico en 1848, principales sucesos políticos y militares. Mexico, 1848. MS.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Necesidad de la Union contra la Liga Europea. Mexico, 1826.

Bustamante (Cárlos María), Necesidad de la union de todos los Mexicanos. Mexico, 1826.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Necrología del Señor D. Santiago. Mexico, 1845. MS. folio.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), No Hay peor cuña que la del Mismo Palo. Mexico, 1842.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Noticias Biográficas. Mexico, 1849.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), El Nuevo Bernal Diaz del Castillo ó sea Historia de la Invasion de los Anglo-Americanos en Mexico. Mexico, 1847. 2 vols.
Bustamante Cárlos María), Peticion para el establecimiento de la Compañía de Jesus. [Mexico, 1843.] MS. folio.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Representacion que los Vecinos Emigrados de la Villa de Chilapa. Mexico, 1845.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Resistencia de la Corte de España. Mexico, 1833.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Respuesta al Papel intitulado "Alla" van esas verdades. [Mexico, 1837.]
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Sesion de la Cámara de Diputados, discurso que en ella leyó. Mexico, 1845.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Tezcoco en los últimos Tiempos. Mexico, 1826.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Voz de la Patria. Mexico, 1828–31. 5 vols.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Voz de la Patria, Continuacion. Mexico, 1837–9. MS. 9 vols.
Bustamante (Cárlos María), Ynvasion de Mexico por Anglo-Americanos. MS.
Bustamante (Javier Aguilar), Defensa del Pase Del Breve de Monseñor Clementi. Mexico, 1853.
Bustamante (Javier Aguilar), Representacion...inconvenientes de la ley de 11 de Abril. Mexico, 1857.
Bustamante (Miguel), Memoria instructiva para Colectar Y Preparar para su trasporte los objetos de historia natural, etc. Mexico, 1839.
Bustamante Y Galeote (Pedro M.), Relacion de los estudios, méritos, etc. Orizava, 1840.
Bustamante Tracts. A Collection.
Butron (J. Moran de), Vida de la B. Mariana de Jesus de Paredes Y Flores. Madrid, 1854.
Butterfield (Cárlos), United States and Mexican Mail Steamship Line, etc. New York, 1860.
Butterfield (Cárlos), United States and Mexico. New York, 1861.
Butterfield (Cárlos), Value of Spanish America to the U. S. New York, 1868.

C. (D. J.), Catecismo Político. Mejico, 1820.
C. (M. A.), Pastorela en dos Actos.
Caballero (Joaquin), Renuncia Justificada del Gobiernor interino. Morelia, [1833.]
Cabezas (Jos.), Historia prodigiosa de la admirable aparicion. Mexico, 1748.
Cabildo de la Colegiata de Nra Sra de Guadalupe, Representacion que dirigió al Soberano Congreso Constituyiente. Mexico, 1824.
Cabildo Eclesiástico de Guadalajara, Informe al Rey. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. ii.
Cabildo Metropolitano de Mexico, Observaciones. Mexico, 1827.
Cabofranco (Mariano), Compendio Ascético de la Perfeccion Cristiana. México, 1835.
Cabrera (Florencio), Bosquejo sobre la historia antigua de San Luis Potosí. In Mex. Soc. Geog., Boletin, 2da Ep. iv.
Cabrera y Quintero (Cayetano), Escudo De Armas De Mexico. Mexico, 1746. folio.
Cabrera y Quintera (Cayetano), Viva copia del magnánimo sagrado. Mexico, 1732.
Cadena (Félix María), Alocucion dada á los Mejicanos el 17 de Agosto de 1814. n.pl., n.d.
Cadena (Luis Velazquez de la), Esposicion que hacen los Interesados en las parcialidades. Mexico, 1849.

Cadwalader (George), The Philadelphia Greys' Collection. Philadelphia, 1848.
Caicedo (J. M. Torres), Union Latino-Americana. Paris, 1865.
Cajiga (Ramon), Memoria que presenta Al Secundo Congreso. Oaxaca, 1861. folio.
Cálculo Prudencial de la poblacion de las misiones de la Compañía de Jesus en N. Vizcaya. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie iii. tom. iv.
Calderon (Martin), Informe sobre la perdicion de los Indios de Mexico. MS. of 1735.
Calderon (Mathias de Peralta), El Apostol de las Indias. Mexico, 1661.
Calderon de la Barca. Life in Mexico. Boston, 1843. 2 vols.
Calderon de la Barca (Migvel), Oydor de la Real Avdiencia de Mexico. Mexico, 1694. folio.
Calhoun (John C.), Speech on his resolutions, War with Mexico, Jan. 4, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Calhoun (John C.), Speech on Three Million Bill, Feb. 9, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Calvillo (Juan Bautista Diaz), Discurso sobre los males. Mexico, 1810.
Calvillo (Juan Bautista Diaz), Oracion 9 de Setiembre. Mexico, 1808.
Camacho (Sebastian), Tablas diversas para determinar los valores de la plata y del oro. Mexico, 1865.
Camacho Villavicencio (Fr. Miguel), Dictámen de Conciencia. MS. [1719.]
Cámara de Disputados, Manifiesto en la Legialatura de 1831 y 1832. Mexico, 1832. Small 4to.
Camino Carretero, Camino de Fierro y Canal por el Istmo de Tehuantepec, Informes Del Ingeniero. Mexico, 1870.
Camino De Hierro, Tercer Cuaderno que publica el apoderado de Don Gabriel Nuñez. Mejico, 1853.
Campaign in Mexico by "One who has seen the elephant." Philadelphia, etc., 1847.
Campaign in Mexico by "One who was thar." Philadelphia, 1850.
Campaña contra Los Americanos Del Norte, 1° parte. Mexico, 1846.
Campaña de Puebla, Parte general que dirige General Álvarez. Mexico, 1856.
Campbell (William W.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., April 8, 1846. Washington, 1846.
Campbell, A Concise History of Spanish America. London, 1741.
Campe, Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de America. Madrid, 1803. 3 vols.; Mexico, 1854; Madrid, 1845.
Campeche, Constitucion Política del Estado. Campeche, 1861.
Campillo (Manuel Ignacio Gonzalez), Edicto. 8 Abril 1809. n.pl., n.d.; Edicto. Mex., 1812; Exhortacion. Puebla, 1808; Exhortacion Pastoral, 25 Enero, 1805. n.pl., n.d.; Manifiesto. Mex., 1812; Manifiesto. Noviembre 3, 1810. [Puebla, 1810]; Pastoral. Sept. 30, 1810. [Puebla, 1810]; Pastoral. Mayo 20, 1811. [Puebla, 1811.]
Campillo y Cosio (Joseph del), Nuevo sistema de Gobierno Económico para la América. Madrid, 1789.
Campo (José María Gomez del), Noticia minera del Estado de San Luis Potosí. In Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin. 2da Ep., tom. iv.
Campo-Sagrado (M. Q.), Descripcion Del Juramento de la Nueva Constitucion.
Campo y Rivas (Manuel del), Manifiesto filantrópico. Mexico, 1810.
Campos (Antonio de María), Economia política en Mégico. Puebla, 1844.
Campos (Antonio de María), Un tributo á la Verdad. Vera Cruz, 1847.
Campos (Benigno), Oracion fúnebre de Luis G. De Osollo. Puebla, 1858.
Campos (Domingo), Relacion que hace de su viage á Yucatan. Mexico, 1849.
Canales Interoceánicos. Madrid, 1882.
Cancelada (Juan Lopez), Conducta de Iturrigaray. Cádiz, 1812.
Cancelada (Juan Lopez), Decreto De Napoleon Emperador sobre los Judios Residentes en Francia. Mexico, 1807.
Cancelada (Juan Lopez), Indice Razonado de lo que ha dado a Luz. Madrid, 1814.

Cancelada (Juan Lopez), Minas en España, etc. Madrid, 1831.
Cancelada (Juan Lopez), Profecia Política. Mexico, 1808.
Cancelada (Juan Lopez), Ruina de la Nueva España. Cádiz, 1811. 4to.
Cancelada (Juan Lopez), Telégrafo Mexicano. Cádiz, 1814 et seq.
Cancelada (Juan Lopez), La Verdad Sabida. Cádiz, 1811.
Candamo (Gaspar Gonzalez de), Sermon. Mexico, 1800.
Cañedo (Estanislao), De la Revolution au Mexique. n.pl., 1860; Discurso que el 16 de Setiembre de 1861. Monterey, 1861; La Revolucion en Mexico. Marzo, 1860. Monterey, 1860.
Cañedo (Juan de Dios), Acusacion contra el Ex-Ministro de Relaciones Don Lúcas Alaman. Mex., 1825; Manifiesto á la Nacion Española. Madrid, 1820.
Canoa (La). Mexico, 1820 et seq.
Canonistas y Teólogos, Consulta á los. Mexico, 1835.
Capellania, Fundacion de Capellania de Missas. Mexico, 1743. folio.
Capitulacion acordada para la evacuacion de la Ciudad de Puebla. [Puebla, 1821.]
Capitulacion hecha entre Iturbide y Rodriguez de Cela. [Puebla], 1821.
Capitulados en Ciudad Fernandez, Representacion que los capitulados en Ciudad Fernandez el 30 de Mayo. San Luis Potosí, 1837.
Carbajal (Francisco), Discursos del Diputado. Mexico, 1848; Vindicacion. Mexico, 1845.
Carbajal (Francisco Leon), Discurso sobre la legislacion de los antiguos Mexicanos. Mexico, 1864.
Carbajal Espinosa (Francisco), Historia de Mexico. Mexico, 1862. 2 vols.
Cardena (Patricio G.), Proyecto dedicado y presentado sobre la fundacion de un Banco Comercial. Mexico, 1857.
Cardenas y Cano (Gabriel de), Ensayo cronológico para la historia general de la Florida. Madrid, 1723. folio.
Cardona, Esposicion que ha dirigido al Señor Comandante general. Mexico, 1834.
Carleton (J. H.), Battle of Buena Vista. New York, 1848.
Carli (Gian-Rinaldo), Cartas Americanas. Mexico, 1821; Mexico, 1822.
Cárlos II., Relacion de la muerte. Mexico, 1701.
Cárlos III., Amorosa contienda de Francia. Mex., 1761; Obelisco que en la ciudad de Los Angeles. Puebla, 1763; Real Proclamacion. Mex., 1761; Reales Exequias, 26 y 27 de Mayo de 1789. Mex., 1789; Reales Exequias, 9 y 10 de Julio de 1789. Puebla, [1789]; Reales Exequias, 27 y 28 de Julio de 1789. Mex., [1789]; Solemne Accion de gracias. Mex., 1809.
Cárlos IV., Descripcion de las fiestas celebradas en la Imperial Corte de Mexico, [Mex., 1796]; Relacion de las exequias funerales. Mex., 1820; Relacion de las exequias en 23 y 24 de Sept. de 1819. Mex., 1820.
Carlota, La Emperatriz Carlota en Vera Cruz, Noviembre 1865. Vera Cruz, 1865.
Carpenter (W. W.), Travels and Adventures in Mexico. New York, 1851.
Carranza (Joseph María), Discurso sobre el establecimiento de una escuela pública. Mexico, 1788.
Carrasquedo (Teófilo), Alegato de buena prueba. Mex., 1851; Manifestacion que hace al público el Juez 2° ramo criminal de Mexico. Mex., 1856.
Carreon (Rafael), Vindicacion. Mazatlan, 1863.
Carrera (Lorenzo), Exposicion que dirige al público. Méj., 1835; Vindicacion documentada. Madrid, 1856.
Carreta (La). Puebla, 1820 et seq.
Carrillo (J. C.), Estudio histórico sobre la raza indígena de Yucatan. Veracruz, 1865. 4to.
Carrillo (José Ignacio), Refutacion á la defensa publicada por el C. José Antonio Nieto. Mexico, 1835.
Carrillo y Perez (Ignacio), Lo Máximo en lo mínimo. Mexico, 1808. 4to.
Carta al Puebla Mexicano sobre la conspiracion del Momento. Mexico, 1841.
Carta al Rey, de los Oidores. In Col. Doc. Inéd., tom. i.
Carta de la Audiencia de Santo Domingo, S. M. 30 de Agosto de 1520. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.

Carta del tumulto de 15 de Enero de 1624. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii. tom. iii.
Carta de un concólega á Don Miguel Hidalgo. Mexico, 1810.
Carta de un Ex-diputado de Nueva España Amante del Filósofo Nezahualcoyotl. Madrid, 1822.
Carta de un Padre ex-Jesuita. In Nuevo Vizcaya, Doc. MS.
Carta familiar de un sacerdote respuesta á un colegial amigo suyo. Mexico, 1765. 4to.
Carta Pastoral del Illmo y Exmo Señor Arzobispo de Mexico. Mexico, 1855.
Cartas Americanas. Querétaro, 1812. MS. 2 vols.
Cartas de Indias. Madrid, 1877. folio.
Cartas de Valentin Gomez (Varias) en 1845, a D. Bernardo Gonzalez Angulo y respuesta de este. Mexico, 1845. fol. MS.
Cartas Pastorales. A Collection.
Cartilla de Párrocos compuesta por un Americano. Mexico, n.d.
Cartilla para los gefes y los pueblos en America. New York, 1823.
Cartilla sobre cria de Gusanos de Seda. Mexico, 1831. 4to.
Cartilla y doctrina espiritual. Mexico, 1775.
Cartography of the Pacific States. San Francisco, 1873. MS. 3 vols.
Casa (La), Peregrina solar ilustre en que nació la Reyna de los Angeles. Mexico, 1689. 4to.
Casa de la Contratacion de Seuilla, Ordenanzas Reales. Valladolid, 1604. 4to.
Casanova (José), Ensayos Poéticos. Mexico, 1851.
Casa Peregrina de Loreto (La). Mexico, 1689.
Casas (Guillen de las), Carta al Rey. In Cartas de Indias.
Casasola (José María), Acusacion fiscal Mex., 1851; Acusacion que en la tercera sala, etc. Mex., 1858; Alcance al folleto titulado Plaza De Toros. Mex., 1827.
Cass (Lewis), Speech on proposed occupation of Yucatan, May 10, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Cass (Lewis), War with Mexico. Speeches Jan. 3, 1847; Feb. 10, 1847; March 17, 1848. Washington, 1847–8.
Castañeda (C. Jesus), Oracion cívica pronunciada. Mazatlan, 1862.
Castañeda (Gabriel), Relacion de la jornada que hizo Don Francisco Sandoval Acazitli. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. ii.
Castañeda y Nàjera, Informe al en defensa de MM. de Azcárate. Mexico, 1861.
Castañiza (Juan Francisco), Relacion del Restablicimiento de la Sagrada Compañía de Jesus. Mexico, 1816.
Castañiza (María Teresa), Breve Esposicion sobre la Testamentaria de Mexico. 1830.
Castañiza (Teresa), Discursos de los Sres Senadores sobre nulidad del testamento. Mexico, 1830.
Castelazo. Manifiesto de la Riqueza de la Negociacion de Minas, etc. Mejico, 1820.
Castellano (Andrés Patiño), Derecho Apologético. Mexico, 1715.
Castellanos (Juan de), Elegías de Varones ilustres de Indias. Madrid, 1857.
Castellanos (Manuel), Defensa hecha en el juicio verbal. Mexico, 1865.
Castilla y Perosso (Francisco Romero de), Apuntes Históricos sobre el archivo general de Simancas. Madrid, 1873.
Castillo (Antonio del), Memoria sobre las Minas De Azogue de América. Mexico, 1871.
Castillo (Antonio del), La Vida del Benerable P. Fr. Ivan de Castro. MS.
Castillo (D. T. del), La Prostitucion ó Consecuencias de un mal ejemplo. Mexico, 1836.
Castillo (Demetrio del), Proyecto de ley sobre arreglo de la Contaduría mayor. Mexico, 1840.
Castillo (Gerónimo), Diccionario Histórico, Biográfico y Monumental de Yucatan. Mérida, 1866.
Castilla (Miguel de), Espejo De Exemplares Obispos. Mexico, 1698. MS.
Castillo (Pedro Fernandez), Esposicion. Mex., 1848; Sentencias absolutorias en 1ª y 2ª instancia. Mex., 1849; Sentencias absolutorias pronunciadas. Mex., 1850.

Castillo (Pedro Ramirez del), Letras felizmente lavreadas. Mexico, 1724.
Castrillon (Antonio), Oracion fúnebre panegýrico. Mexico, 1744.
Castro (Francisco de), La Octava Maravilla y sin segundo milagro de Mexico. Mexico, 1729.
Castro (Joseph de), Directorio para informaciones de los Pretendientes de el Santo Hábito. Mexico, 1737.
Castro (Joseph) Primera Regla de la Fecunda Madre Santa Clara de Assis. Mexico, 1756.
Castro (Joseph de), Viage de America á Roma. Mexico, 1745.
Castro (Joseph Augustin de), Acto de Contricion. Puebla, 1791; En Elogio del Amor. Mex., 1809; Gratitudes de un exercitante. Puebla de L. A., 1793; Sentimientos de la America. Mex., 1786; Triunfo del Silencio. Mex., 1786.
Castro (Juan de Dios), Defensa. Mejico, 1832.
Castro (Pedro Muñoz de), Exaltacion Magnífica. Mexico, 1697. 4to.
Castro (Rafael), Carta sobre la necesidad de establecer un camino de hierro entre Vera Cruz y Mejico. Vera Cruz, 1852.
Castro (Tomás), Proclama dirigida á los Voluntarios de Fernando VII., 20 de Nov., 1808. Mexico, 1808.
Catecismo para uso de los Párrocos hecho por el IV Concilio Provincial Mexicano. Mexico, 1772.
Causa Célebre contra los asesinos de D. Flor. Egerton y Doña Inés Edwards. Mexico, 1844.
Causas mas Célebres, Coleccion de las. Mexico, 1854. 2 vols.
Cavanilles (Antonio), Historia de España. Madrid, 1860–3. 5 vols.
Cavo (Andrés), Los Tres Siglos de Mexico. Mexico, 1836–8. 3 vols.; Mexico, 1852; Jalapa, 1860.
Cayo-Puto, Gaceta Extravagante. Mexico, 1820 et seq.
Cea (Genaro Rus de), Observaciones acerca de la intervencion Europea en Méjico. Paris, 1859.
Ceballos (Ramon), Veinte Cuatro capítulos en vindicacion de Mexico. Madrid, 1856.
Ceballos y Del Conde (Ramon de), De Méjico. Madrid, 1858.
Cédula Real de S. M. y señores del Real y Supremo consejo de las Indias. n.pl., 1816.
Cédula Real, Expedida por S. Magestad en 2 de Nov., 1773. Mexico, 1774. folio.
Cédula Real para la fundacion de la cofradía de Santiago en la ciudad de Mexico. Mexico, 1768.
Cédula sobre concilios Provinciales 21 de Agosto, 1769. [Mexico, 1769.]
Cédulas Ordenanzas y Provisiones Reales, 1528 á 1568. MS. folio.
Cedulario. A Collection, mostly MSS. folio. 3 vols.
Celis (Juan Nepomuceno), Defensa. Mexico, 1852.
Celis (R.), Catálogo de los Sugetos de la Compañía de Jesus el dia del arresto 25 de Junio de 1767. Mexico, 1871. 4to.
Cementerio de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles de Mexico. Mexico, 1850.
Censor (El). Veracruz, 1840 et seq.
Censor General (El). Cádiz, 1812 et seq.
Censor Mexicano (El). Mexico, 1823 et seq.
Centinela (El). Chihuahua, 1855 et seq.
Centinela Federal (El). Tlalpam, 1829 et seq.
Cepeda (Fernando), Relacion Universal Legítima y Verdadera del sitio en que esta fvndada la muy noble, etc., ciudad de Mexico. Mexico, 1637. folio. 2 vols. [MS. notes by Álvarez Serrano.]
Cerbantes (Ygnacio Guadalupe), Synopcis de varios decretos. [Valladolid.] MS.
Cerralvo (Marqués de), Acusacion por calumnia. [Madrid, 1636.] folio.
Certificacion de las Mercedes. MS.
Cervantes (José M. Villaseñor), Festivas Aclamaciones de Xalapa. Mexico, 1809.
Cervantes (Julio M.), Exposicion que en su Defensa dirije al Congreso 16 de Octubre de 1869. Querétaro, 1869.

Cervera (José Y.), Apuntaciones sobre la industria pecuaria en Yucatan. In Mex. Soc. Geog., Boletin. 2a Ep., tom. iv.
Cesarea (Juan Manuel), Representacion por el clero de Mexico al Gobierno Supremo. Mexico, 1847.
Chamorro y Dominiqin, Diálogo Joco-serio sobre la Independencia. Mex., 1821; Segundo Diálogo. Mex., 1821.
Champlain (Samuel), Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico in the Years 1599–1602. London, 1852.
Chandler (Zachary), Speech in the U. S. Senate, July 12, 1867. n.pl., n.d.
Charnay (Désiré), Le Mexique. Paris, 1863.
Charpenne (P.), Mon Voyage au Mexique. Paris, 1836. 2 vols.
Chateaubriand (M. de), Voyages en Amérique. Paris, n.d.
Chaudon (L. M.), and F. A. Delandine, Nouveau Dictionnaire Historique. Lyons, 1804. 13 vols.
Chavero (Alfredo), Algunas observaciones al Señor Wagner. Mexico.
Chevalier (Michel), Du Mexique avant et pendant la conquête. Paris, 1845.
Chevalier (Michel), Le Mexique Ancien et Moderne. Paris, 1863; Paris, 1864.
Chevalier (Michel), L'Expédition du Mexique. Paris, 1862.
Chevalier (Michel), Mexico Ancient and Modern. London, 1864. 2 vols.
Chiapas, Documentos Originales para la historia de Chiapas. MS.
Chiapas y Yucatan, Memorias sobre límites, 1682 á 1767. MS.
Chilapa, Representacion que los vecinos emigrados de la villa de. Mexico, 1845.
Chilpantringo, Sobre tributos aplicados a la Iglesia. MS. 1759–70. folio.
Chimalpain, Hist. Conq. See Gomara (Francisco Lopez de), Hist. Mex.
Chinaca (La). Mexico, 1862 et seq.
Chiva (Domingo Ant.), Compendio Histórico. Mejico, 1837.
Chólera, Preceptos higiénicos. Mejico, 1850.
Chynoweth (W. Harris), The Fall of Maximilian. London, 1872.
Ciscar (G.), Curso de Estudios Elementales de Marina. Mexico, 1825. 4 vols.
Citlalpopoca (N. S.), de S. F. Directorio de Confessores. Mexico, 1713.
Ciudad de Mexico, Proclama que la nobilísima dirige á los fidelísimos habitantes de Nueva España. [Mexico, 1810.]
Ciudadano (El), militar Americano amante de la Paz. Mexico, 1821.
Cladera (Christóbal), Investigaciones Históricas. Madrid, 1794.
Claiborne (W. C. C.), Extract of a letter from, to the Hon. Secretary of State of the U. S. December 27, 1803. MS.
Clava del Indio (La). Mexico, 1862.
Clavé (Felix), Historia de Pio IX. Mexico, 1853.
Clavigero (Francisco Saverio), History of Mexico. London, 1787. 4to. 2 vols.
Clavigero (Francesco Saverio), Storia Antica del Messico. Cesena, 1780. 4to. 4 vols.
Clemencin (Diego), Memoria sobre las monedas en Castilla. MS. folio.
Clement XIII., Sanctissimi in Christo Patris, Constitutio qua Institutum Societatis Jesu. Mexico, 1765.
Clemente XIV., Breve de Nuestro Muy Santo Padre. Madrid, 1773; El Llanto de Mexico en los tiernos recuerdos. Mex., 1775; Noticia exacta de las funciones hechas en el conclave. Mex., 1769.
Clero de la Iglesia Mejicana, Opúsculo en defensa del. Mejico, 1857.
Club Guerrero, Reglamento del, Establecido en la Villa de Mier, 19 de Feb. de 1870. Mier, 1870.
Cluseret (G.), Mexico and the solidarity of Nations. New York, 1866.
Coahuila, Iniciativa de la Junta sobre reformas. Mex., 1845; Iniciativa sobre reforma constitutional. Mex., 1845; Memoria que el Exmo Señor Vice Gobernador 2 de Enero de 1852. Saltillo, 1852; Rápida Ojeada sobre la campaña que hizo el General Santa-Anna. Mex., 1847; Segunda parte de la Rápida Ojeada. Mex., 1847.
Coalcoman, Noticias estadísticas sobre el Partido de. Morelia, 1864.
Cobb (Howell), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., Feb. 2, 1848. n.pl., n.d.
Cocke (William M.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., May 18, 1848. Washington, 1848.

Codex Chimalpopoca. MS.
Codex Telleriano Remensis, Explicacion. In Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq., vol. v.
Código de Leyes de Indias. MS. folio.
Código Penal decretado por las Córtes sancionado y promulgado en 19 de Marzo de 1848. Mexico, 1848.
Código Práctica Criminal. n.pl., [1796.] 2 vols.
Coffin (James H.), Winds of the Northern Hemisphere. Washington, 1853. 4to.
Coleccion de Artículos sobre alzamiento de prohibiciones. Mexico, 1851.
Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España. Madrid, 1842–73. 59 vols.
Coleccion de Noticias de Muchas de las Indulgencias. Mexico, 1787.
Coleccion de Varios documentos interesantes relativos al Decreto Anticonstitucional. Leona-Vicario, 1830.
Coleccion Eclesiástica Mexicana. Mexico, 1834. 4 vols.
Coleccion General de las Providencias. Madrid, 1767.
Colegio de Abogados de Mexico, Estatutos y Constituciones. Madrid, 1760; Lista alfabética y cronológica de los señores empleados é individuos. Mexico, 1852.
Colegio de Escribanos de Mexico, Estatutos, 19 de Junio de 1792. Mexico, 1793.
Colegio de N. S. de Guadalupe de Zacatecas, Escriptura de Protestacion. MS.
Colegio de San Gregorio, Inversion de las rentas. Mégico, 1839.
Colegio de San Juan de Letran, Los Síndicos del Concurso formado á bienes de Francisco Velarde. Guadalajara, 1869.
Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo de Mexico y su Hacienda. MS. 1824. folio.
Colegio de Santa María de Todos Santos. A Collection of MSS. and print. folio.
Colegio Militar, El General de Division Mariano Arista suplica á V. se sirva asistir á los actos públicos. Mexico, 1850.
Colima, Ensayo Estadístico sobre el territorio. Mex., 1849; Esposicion que al Supremo Gobierno Nacional hace la Diputacion. Mex., 1862; Importancia de la apertura del puerto de Manzanillo. n.pl., 1845.; Impugnacion á la iniciativa. Mex., 1850; La Verdad sobre los acontecimientos. Guadalajara, 1861; Reflexiones ó notas al informe que dió al Gobierno. Guadª., 1845; Representacion que el primero ayuntamiento. Guadª., 1845.
Colonias Militares, Proyecto para su Establecimiento en las Fronteras de Oriente y Occidente. Mex., 1848. 4to; Reglamento para el Establecimiento de las, en la Sierra-Gorda. Mex., 1849.
Colonizacion, Documentos que Publica la Direccion de. Mex., 1848; Nueva Proyecto de Colonos Proprietarios medieros arrendatarios y asalariados. Mex., 1848; Proyectos de Colonizacion presentados por la junta del ramo. Mex., 1848; Reglamento de la Direccion de Colonizacion. Mex., 1845.
Coloquio entre Sophrono y Leonido sobre materias políticas. MS.
Comerciantes de México, Esposicion dirigida al Gobierno. Mexico, 1836.
Comercio de la Ciudad de Mexico, Representacion que dirije al Congreso Nacional. Mexico, 1839.
Comercio Exterior, Observaciones contra la Libertad del. Puebla, 1835.
Comercio de Guadalajara, Esposicion que dirije al Supremo Gobierno. Guadalajara, 1837.
Comercio de Nueva España. MS. [1768.] folio.
Comision Mixta de Reclamaciones de Mexico y los Estados-Unidos. Mexico, 1876.
Comonfort (Ignacio), Manifiesto, Marzo 4, 1857. [Mex., 1857]; Manifiesto, July, 1858. New York, 1858; Política durante su gobierno en Mexico. Nueva York, 1858.
Comoto (Florencio Perez), Discurso patriótico contra la rebelion que acaudilla el Cura Hidalgo. Mexico, [1810.]
Compañía del Camino de Fierro de Tacubaya, Informe que el Socio Gerente da á los Senores Accionistas. Mexico, 1860.
Compañía Del Canal de Mexico á Chalco. Mexico, 1860.

Compañía de Cocheros y Lacayos, Constituciones. Mexico, 1826.
Compañía De Colonizacion Asiática, Estatutos. Mexico, 1866.
Compañía Esplotadora de los Placeres De Oro en la Sierra-Madre. Mejico, 1857.
Compañía del Ferro-carril de Orizava á Vera Cruz, Estatutos. Mexico, 1861.
Compañía de Filipinas, Real Cédula de Ereccion 10 Marzo 1785. Madrid, [1785.] folio.
Compañía de Industria en Tlalpan, Escritura de Asociacion. Mexico, 1837.
Compañía de Jesus, Al Rey Nra Sra por la Provincia de la Compañía. n.pl., n.d.; Catálogo de los Sugetos. Mex., 1871; Coleccion del Real Decreto de 27 Febrero 1769. Madrid, 1767. folio; Coleccion general de las providencias. Madrid, 1767; Defensa de la, No. 1. Mex., 1841; Exposicion del Provincial de la. Mex., 1855; Informe que haze la Provincia de la. Puebla, 1729; Narracion de las muestras de júbilo. Puebla, 1853; Relacion del restablecimiento. [Mex.], 1816.
Compañía Lancasteriana, Exposicion que dirige. Mex., 1857; Reglamento. Mex., 1842.
Compañía Limitada del Ferrocarril Mexicano, Condiciones de Asociacion. Mexico, 1869.
Compañía de Minas Denominada Restauradora del Mineral de Catorce, Plan. Mexico, 1851.
Compañía de Minas restauradora de Temascaltepec, Informacion, presupuesto. Mexico, 1838.
Compañía de Minas Zacatecano-Mexicano, Informe. Mexico, 1841.
Comyn (Tomás de), Estado de las islas Filipinas en 1810. Madrid, 1820.
Concesion del Ferrocarril entre Mexico y Vera Cruz ante el Congreso. Mexico, 1868.
Concilio Mexicano Provincial III. y IV., Catecismo y Suma de la Doctrina Christiana. [Mexico], 1771. MS. folio.
Concilio Provincial Mexicano IV. MS. folio. 2 vols.
Concilios Provinciales Mexicanos. 1°, 2°, 3°, y 4°; 1555, 1565, 1585, 1771. The original MS. Records. folio. 5 vols.; also editions Mexico, 1769; Paris, 1725; Mexico, 1762, 1770.
Conde y Oquendo (Francisco Xavier), Disertacion histórica. Mexico, 1852-3. 2 vols.
Conde y Oquendo (Francisco Xavier), Obra (Aparicion de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe). MS. 2 vols.
Conde y Pineda (Francisco), Oracion Moral. Mexico, 1809.
Condiciones del Real Assiento y fábrica de pólvora. Mexico, 1761. folio.
Condiciones y Semblanzas de los Diputados á córtes 1820 y 21. Madrid, 1821.
Conducta Ilegal del ministerio de Hacienda. Mexico, 1841.
Conejares (F. de P. Alonso Ruiz de), La Virtud Vengada. Mex., 1811; La Vírgen Mexicana. Mex., 1853.
Conejo (Florentin), Acusacion. Mexico, 1843.
Congreso Constituyente á los pueblos del Estado de Mexico. Tlalpan, 1830.
Congreso. See "Mexico."
Conquistador Anónino (El), Relacion. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. i.
Consag (Fernando), Vida y trabajos del P. Antonio Tempis. [Mexico, 1749.]
Consejo de Regencia de España é Indias a la America Española. Cádiz, 1811; also Mexico, 1810. folio.
Consejos de la Amistad. Megico, 1831.
Conservador (El). Mexico, 1859 et seq.
Consideraciones sobre la Situacion Política y social de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1848.
Constitucion política de la Monarquía Española. Cádiz, 1812.
Constitucion Sacrosancti Apostolatus. Mexico, 1848.
Constitucional (El). Mexico, 1844 et seq.
Constituciones de la Congregacion y Escuela de Christo. Mexico, 1735.
Constituciones de la Real Orden Americana de Isabel la Católica. Madrid, 1816.

Constituciones Eclesiasticæ disputandæ propagandæque in aula reget antiq. Mexico, [1792.]
Constituciones, Regla y Constituciones que han de guardar las Religiosas de los Conventos de Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion. Mexico, 1795.
Construccion de la monarquía de España. Promulgada en Cádiz, 19 de Marzo, 1812. Mexico, 1820.
Consulta del Consejo extraordinario de Castilla al Rey. MS. 1767. folio.
Contestacion a la circular que remitió á los Profesores de Medicina. Méjico, 1840.
Contestacion á la exposicion que han presentado al Rey algunos ex-diputados de América residentes en Madrid. Mexico, 1820.
Contestacion al Artículo infamatorio contra la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1828.
Contestacion al Suplemento al No. 24 del Cosmopolita. Mexico, 1841.
Contestacion del Cura de la Aldea de un Pueblo de Jalisco. San Luis Potosí, 1858.
Contestacion del Venerable Cabildo Metropolitano á las dos notas del Supremo Gobierno del dia 14 del corriente Enero. Mexico, 1847.
Contestacion del Vicario Capitular de Arzobispado á la Circular de 19 de Mayo. Mexico, 1847.
Contestacion que ha dado al Supremo Gobierno la Alta Corte de Justicia sobre el Desconocimiento que D. Lúcas Alaman hace de sus Ministros. Mexico, 1834.
Contestaciones, Continuacion de los documentos relativos á la cesacion en sus funciones del Escmo Ayuntamiento. Mexico, 1843.
Contestaciones entre el Supremo Gobierno y el Escmo Ayuntamiento. Mexico, 1843.
Contra los enemigos del Regimiento de órdenes militares. Mexico, 1821.
Contra las Verdades amargas. Mexico, 1821.
Contra-Tiempo (El). Mexico, 1846 et seq.
Contreras (José Mariano), Las Garantías Individuales en el Departamento de San Luis Potosí. Mexico, 1841.
Contreras (José Peon), El Señor de Ecatepec, Leyenda Histórica. Mexico, 1872.
Contreras (Rafael S.), Relacion documentada. Tlalpam, 1829.
Convencion Española, Contestacion á la memoria que sobre ella hizo D. M. Payno. Valencia, 1858.
Convendra que los jueces de los Tribunales sean perpetuos. [Oajaca, 1826.]
Conveniencia del Tribunal Mercantil. Mexico, 1852.
Convento de la Encarnacion, Mandatos de los Illmos Arzobispos de Mexico á las Religiosas del. MS.
Convento de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, Relacion histórica de la fundacion. Mexico, 1793.
Convento del San Gerónymo, Regla y Constituciones. Puebla, 1773.
Convento de S. Lorenzo, Regla y Constitvciones. Mexico, 1707.
Conventos de la Ciudad, Representacion. Mexico, 1695. 4to.
Conversion de la Deuda Esterior, Estracto del espediente. Mexico, 1846.
Convite á los Católicos Americanos conforme á lo que Dios y las córtes exigen de su fé. Mexico, 1811.
Convocatoria, Observaciones Imparciales. Mexico, 1867. 4to.
Copia del Espediente formado á pedimento de la Sra Anna María de Yraeta y Mier, etc. MS.
Copia de la Representacion al Rey Don Fernando VII. Mexico, 1820.
Córdoba (Tirso Rafael), El Sitio De Puebla. Puebla, 1863.
Coreal (François), Voyages aux Indes Occidentales. Paris, 1722. 2 vols; Amsterdam, 1722. 2 vols.
Corona Cívica á los Héroes del 2 de Abril de 1867, Division de Operaciones sobre Yucatan. Mérida, 1868.
Corona (Ramon), Manifestacion que hace, de su conducta observada con el General Plácido Vega. Mazatlan, 1863.

Coronado (Estévan), Manifestacion sobre sus acciones. Mazatlan, 1859.
Corral (Juan José del), Breve reseña sobre el estado de la Hacienda y del Crédito Público. Mex., 1848; Esposicion de los perjuicios que ha causado al Erario. Mex., 1834.
Corral (Luis Gonzaga Gutierrez del), Sermon histórico-apologético. Puebla, 1836.
Correo Atlántico (El). Mexico, 1835 et seq.
Correo de España. Mexico, 1854 et seq.
Correo de la Federacion. Mexico, 1826 et seq.
Correo de los Niños (El). Mexico, 1813 et seq.
Correo Nacional (El). Mexico, 1847 et seq.
Correo Semanario de Mexico por el pensador Mexicano. Mexico, 1826.
Cortazar (Luis de), Documentos relativos á la conducta del Gobernador de Guanajuato. Morelia, 1839.
Cortés (Anselmo), Proyecto de Pronto Pago de la deuda. Mexico, 1852.
Cortés (Hernan) Aventuras y Conquistas de Hernan Cortés en Méjico. Barcelona, 1846; Mexico, 1853.
Cortés (Hernan) Briefe des. Heidelberg, 1779.
Cortés (Hernan) Brieven. Amsterdam, 1780–1.
Cortés (Hernan), Carta á S. C. C. M. acerca de los repartimientos, 1542. Londres, 1854.
Cortés (Hernan), Carta de Relació. Seville, 1522.
Cortés (Hernan), Carta tercera de Relació. Seville, 1523.
Cortés (Hernan), Cartas y Relaciones de Hernan Cortés al Emperador Cárlos V. Paris, 1866.
Cortés (Hernan), De Rebus Gestis. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. i.
Cortés (Hernan), Despatches of Hernando Cortés. New York, 1843.
Cortés (Hernan), Escritos Sueltos. Mexico, 1871.
Cortés (Hernan), Fernandi Cortesii von dem Newen Hispanien. Augspurg, 1550.
Cortés (Hernan), Historia de Méjico. Nueva York, 1828.
Cortés (Hernan), Historia de Nueva España. [Edited by Lorenzana.] Mexico, 1770.
Cortés (Hernan), Instruccion dada al Licenciado, 1532. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.
Cortés (Hernan), La Preclara Narratione. Venice, 1522.
Cortés (Hernan). La quarta Relacion. Toledo, 1525. [Dated October 15, 1524.]
Cortés (Hernan), Letters and Reports by Cortés and other Officers to the Emperor and Council. In Doc. Inéd., tom. i.; tom. iv.; tom. xxii.; Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., toms. v., xii., xiii., xiv.; Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. i.; Hist. Prim., tom. i.; Ramusio, tom. iii.; Ribadeneyras, Biblioteca, tom. xxii.; Navarrete, Col. de Viages; Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.; Alaman, Disert; Cortés, Escritos Sueltos.
Cortés (Hernan), Oder die Eroberung von Mexiko. n.pl., n.d.
Cortés (Hernan), Ou la Conquête du Mexique. Paris, 1809.
Cortés (Hernan), Praeclara de Noua maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio Norimberga. n.pl., 1522.
Cortés (Hernan), Residencia. MS. 1528. folio.
Cortés (Hernan), The Fifth Letter to Charles V. London, 1868.
Cortés (Hernan), Tres sacrée Imperiale et catholique mageste lui estant en la cite de Palâce en Castille. Anuers, [1522.]
Cortés (Hernan), Vervolg der Reisen, etc. In Aa, toms. x., xxviii.
Cortés (Hernan), Von dem Newen Hispanien. Augspurg, 1550.
Cortés, Martyr, et al., De Insvlis nvper inventis Ferdinandi Cortesii ad Carolum V. Narrationes cum alio quodam Petri Martyris. n.pl., 1532.
Córtes de España, Actas de las Córtes Ordinarias. Cádiz, [1813.] 2 vols.
Córtes de España, Actas Públicas de la Primera Legislatura. Madrid, 1820–1. 2 vols.
Córtes de España, Coleccion de Decretos y Ordenes. Mexico, 1829.
Córtes de España, Diario de las Actas y Discusiones de las Córtes. Madrid, 1820 et seq.

Córtes de España, Diario de las Discusiones y Actas de las. Cádiz, 1811-13. 24 vols.
Cortina, Documentos Históricos, reinado de Felipe IV. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. iii.
Cortina (J. Gomez de la), Carta dirigida á todos los Señores editores. Mex., 1845; Cartilla Historial. Mex., 1840; Cartilla moral militar. Mex., 1839. Mex., 1845; Cartilla social ó breve instruccion sobre los derechos. Mex., 1836; Contestacion á D. Wenceslao Alpuche. Mex., 1837; Contestacion á la crítica del Señor Cortina [signed Mexico, 4 de Junio de 1849]. n. pl., n.d.; Contestacion al Señor D. B. Conte [dated Agosto 16, 1849. Mex., 1849]; Crítica sobre la Medalla, Junio 1, 1849 [Mex., 1849]; Diccionario de Sinónimos Castellanos. Mex., 1853; Ecsámen Crítico de las piezas literarias. Mex., 1837; [El dia 4 del presente mes, etc., signed Tacubaya 23 de Noviembre de 1849.] Mex., 1849; Ensayo de una Seismologia del Valle de Mexico. Habana, 1859; La calle de D. Juan Manuel. Mex., 1836; La Lotería. Mex., 1844; Nociones elementales de numismática. Mex., 1843; Prontuario Diplomático y Consular. Mex., 1856; Terremotos. Mex., 1840.
Coruña (Conde de), Carta al Rey [Abril 1, 1581]. In Cartas de Indias.
Corwin (Thomas), Speech on Mexican War, in U. S. Senate, Feb. 11, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Corzo (A. A.), Reseña de Varios sucesos de Chiapas. Mexico, 1867.
Cosmopolita (El). Mexico, 1841 et seq.
Couto (Bernardo), Contestacion á la crítica del Señor Cortina. [Mex., 1849]; Defensa del General D. Isidro Reyes. Mex., 1845; Diálogo sobre la Historia de la Pintura en Mexico. Mex., 1872; Discurso sobre la constitucion de la Iglesia. Mex., 1857.
Covadonga, Constituciones de la congregacion de Ntra Señora con el titulado de Covadonga. Mexico, 1785.
Covarrubias (Juan Diaz), Obras Completas. Mexico, 1859. 2 vols.
Covarrubias (Victor), Causa célebre mandada formar. Querétaro, 1847.
Cox (S. S.), Mexican affairs. Speech in U. S. House of Rep., March 19, 1860. [Washington, 1860.]
Coxe (Richard S.), Claims on Mexico. New York, 1844.
Coxe (Richard S.), Letter to Hon. John S. Pendleton. Claims of U. S. on Mexico. Washington, 1847.
Coxe (Richard S.), Review of the relations between the U. S. and Mexico. New York, 1846.
Crespo (Benito), Memorial ajustado. Madrid, 1738.
Cretineau (Joly J.), Clemente XIV. y los Jesuitas. Mex., 1849; Defensa de Clemente XIV. Mex., 1850.
Creuzbaur (Robert), Route from Gulf of Mexico to California. New York, 1849.
Croix (Cárlos Francisco de), Real Cédula, Abril 5, 1764, y Julio 27, 1768.
Crozier (J. H.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., Jan. 21, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Cruz (La). Mexico, 1855 et seq.
Cuarto Trueno de la Libertad en Mexico. Mexico, 1823.
Cuatro Palabras al Señor Generalísimo. Mexico, 1822.
Cuba, or the Policy of England, Mexico, and Spain, with regard to that Island. London, 1830.
Cubas (Joaquin), Vindicacion que la Audiencia Territorial de Mexico. Mexico, 1825.
Cucullu (J. S.), La Vérité sur Miramon et les Etats-Unis. Nouvelle-Orléans, 1860.
Cuellar (José T. de), Las gentes que son así. Mex., 1872; Memoria de la Secretaría de la compañía Lancasteriana de Mexico. Mex., 1852; Poesías, Mex., 1856.
Cuerpo Médico-Militar, Reglamento. Mexico, 1846.
Cuesta (Juan Berdegal de la), Cartilla Práctica sobre el laboreo de las minas. Madrid, 1838.

Cuestion del Dia ó Nuestros males y sus Remedios. Mexico, etc., 1834.
Cuestion importantísima para la Nacion Mexicana. Mexico, 1839.
Cuestion Penal (El). Mexico, 1871.
Cuevas (J. de Jesus), Disertacion sobre Ferrocarriles. Mex., 1872; El Imperio. Opúsculo sobre la situacion actual. Mex., 1864; La Inmigracion. Mex., 1866. Las Confiscaciones en Mexico. Mex., 1868.
Cuevas (José María), Informe del, ante la sala del Tribunal Supremo sobre competencia. Mex., 1861; Informe que hizo el Licenciado en el punto de depósito de productos de la Mina de la Luz. Mex., 1852.
Cuevas (Luis G.), Exposicion del ex ministro que la suscribe sobre las diferencias con Francia. Mex., 1839; Esposicion que dirige al Tribunal Supremo sobre la conducta oficial. Mex., 1861; Porvenir de Mexico ó juicio sobre su Estado Político en 1821 y 1851. Mex., 1851. 3 vols.
Cuevas Aguirre y Espinosa (Joseph Francisco), Extracto de los Autos de diligencias y reconocimientos de los Rios, Lagunas, etc., de la capital Mexico y su Valle. Mexico, 1748. folio.
Culver (E. D.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., Jan. 20, 1847. n.pl., n.d.
Cumplido (Ignacio), Apelacion al público. Mex., 1840; Contestacion al precursor. Mex., 1840; Defensa del Impresor. Mex., 1840; Invitacion que hace el impresor. Mex., 1840; Manifestacion al público del impresor. Mex., 1840; Presente Amistoso. Mex., 1852.
Curatos. Las razones ó inconvenientes que los religiosos de las órdenes mendicantes Sancto Domingo, etc., de las Provincias de la Nueva España, Mexico, Guatemala, y Jalisco. MS. folio.
Curia Filípica Mejicana, Obra Completa de Práctica Forense. Paris, etc., 1858.
Cuyado (Norberto Perez), Disertacion sobre la Naturaleza y Límites de la Autoridad Eclesiástica. Mexico, 1825.

Dagnall (John M.), The Mexican. New York, 1868.
D'Aguesseau (Enrique F.), Instituciones sobre el derecho público. Mexico, 1813.
Dale (R.), Notes on an excursion to the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. London, 1851.
Dallas (G. M.), Letter on the Mexican Treaty. Philadelphia, 1849.
Dalton (William), Stories of the Conquests of Mexico and Peru. London, n.d.
Dandolo (Conde), Tratado sobre la cria de gusanos de seda. Mexico, 1830.
Dargand (J. M.), Historia de María Estuardo. Mexico, 1853. 2 vols.
Datos Biográficos. In Cartas de Indias.
Dáurico (Maron), Cartas á, sobre la variacion de nuestro sistema Gubernativo. Mexico, 1815.
Dávalos (Bibiano), El General á las Legislaturas. Puerto de la Paz, 1869.
Dávila (Fernando Antonio), Exposicion del diputado por la Provincia de Chiapa. Madrid, 1821.
Dávila (Gil Gonzalez), Teatro Eclesiástico de la Primitiva Iglesia de las Indias Occidentales. Madrid, 1649–55. 2 vols. folio.
Dávila (José Mariano), Refutacion de las reflexiones médicas. Méjico, 1835.
Dávila (Julian Gutierrez), Memorias Históricas de la congregacion de la oratorio de la ciudad de Mexico. Mexico, 1736. folio.
Dávila (Julian Gutierrez), El sabio con el corazon en la diestra. Mexico, 1727. Vida y Virtudes de el Siervo de Dios. Madrid, 1720.
Dávila (Rafael), Ahora se queman los fuegos ó sea defensa. Mex., 1827; Carta del Rey español al gob. Mex. Mex., 1822; Contra del Señor Guerrero. Mex., 1829; El gato escondido y la cola de fuera. Mex., 1822; El Toro. Diálogos críticos-jocoserios. Mex., 1830, 1832; La excomunion. Mex., 1822; La verdad amarga. Mex., 1820–1; Los capitulados debian morir segun la ley. Mex., 1822; Manos besan hombres que quisieran ver quemadas. Mex., 1820; Representacion de los frailes al gobierno contra el C. Mex., 1822; Representacion que hace á S. M. J. pidiendo la reforma de los frailes. Mex., 1822; Respuesta de un ignorante. Mex., 1822; Respuestas y cuentos para el C. Dávila. Mex., 1822;

Se van á quitar los frailes por dañosos al Estado. Mex., 1822; Severa reprension del papel. Mex., 1822. Solicitud de un ciudadano por la libertad de. Mex., 1820; Varias preguntas importantes sobre las cosas del dia. Mex., 1821; Taller de Cohetería, Diálogos crítico-alegóricos. Mex., 1827.

Davis (Garrett), Speech on Bill making provision for appointment of additional officers, Feb. 26, 1847. Washington, 1847.

Davis (Garrett), Speech on Mexican War, Dec. 1846. Washington, 1846.

Dayton, Speech on the War with Mexico, April 11, 1848. Washington, 1848.

De Bercy (Drouin), L'Europe et l'Amérique comparées. Paris, 1818. 2 vols.

Decreto de las Córtes sobre arreglo de Tribunales. Mexico, 1813.

Decreto del Rey, Uniendo á las cinco Secretarías los negocios respectivos á cada Departamento en las Indias. Mexico, 1790. folio.

Decreto Real sobre la responsibilidad de los Juecês, etc. Mexico, 1820.

Decretos de Parte. Mexico, 1801–11. MS. folio.

Defensa Canónica por las provincias de la Compañía de Jesus. In Diezmos de Indias.

Defensa de la acusacion hecha en la Cámara de Diputados contra el Ministro de la Guerra. Mexico, 1831.

Defensa de la verdad consagrada á la luz de la justicia. [Madrid, 1750.] folio.

Defensa de los Americanos contra él que impugnó. Puebla, 1820.

Defensa de los Bienes de la Iglesia Católica Apostólica Romana. Mexico, 1847.

Defensa de los Empleados Oaxaqueños. Oaxaca, 1833.

Defensa del Patrimonio de Jesucristo. Mexico, 1820.

Defensa Jurídica y Méritos de Justicia. Mexico, 1729. folio.

Defensor de la Integridad Nacional. Mexico, 1844 et seq.

Defensor de las Leyes. Mexico, 1837.

Deguevara (Juan), Proceso contra. MS. 1600.

Delano (Columbus), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., May 13, 1846. n.pl., n.d.

Delmotte (José Mariano), Vamos á revolverlo todo. Mexico, 1822.

Demostracion del Júbilo de los Gefes en Zapotlan. Guadalajara, 1820. folio.

Demostracion de los Términos en que ha Obtenido la renta del Tabaco una planta general, 4 de Diciembre de 1846. Mexico, 1846.

Denis (Ferdinand), Arte Plumaria. Paris, 1875.

De Pagés, Travels round the world in 1767–71. London, 1793. 3 vols.

Derecho (El), Periódico de Jurisprudencia y Legislacion. Mexico, 1871. folio.

Derecho de Consumo, Reglamento. Mexico, 1842.

Derecho del pueblo Mexicano para eligir emperador. Mexico, 1821.

Derecho Público Eclesiástico, Apuntamientos. Mex., 1857; Varias Observaciones contra un opúsculo titulado. Mexico, 1857.

Derrotero para la Navegacion de los Puertos de España á los de América. MS.

Desbordeliers, Moral militar. Matamoros, 1870.

Descalona (Fr. Alonso), Peticion á la Real Audiencia, Julio, 16, 1570. MS. folio.

Descripcion del árbol de la cera. Mexico, 1831. 4to.

Descripcion de las fiestas celebradas en la Imperial Corte de Mexico. Mexico, 1796. 4to.

Despojo de los bienes de las Iglesias. Mexico, 1847.

Diálogos críticos sobre diferentes asuntos. MS. [1782.]

Diario de Avisos. Mexico, 1856 et seq.

Diario esactísimo de lo ocurrido en Mexico en los dias de su invasion por General Scot. Mexico, 1847. MS. folio.

Diario Mercantil de Vera Cruz. Vera Cruz, 1807 et seq.

Diario Oficial del Gobierno. Méjico, 1853 et seq.

Diaz (Bernardo Antonio Gonzales), Sermon, 2 de Agosto de 1810. Mexico, 1810.

Diaz (Jph. Thirso), Papel sobre el verdadero modo de beneficiar á los Yndios. Mexico, 1770. MS.

Diaz del Castillo (Bernal), Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva-España. Madrid, 1632. 4to; Paris, 1837.

Diaz del Castillo (Bernal), Memoirs on Conquest of Mexico. London, 1844. 2 vols.

Diaz del Castillo (Bernal), The true history of the Conquest of Mexico. London, 1800; Salem, 1803. 2 vols.
Diaz del Castillo (Bernal), Véridique Histoire de la conquête de la Nouvelle-Espagne. Paris, 1877. 2 vols.
Diaz Calvillo (J. B.), Sermon que en el Aniversario Solemne de Gracias á María Santísima. Mexico, 1811.
Dickinson (D. S.), Acquisition of Territory. Speech in U. S. Senate, Jan. 12, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Dictador (Un), En Mexico confundiendo á los partidos políticos. Mexico, 1853.
Dictámen de la Comision de negocios de ultramar sobre poblaciones de aquellas provincias. Madrid, 1821.
Dictámen de la Comision eclesiástica encargada del arreglo definitivo del clero de España. Madrid, 1823.
Dictámen sobre el Juramento de Fidelidad al Imperio Mexicano. Mexico, 1821.
Dictámenes de varios abogados sobre el fallo, mina de San Clemente. Mégico, 1840.
Diez de la Calle (Juan). See Calle.
Diez de Sollano (José María), Manifestacion que hace de la conducta que ha guardado. Mex., 1857; Nociones sobre la disciplina ecles. Mex., 1857; Theológica de imaculata concepcion. Mex., 1849.
Diezmos de Indias, A collection.
Dignidad Episcopal, Al. rey nuestro Señor Satisfacion al memorial, Compañía del nombre de Dios. Puebla, 1652. folio.
Dillon (A.), Beautés de l'Histoire du Mexique. Paris, 1822.
Dilworth, Conquest of Mexico by Hernan Cortés. n.pl., n.d.
Diputacion Americana, Representacion a las Córtes, 1° de Agosto de 1811. Mexico, 1820.
Diputacion Mejicana, Papel que la Diputacion Mejicana dirige. Madrid, 1825. 4to.
Diputados, Semblanzas de los Diputados á Córtes en la República de Mexico. n.pl. [1837.]
Discurso en honor de las bonitas. Mexico, 1821.
Discurso que el Gobernador del Estado dijo al Congreso. Guadalajara, 1834.
Discursos Científicos, A collection.
Disertacion contra la Tolerancia Religiosa. Méjico, 1833.
Disertacion sobre la restitucion de los bienes eclesiásticos. Mégico, 1838.
Disposiciones legales y otras documentos, Prohibicion de impresos. Mexico, 1850.
Disturbios de Frailes, A collection of Documents, MSS., and print. 2 vols.
Dix (J. A.), Proposed occupation of Yucatan. Speech in U. S, Senate, May 17, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Dix (J. A.), The War with Mexico. Speech in U. S. Senate, Jan. 26, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Dobbs (Arthur), Account of the countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay. London, 1744.
Documentos relativos al ultimatum, Continuamos. Mexico, 1837.
Documentos Diplomáticos presentados por el Gobierno Español al Senado. Mexico, 1863.
Documentos Históricos Mexicanos, A collection of fifteen MS. Treatises. folio.
Documentos Importantes, Elecciones en Toluca. Mexico, 1826.
Documentos interceptados en la Barra de Tampico. Vera Cruz, 1858.
Documentos Justificativos que se citan. Mexico, 1839.
Documentos Mexicanos, Hacienda. A collection.
Documentos para la Historia de Mexico. Mexico, 1853–7. 20 vols. 4 series. Serie iii. in folio and in four parts.
Documentos relativos á la sublevacion del General Don Juan Álvarez. Mexico, 1835.
Documentos relativos al decreto sobre Provision de las Magistraturas. Mexico, 1846.
Documentos sobre Mexico, A collection.

Domenech (Emmanuel), Histoire du Mexique. Paris, 1868. 3 vols.
Domenech (Emmanuel), Le Mexique tel qu'il est. Paris, 1867.
Domenech (J. Passama), Le Mexique et la Monarchie. Mexico, 1866.
Doménech (J. Passama), L'Empire Mexicain. Mexico, 1866.
Domingo de los Niños (El). Mexico, 1851.
Domingual (Juan), A report of military operations to General J. M. Calderon, dated Dec. 21, 1822 et seq. [Mexico, 1822.] MS.
Dominguez, Carta á Felipe II. In Col. Doc. Inéd., tom. i.
Dominguez (Juan), Esposicion presentada al Presidente. Mexico, 1839.
Dominguez (Juan), Parte Oficial de la defensa de Jalapa, Dic. 21 de 1822. Jalapa, 1822. MS.
Dominguez (Juan), Segunda impugnacion al plan de los Republicanos de Vera Cruz, 1823.
Dominguez (Juan Francisco), Apología de la Divina Providencia. Mex., 1808; Bienventuranzas del Santísimo Patriarca. Mex., 1805; Voces de la Alma. Mex., 1806.
Dommartin (M. H. du Pasquier de), Les États-Unis et le Mexique. Paris, 1852.
Donnavan (C.), Adventures in Mexico. Boston, 1848.
Doria, Carta al Rey. In Col Doc. Inéd., tom. ii.
Dos palabras sobre la suspension general de pagos. Mexico, 1846.
Dos Razoncitas al Generalísimo Almirante. Mexico, 1822.
Douglas (S. A.), Speech on Mexican War, in U. S. Senate, Feb. 1, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Dovalle (Gonzalo), Informacion de los servicios de Adelantado Rodrigo de Bastidas. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. ii.
Dramas, A collection. Mexico, 1838. MS.
Dryden (John), The Indian Emperour. London, 1696.
Dubois (E.), Le Mexique. Rouen, 1864.
Dubourg (Clemente), Informe. Mexico, 1718. folio.
Duer, Speech in U. S. House of Rep., Feb. 14, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Dunbar (Edward E.), The Mexican Papers. New York, 1860.
Duport (St Clair), De la production des métaux précieux au Mexique. Paris, 1843.
Dupressoir (Charles), Causas célebres. Mexico, 1853.
Duque de Escalona. Defensa. MS. 1642. folio.
Duran (Diego), Historia de las Indias de Nueva España. Mexico, 1585. MS. folio. 3 vols.; also edition Mexico, 1867.
Duvernois (Clément), Über die Französische Intervention in Mexico. Stuttgart, 1870.

Echeagaray, Apuntaciones para su defensa. Guanajuato, 1861.
Echevelar (Joachin de), Questiones sobre la Regla de N. S. P. S. Francisco. MS. Zacatecas.
Echeverría (Joseph Villegas de), Colloquia tierno y lastimosos ayes de America. Mexico, 1786.
Echeverría (Pascasio), Prospecto para la fabricacion de Porcelana y Loza. Mexico, 1844.
Echeverría (P. P.), y A. P. Mota, El Señor Diputado al Congreso. Mexico, 1861.
Echeverría y Veitia (Mariano Fernandez de), Documentos relativos al tumulto de 1624. In Doc. Hist. Mex., série ii., toms. ii. iii.
Eco de España. Mexico, 1853–4.
Eco Hispanio-Americano (El). Paris, 1854 et seq.
Eco Nacional. Mexico, 1857–8.
Economía política en Mexico. n.pl., n.d. Puebla, 1841.
Edicto del Presidente y Cabildo Metropolitano Gobernador del Arzobispado. Mexico, 1830 and 1832.
Editores del Tiempo, La Política. Mexico, 1846.
Eggleston and Seelye, Montezuma and the Conquest of Mexico. New York, 1880.

Egloffstein (F. W. Von), Contributions to the Geology and Physical Geography of Mexico. New York, 1864.
Eguia (José Joaquin de), Memoria sobre la utilidad de la Minería. Mexico, 1819.
Eguia y Muro (Joaquin Pio), Públicas Demostraciones. Mexico, n.d.
Eguiara y Eguren (J. J.), Bibliotheca Mexicana. Mex., 1755; El monstruo de la Santidad. Mex., 1741; Vida del Padre Don Pedro de Arellano y Sossa. Mex., 1735.
Eguilaz (Luis de), Espada de San Fernando. Mexico, 1854.
Eguizale (Severino), Carta escrita por un regnicola. Mexico, 1789.
Ein auszug ettlicher sendbrieff dem aller durchleüchtigisten grossmechtigiste Fürsten. Nürmberg, 1520.
Ejército Imperial, Divisas. Mexico, 1821.
Ejidos de Mexico, Autos. MS. Mexico, 1682.
Eleccion de Compromisarios. [Mex.], 1820.
Electores que han sido nombrados. Mexico, 1820.
Elementos de Geografía Civil. Mexico, 1845.
Elguero (José Hilario), Alegato. Mejico, 1857.
Elhuyar (Fausto de), Indagaciones sobre la Amonedacion en N. E. Madrid, 1818.
Elizaga (Lorenzo), Ensayos Políticos. Mexico, 1867.
Elorriaga (C. Francisco), Idea Sucinta del proceso por gobierno en Durango. Zacatecas, 1831.
Elorza y Rada (Francisco de), Nobilario de el Valle de la Valdorba. Pamplona, 1714.
Elton (J. J.), With the French in Mexico. Philadelphia, 1867.
El Emperador Napoleon III. y la Inglaterra. Mexico, 1858.
Emerson (Ralph), Mining Laws of Spain and Mexico. San Francisco, 1864.
Emperador (El) Sostiene lo que dice este papel. Mexico, 1823.
Empresa del Tabaco, Contestacion á la réplica de los Sres Lebrija y Barrera. Mexico, 1841.
Empresarios (los) de Fábricas nacionales de hilados y tegidos de algodon. Mexico, 1840.
Enciclopedia Doméstica. Mejico, 1853–4. 2 vols.
Encima (Juan de la), Parabienes de los Perros. [Mexico, 1826.]
Encinas (Concepcion), Vindicacion. Guad., 1843.
Enfermedad del dia. Mexico, 1820.
Engel, Essai quand et comment l'Amérique a-t-elle été peuplée. Amsterdam, 1767.
Enriquez (Ana), Proceso y causa criminal contra. MS. 1642.
Enriquez (Martin), Carta al Rey. In Cartas de Indias.
Ensaladilla dispuesta y sasonada por dos yngeñios de esta corte. MS. [Mexico], n.d.
Erario Nacional, aumentado con beneficio de Muchos. Mexico, 1822.
Erasmi (Francisci), Guineischer und Americanischer Blumen-Pusch. Nürnberg, 1669.
Errazu (Ramon de), Contestacion á las Esposiciones, Estado de Zacatecas. Mexico, 1862.
Erudita, contra los insurgentes. Mexico, 1810.
Escalada (Ign.), Manifiesto que sobre la capitulacion de Tampico. Mexico, 1839.
Escalante (Man. D.), Al Público, Feb. 10, 1857. n.pl., n.d.
Escalera (Evaristo) y Manuel G. Llana, Mejico Histórico-Descriptivo. Madrid, 1862.
Escalona y Catayud (Juan Joseph), Testimonio relativo. n.pl., n.d.
Escandon (Manuel), Breve Exposicion sobre camino de Fierro entre Vera Cruz y Mexico. Mex., 1858; Segunda Exposicion. Mex., 1861.
Escarmiento y disengaño de Insurgentes. Oaxaca, 1811.
Escepcion para los coyotes. Mexico, 1829.
Escesos Del Gobierno. [Mexico, 1826.]
Esclavos, Constitucion de la Congregacion. México, 1842.

Esclavos, Real Cédula sobre la Educacion. Mexico, 1810.
Esclavos Cocheros, Constitucion de los. Mexico, 1845.
Escobar (Alonso de), Account of the province of Vera Paz. In Lond. Geog. Soc., Journal.
Escobar (Joseph Saenz de), Breve tratado de las mas principales ordenanzas de Minas. MS. n.pl., 1706.
Escobar (Manuel de), Verdad Reflexa. Mexico, 1768.
Escobar (Pedro Xuarez de), Carta á Felipe I. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xi.
Escobedo (Pedro), Corona Fúnebre del. [Mexico, 1844.]
Escoiquiz (Juan de), Mexico Conquistado. Madrid, 1798.
Escorza y Escalante (Pedro de), Razon de la Sentencia definitiva. Mexico, 1714.
Escosura (Patricio de la), Conjuracion de Mejico. Madrid, 1850–1. 5 vols.
Escoto (Antonio), Contestacion á la acusacion que formalizó D. Man. Mancilla. Guadalajara, 1848.
Escritores (los) deben sujetarse á las leyes. Méjico, 1820.
Escuela de Aplicacion, Reglamento. Mexico, 1852.
Escuela Patriótica, Noticia de la distribucion de premios. Mexico, 1854.
Es Lícito el Matrimonio á los Clérigos y Frailes. Mexico, 1834.
Espada de la Justicia. Mexico, 1820.
España y Méjico en el Asunto de la Convencion Española. Madrid, 1855.
Español, El. Mexico, 1852 et seq.
Esparza (Marcos de), Exposicion del Ex-Ministro de Hacienda. Mex., 1852; Informe presentado al Gobierno Supremo. Zacatecas, 1830.
Espediente instruido por el Illmo Sr Vicario Capitular. Mexico, 1847.
Espinosa, Chrónica Apostólica. n.pl., 1746. 2 vols.
Espinosa (J.), Bases del Plan de Hacienda Pública. Mexico, 1841.
Espinosa (Isidro Felis de), Nuevas empresas del peregrino América septentrional. Mexico, 1747.
Espinosa (Pedro), Carta Pastoral. Guadalajara, 1859; Circular del Gob. Eccles. de Guadalajara. Guadalajara, 1859; Circular á todos los sacerdotes de la Diócesis. Guadalajara, 1859; Informe que el Don como Individuo de la Comision del Ven. Cabildo de Guadalajara. Mex., 1831.
Espinosa (Rafael), Cartilla Social. Mexico, 1847.
Espíritu Público. Mexico, 1828 et seq.
Esposicion de la tercera Sala de la suprema Corte de Justicia. Mexico, 1832.
Esposicion del Sr Gobernador De La Mitra. Guadalajara, 1826.
Esposicion General, Documentos. Mexico, 1856.
Esposicion ó programa de los Diputados pertinecientes al partido puro. Querétaro, 1847.
Esposicion por las Comerciantes de Mexico reclamando la ley de 7 de Julio 1836 Mexico, 1837.
Esposicion Preliminar, Opúsculo de la Verdad, Monopolio Comercial de la Repúb. Mexicana. Mexico, 1839.
Esposicion, presentada á las Córtes por los Diputados de Ultramar 25 de Junio de 1821. Madrid, 1821.
Esposicion que dirige la Compañía Lancasteriana de Mexico. Mexico, 1857.
Exposicion que dirige al Congreso General los apoderados de los militares retirados. Mexico, 1840.
Esposicion que ha presentado al Pres. de la Repúb. por la Reunion de Compradores de Fincas. Mexico, 1861.
Esposicion que hacen los Interesados en las Parcialidades, en contra de su Ilegal y Mal llamado Administrador D. Luiz Velazquez de la Cadena. Mexico, 1849.
Exposicion que han dirigido al Exmo. Sr. Ministro de Gobernacion los Capitulares que la suscriben. Mexico, 1859
Esposicion que los acreedores á los caminos de esta capital á Toluca y á Vera Cruz. Mexico, 1849.
Esposicion que los Conservadores de las Provincias. Mexico, 1863.

Esposicion que los Individuos que Compusieron el Próximo Pasado Ayuntamiento hacen al Público. Mexico, 1849.
Esposiciones, Juicio de las, Cuarta y Sexta esposiciones de la Academia de San Cárlos. Mexico, 1852–4.
Esquibel (Agvstin Francisco), El Fenix de el Amor. Mexico, 1764. 4to.
Esquivel (Joseph Manuel), Sermon eucarístico por la felicidad. Mexico, 1799.
Estados-Unidos del Norte, Los Noticias muy importantes y recientes de. Querétaro, 1847.
Estandarte Nacional. Mexico, 1856 et seq.
Estatuto provisional del Imperio Mexicano. Mexico, 1865.
Estatutos Ordenados por el Santo Concilio III., 1585. Mexico, 1859.
Esteva (José Ignacio), Apuntaciones. Mexico, 1827.
Estrada (Alvaro Florez), Exámen Imparcial de las disensiones de la America con la España. Cádiz, 1812.
Estrada (Alvaro Florez), Representacion á Fernando VII. en defensa de las Córtes. Mexico, 1820.
Estrada (Francisco), Carta imparcial sobre el fuéro del Clero. Mexico, 1812.
Estrada (J. M. Gutierrez de), Algunas Observaciones sobre el Oficio que con fecha 22 de Julio. n.p., 1835; Algunas Reflecsiones Acerca de los Occurridos en Capital. Mex., 1840; Carta dirigida al Presidente. Mex., 1840; Documentos relativos al ingreso y á la separacion. Mex., 1835; Impugnacion á las cartas de, sobre el proyecto de establecer en Méjico una monarquía moderada. Méj., 1840; Mexico y el Archiduque Fernando Maximiliano de Austria. Mex., 1865. Mexico en 1840 y en 1847. Mex., 1848.
Estrella (Escalante), y Gaxiola, Informe dado á las Cámaras generales de la Federacion. Cosala, 1827.
Estudios Económico-Políticos. Mexico, 1857.
Estupendo Grito en la Acordada y Verdadero detal de sus inmarcesibles Sucesos. Mexico, 1829.
Evans (Albert. S.), Our Sister Republic. Hartford, 1870.
Exámen Analítico del préstamo de 130,000 libras esterlinas. Mexico, 1840.
Exámen Crítico de la Administracion del Maximiliano. Mexico, 1867.
Exámen de las órdenes expedidas por el ministerio, á mediados de Junio último. Querétaro, 1848.
Exámen Imparcial de la respuesta que la Suprema Junta provisional. Mexico, 1820.
Exenciones y Privilegios Regulares, Breve defensa hecha por los Prelados del Convento de S. Diego. Mejico, 1841.
Exhortacion á los patrióticos distinguidos de Fernando Séptimo. Mexico, 1810.
Exhortacion que á los habitantes hace un individuo del Colegio de Abogados. Mexico, 1810.
Extracto de las Flotas. In Morfi, Col. Doc.
Ezeta (Luis de), Manual de Alcaldes y Jueces de Paz. Mex., 1845; Promptuario para los Alcaldes de Cuartel y Gefes de Manzana del Distrito Federal. Mex., 1850; Defensa de Fernando Santillan. Mex., 1852.

F. (A. B.), Ensayo Histórico-Natural. Madrid, 1843.
Fabian y Fuero (Francisco), Coleccion de Providencias. Puebla, 1769. folio.
Fabian y Fuero (Francisco), Coleccion de Providencias Diocesanas del Obispado de la Puebla de los Angeles. Puebla, 1770. folio.
Fabregat (Lino), Esplicazione delle figure geroglifice del codice Borgiano. MS. folio.
Fabri (Joseph Antonio), Compendiosa demostracion. Mexico, 1743.
Fabri (Joseph Antonio), Segunda demostracion, precio de azogue. [Mexico, 1793.] MS.
Fábrica y Estampa de Naypes de Nueva España. Mexico, 1760.
Fábrica y Obras Pias del Arzobispado de Mexico. MS., 1821–2. folio.
Fábricas de las Iglesias Parroquiales en la Gobernacion de Nueva España. MS., 1793–6. folio.

Facio (José Antonio), A la Cámara de Diputados del Congreso General, [Paris, 1835]; Exposicion dirigida á las cámaras del Congreso general. Mex., 1832. Memoria que sobre los sucesos del tiempo de su ministerio. Paris, 1835; Pedimento fiscal del. Mex., 1827; Respuesta á los cargos dada. Mex., 1831.
Fajardo (Domingo), Informe que el que suscribe da al Escmo Señor Ministro de Relaciones. Campeche, 1828.
Falck (N.), Prolegomenos del derecho ó Enciclopedia Jurídica. Mexico, 1852.
Faliés (Louis), Études Historiques et Philosophiques. Paris, n.d. 2 vols.
Falsedades que Contiene el Cuaderno Titulado Despojo á mano armada por el Prefecto de Tlaxcala. Puebla, 1844.
Farias (Valentin Gomez), Carta á Don Bernando Gonzalez Angulo y respuestas. MS.
Farias (Valentin, Gomez), El Ministro es Responsable á la Prision de los S. S. Diputados. Mexico, 1822.
Farnham (Thomas J.), Mexico. New York, 1846; New York, n.d.
Farol (El). Puebla, 1821 et seq.
Farragut (Loyall), The Life of David Glascow Farragut, etc. New York, 1879.
Favre (Julio) and M. Billault, Discusion en el Cuerpo legislativo de Francia sobre las enmiendas. Mexico, 1863.
Felipe de Jesus, Breve resúmen de la vida y martyrio. Mexico, 1802. 4to.
Felipe de Jesus María, Vida, Virtudes. Rome, 1761.
Fénix de la Libertad. Mexico, 1833 et seq.
Fernandez (Agustin Pomposo), Desengaños que á los insurgentes de Nueva España seducidos. Mexico, 1812.
Fernando VI., Consuelos Funerales, Antequera. Mexico, 1759. 4to.
Fernando VII. Decretos del Rey. Mexico, 1836.
Ferrer de Couto (José), Comentarios sobre la cuestion de Méjico. Madrid, 1861.
Ferrer de Couto (José), Cuestiones de Méjico, Venezuela y América en General. Madrid, 1861, 499 pp.; Madrid, 1861, 660 pp.
Ferreyra (José), Contestacion á los cargos de Lopez y Gándara. Ures, 1850.
Ferri (Gabriel), Les Revolutions du Mexique. Paris, 1864.
Ferrier (F. L. A.), Económica Politica del Gobierno. Mexico, 1843–4. 2 vols.
Ferriz (Plácido de), Exposicion dirigida al supremo Gobierno. Mex., 1858; Exposicion que hace al público. Mex., 1859.
Ferrocarril, Esposicion del Lic. Rafael Martinez de la Torre sobre la concesion. Mexico, 1868.
Ferrocarril, La Concesion, entre Mexico y Vera Cruz. Mexico, 1868.
Ferrocarril, Proyecto de Vera Cruz á Mejico. Bruselas, 1851.
Ferrocarril, Tehuantepec y Veracruz, Proyecto de Ley. Mexico, 1869.
Ferrocarril y Telégrafo, Proyecto de un desde la línea divisoria de Mexico y los Estados-Unidos. Mexico, 1868.
Ferrocarriles, La Concesion hecha al General Rosecranz, etc. Mexico, 1872.
Ferrocarriles en Mexico, Dictámen de la comision de Industria de la Diputacion Permanente. Mexico, 1872.
Ferry (Gabriel), Escenas de la vida militar. Mexico, 1863.
Ferry (Gabriel), El Cazador Errante. Mexico, 1857. 7 vols.
Ferry (Gabriel), Scénes de la vie Mexicaine. Paris, 1856.
Ferry (Gabriel), Scénes de la vie militaire au Mexique. [Paris, 1858]; Paris, 1860.
Ferry (Gabriel), Scénes de la vie sauvage au Mexique. Paris, 1868.
Ferry (Gabriel), Vagabond Life in Mexico. New York, 1856.
Festividades, A collection.
Figueroa (Francisco Antonio de la Rosa), Becerro general Menológico y Cronológico del Santo Evangelio. MS., 1764. folio; Discordias entre el cura doctrinero y los Indios. MS., 1725. folio; Tesoro Catequístico Yndiano Espejo de Doctrina. MS.; Vindicias de la Verdad. MS. folio.
Figuerola, Extractos. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. iii.
Findlay (Alex. G.), A Directory for the Navigation of the Pacific Ocean. London, 1851. 2 vols.

Fitch (Fred. G.), Memorial to American and Mexican joint Commission. San Francisco, 1870.
Flint (Henry M.), Mexico under Maximilian. Philadelphia, 1867.
Florencia (Francisco de), Historia de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesus de Nueva España. Mex., 1694; La Estrella de el Norte de Mexico. Mex., 1741; La milagrosa invencion. Seville, 1745; Narracion de la Maravillosa Aparicion que hizo el Archangel de S. Miguel. Sevilla, 1692; Orígen del celebre santuario. Mex., 1783; Zodiaco Mariano. Mex., 1755.
Flores (Antonio), Fé, Esperanza y Caridad. Mejico, 1850. 12 vols.
Flores (Sabino), Oracion cívica pronunciada en la capital del estado. Guanajuato, 1851.
Florilegivm Oratorum advsum etudiosa juventis per congregationem. Mexici, 1727.
Fonseca (Fabian), and Urrutia (Cárlos), Historia General de la Real Hacienda. Mexico, 1845, 1849–53. 6 vols.
Fonte (Pedro Josef de), Carta Pastoral que á continuacion de la obra del Pio VII. dirige á diocesanos el Arzobispo de Mexico. Mexico, 1816.
Fontenelle, Conversacion entre Cortés y Moctezuma. Méjico, 1820.
Foot (Solomon), Speech on character, etc., of the Mexican War, Feb. 10, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Foote (Henry Stuart), The War with Mexico. Speech in U. S. Senate, Jan. 19 and 20, 1848. Washington, [1848].
Formulario que debe servir de Norma á los Contadores Reales de Diezmos de la Nueva España. Madrid, 1786.
Formularios de la Catedral de Mexico. Mexico, n.d.
Fossey (Mathieu de), Le Mexique. Paris, 1857; Paris, 1862.
Fossey (Mathieu de), Viage á Mejico. Mejico, 1844.
Frailes doctrineros, Su remocion de los Curatos. MS., 1654. folio.
Frampton (John), Joyfull newes out of the new found Worlde. London, 1596.
France (La), Le Mexique et les États Confédérés contre les États-Unis. Paris, 1863.
France and Mexico, Examination of the difficulties etc. n.pl., 1839.
Franciscanos, Abandono de Conventos por falta de frailes. MS., folio; Capítulos Provinciales en Mexico. MS., folio; Carta del Rey Octubre 19, 1568. MS., folio; Constituciones de la Provincia en Mexico. MS., folio; Contiendas con el Arzobispo de Mexico. MS. of 1576. folio; Informe al Rey por la Religion. MS., folio; Instrucciones. MS., folio; Patentes de Reforma 1625–9. MS., folio: Relaciõ de lo que hizierõ y passarõ los Yndios. MS., folio; Relacion Summaria de loque passarõ. MS., folio.
Franciscanos y servicios de Indios. MS., folio.
Fra Paola (Padre), Discurso Religioso Político sobre el orígen, naturaleza, inmunidades y verdadera inversion de los bienes eclesiásticos, etc. Mexico, 1833.
Free American. Vera Cruz, 1847 et seq.
Fresnillo, Informe que da la Junta de la Compañía de Minas. Mexico, 1839; Mexico, 1840.
Frias y Sota (Hilarion), Proyecto de Ley 20 de Feb. de 1868. Mex., 1870; Rectificaciones á las Memorias del Médico ordinario del Emperador Maximiliano. Mex., 1871.
Frisch (P.), Die Staaten von Mexico, Mittel-und Südamerika. Lübek, 1853.
Frost (John), Great Cities of the World. Auburn etc., 1852.
Frost (John), Incidents and Narratives of Travel. Auburn, etc., 1852.
Fuenleal (Sebastian Ramirez de), Carta á Su Magestad 30 de Abril de 1532. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.
Fuero Eclesiástico, Contestacion que los editores de Zapoteco. Oaxaca, 1833; Defensa contra artículos del Zapoteco. Oaxaca, 1833.
Funcion Dramática en el palacio Imperial de Mexico, Nov. 4, 1865. Mexico, 1864. 4to.
Fundacion y Progressos de la Prouincia de Santiago de Mexico del Orden de Predicadores. MS., 1716.

Furber (George C.), History of Mexico. Cincinnati, 1850.
Furber (George C.), The Twelve Months' Volunteer [Mexican War]. Cincinnati, 1850.

Gabota, Trotsmoedige Togt. In Aa, tom. xi.
Gaceta de Gobierno de Mexico, 1728–1805, 1810-21, 1823 et seq.
Gaceta Imperial de Mexico. Mexico, 1821-23.
Gacetas de Mexico y noticias de Nueva España, 1722, 1728–9. In Doc. Hist. Mex., série ii., tom. iv.
Gagern (Cárlos de), Apelacion de los Mexicanos á la Europa. Mexico, 1862.
Gaines, Correspondence entre la Légation du Mexique. Paris, 1837; Mexico, 1837.
Galería Americana. Mexico, n.d. folio.
Gales (Joseph), Sketch of Personal Character of Gen. Zachary Taylor. Washington, 1848.
Gallardo (Basilio Perez), Cuadro Estadístico de la Division Territorial de la Repúb. Mexicana. Mexico, 1873.
Gallardo (Pedro Patiño), Ejecucion de Justicia. Mexico, 1826.
Gallardo Fernandez (Francisco), Orígen, Progresos y Estado de las Rentas de la Corona de España. Madrid, 1805–8. 7 vols.
Gallatin (Albert), Peace with Mexico. New York, 1847; n.pl., 1847.
Gallatin (Albert), War Expenses. New York, 1844; New York, 1848.
Gallegos y Cadena, Relacion do la provincia de Vera Paz. MS. n.pl., 1574.
Gallo (Eduardo L.), Hombres Illustres Mexicanos. Mexico, 1874.
Galvan (Mariano), Ordenanzas de Tierras y Aguas. Mexico and Paris, 1855.
Galvez (Bernardo de) Proclamacion sobre el Teatro de Mexico. [Mexico, 1786.]
Galvez (José de), Ynforme de el Visitador de este Reyno. MS. n.pl., 1767; Informe general que instruyó el Marquez de Sonora. Mex., 1867; Reglamento para la ciudad de Mexico. [Mex., 1771]; Reglamento del Gremio de Panaderos de esta Capital. Mex., 1770.
Galvez (Mariano), El Dn. ante la 1ª Sala de la Suprema Corte. Mexico, 1852.
Gamarra y Dávalos (Juan B. Diaz de), El Sacerdote fiel y segun el corazon de Dios. Elogio fúnebre el dia 22 de Abril de 1776, á Luis Felipe Neri de Alfaro. Mexico, 1776.
Gamboa (Francisco de), Commentaries on the Mining Ordinances of Spain. London, 1830. 2 vols.
Gamboa (Ramon), Impugnacion al informe del Santa-Anna. Mexico, 1849.
Gambu (Frederico), Necesidad de Reformar la Legislacion. Mexico, 1850.
Gand (Pierre de), Lettre du frère entrement dit de Mura. In Ternaux-Compans. vol. x.
Gándara (Manuel María), Contestacion que Don A. Zúñiga MM. Gajiola é Ig. Zúñiga. Mex., 1834; Exposicion que hace al Suprema Gobierno sobre su conducta política. Mex., 1842; Manifestacion que hace al Gefe Supremo de la República. Mex., 1857; Vindicacion de las calumnias que el General José Urrea y sus Agentes han hecho circular. Mex., 1844.
Gándara (Salvador de la), Carta que sobre la Vida. Mexico, 1713.
Gangancle, Carta del Emin. á vn Religioso que pasaba á la América. MS. n.pl., n.d.
Gant, Carta al Emperador Don Cárlos. In Cartas de Indias.
Gárate (Bernardo), Primera Carta Pastoral del Obispo de Querétaro. Mexico, 1864.
Garay (José de), An account of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. London, 1846; Dictámen de la Mayoría de la Comision Especial para la Apertura de una via por el Istmo de Tehuantepec. Mex., 1851; Mémoire instructif des droits. Wash., 1852. Paris, 1852. Mex., 1852. New York, 1852; Reconocimiento del Istmo de Tehuantepec. Lon., 1844; Survey of Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Lon., 1844.
Garay (José Guadalupe Perdigon), Defensa. Méjico, 1849.
Garay (José María), Memoria, en que el poseedor actual del mayorazgo de los Morales. Mejico, 1833.

Garayo (Atilano Sanchez), Manifestacion que el Apoderado de los Acreedores del Fondo Dotal de Minería. Mexico, 1850.
Garcés (Martin Gil), El Cabildo sede vacante de Michoacan. Mexico, 1831.
Garcés y Eguia (Joseph), Nueva Teórica y Práctica del Beneficio de los Metales. Mexico, 1802.
García (C.), Noticias histórica, geográfica, y estadística del distrito de Xoquilpan. In Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin 3ra, Ep. I.
García (Cárlos), A los habitantes de la Prov. de Puebla. [Puebla, 1821.]
García (Francisco), Reflexiones sobre el Acta Constitutiva. Mexico, 1823; Vexámen que para cerrar el curso de antes, dió á su disputo el dia 14 de Enero de 1795. MS. [Mexico, 1795]; Vindicacion del Congreso.
García (Gregorio), Orígen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo, é Indias Occidentales. Madrid, 1729.
García (Pablo), Manifiesto que hace á sus conciudadanos. Campeche, 1857.
García (Paulino), Manifestacion del Prefecto de Puebla. Puebla, 1844.
García (Pedro), Declaracion de los tributos que los Indios de la Provincia de Guanavaquez de Nueva España, hacian á su Señor el Marqués de Valle. Año 1533. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc. tom. xiv.
García (Pedro Marcelino), Informe sobre la sublevacion de los Zendales. MS., 1716.
García (Trinidad), Apuntes sobre el Discurso. Mexico, 1870.
García de Hermosilla (Juan), Memorial dado al Rey en 1556. MS. [Spain], 1556.
García de la Huerta (Joaquin), La Guirnalda de los niños. Méjico, 1855.
García y Cubas (Antonio), El Comercio exterior de Mexico. In Soc. Mex. Geog. Boletin. 3ra Ep. ii.
García y Cubas (Antonio), Atlas metódico para la enseñanza de la Geografía de la República Mexicana. Mex., 1874; Compendio de Geografía de la República Mexicana. Mex., 1861; Ensayo de un Estudio entre las Pirámides Egípcias y Mexicanas. Mex., 1871; Importancia de la Estadística. Mex., 1871; Memoria para servir á la Carta General de la República Mexicana. Mex., 1861; Noticias Geog. y Estad. de la Rep. Mex. Mex., 1857; Reseña Geográfica del distrito de Soconusco ó Tapachula. Mex., 1857; Exposicion leida ante el Gran Jurado. Mex., 1850.
García y García (José Pedro), Prosperidades de la Union. Mexico, 1810.
Garcilaso de la Vega (El Inca), Primera Parte de los Comentarios Reales. Madrid, 1723. folio.
Garcilaso de la (Vega (El Inca), La Florida del Inca. Madrid, 1723. folio.
Garcillasso de la Vega (el Ynca), La Florida del Ynca, 1605. 4 to.
Garde (Richard), letter to Rt. Hon. Earl Russell, on the absolute right of the Mex. Bondholders. London, 1861; London, 1862.
Garduno (José Victoriano), Sale á la Vergüenza el Teniente Don Ramon Parrés. Mexico, 1828. folio.
Garella (Napoleon), Projet d'un Canal de Jonction de L'Océan Pacifique et Atlantique. Paris, 1855.
Gariba (Pedro), Proclama. [Mexico, 1809.]
Garviso (Vicente), Exposicion al Augusto Congreso del Estado de Zacatecas. Mejico, 1832.
Garza (Lázaro de la), Discurso Inaugural. Mexico, 1831.
Garza (Lázaro de la), Méritos y Servicios. Mexico, 1832.
Garza y Ballesteros (L. de la), Carta que el Dn dirige al clero de su Diócesis. Mex., 1851; Carta Pastoral del Arzobispo de Mexico. Mexico, 1855; Contestaciones habidas entre Arz. de Mex. y el Ministro de Just. Mex., 1855; Defensa de la Manifestacion. Mex. 1860; Edicto para la publicacion del Santo Jubileo concedido por Pio IX. Mex., 1852; Informe general de la visita diocesana. MS. Mex., 1855, 1856. folio; Manifestacion que hacen al Ven. Clero y Fieles. Mex., 1859; Opúsculo sobre los Enviados. Mex., 1854; Pastoral que sobre Tolerancia Religiosa. Mex., 1855; Primera distribucion de Premios. Mex. 1841.
Gastañeta y Escalados (José María), Felicitacion que en el religioso y solemne dia. Mex., 1840; Oracion que pronunció en la Alameda. Mex., 1834.

Gavie (José Leal de), El Regocijo Mexicano por entrada de Francisco Xavier Virrey. Mexico, 1810.
Gavito (Francisco), Rimas. Mejico, 1843.
Geiger (John L.), A Peep at Mexico. London, 1874.
Gelves (Marqués de), Protesto del Virrey á la audiencia. MS.
Genius of Liberty. Vera Cruz, 1847 et seq.
Gentry (M. P.), Speech on Mexican War, Dec. 16, 1846. Washington, 1846.
Geyer (Otto Ferdinand), Panorama of Mexico. Mobile, 1835.
Gil (Francisco), Fundacion de la Obra Pia, que para el mayer culto. Mexico, 1775. 4to.
Giles (W. F.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep. Washington, 1849.
Gilliam (Albert M.), Travels in Mexico. Philadelphia, 1846.
Gimenez (Manuel María), El Mérito Verdadero. n.pl., 1821.
Giordan (Francis), Description de l'Isthme de Tehuantepec. Paris, 1838; Réponse au libelle sur la Colonie du Goazacoalco. Paris, 1831.
Girard (Just), Excursion au Mexique. Tours, 1867.
Gobernador (El), del Departmento al Público de Mexico en las quejas. Mexico, 1837.
Gobierno de la Iglesia, Dudas que se proponen. Mexico, 1826.
Gobierno Político de N. España. MS.
Godoy (Diego), Relacion á Hernando Cortés Mayo de 1524. In Barcia, Hist. Prim., tom. i.
Godoy (José María), Discurso Pronunciado. Mexico, 1846.
Goggin, Speech in U. S. House of Rep., Feb. 1st, 1848. n.pl., n.d.
Goldschmidt (Albert), see Cartography of the Pacific Coast.
Gomara (Francisco Lopez)), Crónica de la Nueua España con la Conquista de Mexico y otras Cosas Notables. Saragossa. [1554.]
Gomara (Francisco Lopez), Historias de las Conquistas de Hernando Cortés. [Chimalpain edition.] Mexico, 1826. 2 vols.
Gomara (Francisco Lopez) Historia di Don Fernando Cortés. Venetia, 1560.
Gomara (Francisco Lopez), Historia de Mexico. Anvers, 1554.
Gomara (Francisco Lopez), La Historia General de las Indias. Anvers, 1554.
Gomez, Diario. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. vii.
Gomez (José), Anales de Mexico 1776–1798. [Mex., 1832. MSS.]; Vida de la Madre Antonia de San Jacinto. Mex., 1689. 4to.
Gomez (Man.), Vindicacion del Primer Ayudante. Mexico, 1840.
Gomez de Avellaneda, Guatimozin, último Emperador de Méjico. Méjico, 1853.
Gomez y Anaya (Cirilo), Defensa legal que hizo por Gen. Negrete. Mexico, 1828. 4to.
Gonzalez, Relacion de la Marcha de la Brigada Gonzalez. Toluca, 1857.
Gonzalez (Estéban Diaz), Contestacion en derecho de los conventos. Mexico, 1830.
Gonzalez (Fernando Alonso), Regla de N. S. P. S. Francisco. Mexico, 1725. 4to.
Gonzalez (Joaquin), Anotaciones al Papel Titulado Informe. Mexico, 1822.
Gonzalez (José Eleuterio), Coleccion de Noticias y Documentos para la Hist. del estado de N. Leon. Monterey, 1867.
Gonzalez de Aragon (Francisco), Dictámen Presentado por el Síndico sobre las Contratas de Limpia de Ciudad. Méjico, 1834.
Gonzalez y Avendaño (Franciscus), Parhelion Marianum, Mexici Subirbijo. Mexico, 1757. 4to.
Gonzalez y Zúñiga (Anna Ma.), Florido Ramo que tributa en las fiestas de Guadalupe. Mexico, 1748. 4to.
Gonzalo (Vict. Lopez), Obispo de Puebla. [Puebla, 1784.]
Gordoa (José Miguel), Reflecsiones que se hicieron por su autor á consulta del Hon. Cong. de Zacatecas. Mexico, 1827.
Gordon (Thomas F.), The History of Ancient Mexico. Philadelphia, 1832. 2 vols.
Gordon (Thomas F.), Spanish Discoveries in America prior to 1520. Philadelphia, 1831. 2 vols.

Gorosito (Francisco de) Cartilla en Diálogos acerca de la confesion. Mexico, 1703.
Gorostiza (M. E. de), A sus conciudadanos, ó breve reseña de las operaciones del Ministro de Hacienda. Mexico, 1838. 4to.
Government and People of the United States and to those of Spanish-America. n.p., n.d.
Grambila y Arriaga (Antonio), Tumultos de Mexico. n.p., n.d. MS. folio.
Granados y Galvez (Joseph Joaquin), Tardes Americanas. Mexico, 1778.
Grandeza y Excelencias de los siete príncipes de los Angeles. Mexico. n.d. MS.
Grant (U. S.), Illustrated Life, Campaigns, and Public Services of. Philadelphia, 1865.
Gratitud del Ayuntamiento Constitucional de la Villa de Coyoacan. Mejico, 1820.
Gray (Albert Zabriskie), Mexico as it is. New York, 1878.
Gray (A. B.), Report and map of Mex. Boundary. Washington, 1853.
Green (George M.), Statement of his recollections of life in Mexico, 1853–55. MS.
Greene, Speech on Ten Regiment Bill in U. S. Sen., Feb. 18, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Gregory (Samuel), History of Mexico. Boston, 1847.
Grone (Carl von), Briefe über Nord-Amerika und Mexiko. Braunschweig, 1850.
Guadalajara, Conducto observada por el Gobierno Eclesiástico. Guadalajara, 1859. 4to; Discurso pronunciado. Mex., 1824; Ecsámen Público. Guadal., 1841; Ecsposicion del Cabildo. Guadal., 1824. folio; Espolios de los Srēs Obispos 1759. MS. folio; Explicaciones que el Mayordomo. Guadal., 1865. 4to; Exposicion hecha por el Ayuntamiento. Guadal., 1844; Gaceta de Gobierno. Guadal., 1821; Gobierno Eclesiástico. Guadal., 1859; Representacion del Obispo sobre Cementerios. [Guad., 1847]; Obispo de, Carta Pastoral. Guadal., 1859; Observaciones que hace el V. Cabildo. Guadal., 1842. Observaciones que sobre el projecto de Bases orgánicas hacen el Obispo. n.pl. 1843; Préstamos, Contribuciones y Exacciones de la Iglesia de Guadalajara. Guadal., 1847; Protesta del Obispo y Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia de Guadalajara. Guadal., 1847; Protesta del Obispo. Guadal., 1848; Real cédula de ereccion del Consulado. Guad., 1795. folio; Relacion cristiana de los males que ha sufrido. Guadal., 1811. 4to. Representacion de la Junta de Fomento de Comercio. Guad., 1852. 4to. El Tribuno, 1827. folio; Ultraje á las autoridades por los Canónigos. Mex., 1825.
Guadalupe (Nuestra Sra de), Coleccion de obras y opúsculos pertenecientes á la milagrosa aparicion. Madrid, 1785.
Guanajuato, Continuacion de las contestaciones entre el Goberdr y Cabildo de Michoacan. Morelia, 1857. 4to; Constitucion Política. Mex., 1826; Cuenta de la Fábrica de la Alhóndiga de Granaditas. MS., 1809. folio; Esposicion que el Sup. Gobr. Guan., 1844; Expediente Instruido sobre el Establecimiento de un Presidio en Atargea. Guan., 1848; Informe que de su administracion. Guan., 1826; Informe leido por Gobr del Estado. Mex. [1853]; Memoria del Gobr. Mex. [1852]; Programa de las Funciones. Guan., 1846; Pública Vindicacion del Ayuntamiento de Santa Fé. Mex., 1811; Representacion que el Ayuntamiento. Guan., 1840; Segunda Certámen jurídico y literario. Mex., 1852.
Guardia (J. M.), Les Républiques de l' Amérique Espagnole. Paris, 1862.
Guazacoalco, Colonie du, Dans L'État de Vera Cruz. Paris, 1829; Notes pour servir d'instruction. Paris, n.d.
Güemes y Horcasitas (Juan Francisco), Banco de Mineros. Mexico, 1747. 4to.
Guénot (Estévan), Proyecto de utilidad comun. Mexico, 1839. 4to.
Guerra (Diego), Memorial al Rey sobre Religiosos. [México, 1631.] folio.
Guerra (José), Historia de la Revolucion de Nueva España. Londres, 1813. 2 vols.

Guerra (Juan Alvarez), Modo de extinguir la Deuda Pública. Mexico, 1814.
Guerra de España con Méjico, Segundo Artículo. Paris, 1857.
Guerra Eterna á este Congreso. [Mexico, 1833.]
Guerra entre Mexico y los Estados-Unidos, Apuntes para la Historia de. Mexico, 1848.
Guerra á todo militar oficinista. Mexico, 1821.
Guerrero, Constitucion política del Jun. 1851. [Guerrero, 1851.] El Estado de Guerrero en la Exposicion Nacional, 1870. Mexico, 1870; Memoria presentada á Legislatura. Chilpancingo, 1872; Noticia extraord. de la Muerte. Mex., 1823. folio.
Guerrero (Isidoro), Exposicion Corta. Mexico, 1874.
Guerrero (José María), Dictámen Teológico contra el ensayo sobre tolerancia religiosa. Mexico, 1831.
Guerrero (Mariano Soto), Proclama á favor de todos los buenos y contra todos los malos. Mexico, 1812.
Guerrero (Vicente), A los ciudadanos militares. Mexico. [1821.] folio. Expulsion of Spaniards. 4to. Ilustres habitantes de la gran Mexico. [Mexico, 1822]. folio; Manifiesto á sus compatriotas. Mexico, 1829; El Presidente de los Estados-Unidos Mex., Compatriotas. Mexico, 1829. El Presidente de la República. Mex., 1829. folio; Proclamacion. Mex., 1822. folio; El Soberano Estado de Oajaca. Oajaca, 1833. 4to; Sumaria Averiguacion. Oaxaca, 1831. folio.
Guevara (Balthazar Ladron de), Manifiesto, que el Real Convento de Religiosas. [Mex.] 1771. 4to.
Guevara (Juan), Proceso contra. MS.
Guevara (Miguel Tadeo de), Sumario de las Indulgencias. Mexico, 1787.
Guia de Hacienda de la Rep. Mex. año de 1827. [Mexico, 1827.]
Guia para el conocimiento de monedas y medidas. Mexico, 1825.
Guridi (José Miguel), Apología de la aparicion de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. Mexico, 1820.
Guridi y Alcocer (José Miguel), Sermon predicado en accion de gracias. Mexico, 1808.
Guridi y Alcocer (José Miguel), Exhortacion que para el Juramento de la Constitucion en la Parroquia del Sagrario. Mexico, 1820.
Guridi y Aleva (José María), Ley Justicia y Verdad. Mexico, 1828.
Gutierrez (Blas. J.), de Reforma. Mexico, 1868.
Gutierrez (José Ign.), Contestacion al libelo intitulado "Apuntes para la Historia." Mex., 1850; Documentos justicativos de la conducta pública 1810–21. Mex., 1850; Vota á favor de los primeros caudillos de la libertad Americana. [Mex.] 1822. 4to.
Gutierrez de Estrada (J. M.), Algunas observaciones sobre el oficio que con fecha 22 de Julio. Mex., 1835; Carta al Presidente sobre la necesidad de buscar el remedio. Mex., 1840; Discurso pronunciado en el palacio de Miramar. Paris, 1863; Documentos relativos á la separacion de la 1ª sec. de Estado. Mex., 1835; Mejico y el Archiduque Fern. Max. Paris, 1862; Mejico en 1840 y en 1847. Paris, 1848; Mexico y el Archiduque Maximiliano. Mex., 1863. 4to.
Gutierrez de Villanueva (José), Discurso 20 de Abril de 1834. Mejico, 1836.
Guzman (José María), Breve y sencilla narracion del Viage. Mexico, 1837.
Guzman (Leon), Cuatro Palabras sobre el asesinato del señor General D. Juan Zuazua. Monterey, 1860.
Guzman (S. M. Gozalo de), Carta que escribe á 8 de Marzo de 1529. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.

H. (R. G.), Memoria sobre la Propiedad Eclesiástica. Mexico, 1864.
Hacienda, Real Decreto para el Establecimiento del General sistema de. Mexico, 1817.
Hale (J. P.), Speech on increase of army in Mexico. Jan. 6, 1848. Washington, 1848.

Hall (Basil), Voyage au Chili, au Pérou et au Méxique. 1820–22. Paris, 1834. 2 vols.
Hall (Frederic), Invasion of Mexico by the French. New York, 1868.
Hall (Frederic), Life of Maximilian I. New York, 1868.
Hall (Wm. M.), Speech in favor of a National Railroad to the Pacific, July 7, 1847. New York, 1853.
Halleck (H. W.), Mining Laws of Spain and Mexico. San Francisco, 1859.
Hamersley (L. R.), Records of living officers of U. S. Navy. Philadelphia, 1870.
Hardy (Lieut. R. W. H.), Travels in the Interior of Mexico. London, 1829.
Haro (Benito), Memoria justificada de la conducta. Mexico, 1857.
Haro y Tamariz (Antonio de), A sus compatriotas. n.pl., 1856; Esposicion dirige á sus Conciudadanos y Opiniones del autor sobre la monarquía constitucional. Mex., 1846; Estracto del Espediente sobre deuda Esterior. Mex., 1846.
Hart (Charles), Remarks on Tabasco. Philadelphia, 1867.
Haven (Gilbert), Our Next-Door Neighbor. New York, 1875.
Haven (S. G.), Remarks on Ten Million Mexican Treaty Bill, June 27, 1854. Washington, 1854.
Hay (Guillermo), Apuntes geográficos, estadísticos é históricos del distrito de Texcoco. Mexico, 1866.
Hayes (Benjamin), Mexican Laws. Notes on. MS.
Hazart (Cornelium), Kirchen-Geschichte. Wien, 1678–84. 2 vols. folio.
Hefelé (Dr.), Le Cardinal Ximenès Franciscain et la situation de l'Église en Espagne. Paris, 1856.
Heller (Carl B.), Mexico. Wien, 1864.
Heller (Carl B.), Reisen in Mexiko in den jahren 1845–8. Leipzig, 1853.
Helps (Arthur), The Conquerors of the New World and their Bondsmen. London, 1848–52. 2 vols.
Helps (Arthur), Life of Hernando Cortés. New York, 1871. 2 vols.
Helps (Arthur), The Life of Las Casas. Philadelphia, 1868.
Helps (Arthur), The Spanish Conquest in America. London, 1855–61. 4 vols.; also New York, 1856. 2 vols.
Henley (Thomas J.), The War with Mexico. Speech in U. S. House of Rep., Jan. 26, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Henriquez (Martin), Instruccion 25 de Setiembre de 1580. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. iii.
Henry (Capt. W. S.), Campaign Sketches of the War with Mexico. New York, 1847.
Heraldo (El). Mexico, 1848 et seq.
Heredia (José M.), Miscelanea, Periódico Crítico y Literario. Tlalpam, 1829; Poesia inédita. Mex., 1848; Poesías. Mex., 1852; Sila, Tragedia en Cinco Actos. Mex., 1825.
Heredia y Sarmiento (Josef Ignacio), Oracion fúnebre que en las solemnes exequias. Mexico, 1808.
Heredia y Sarmiento (Jos. Ign.), Sermon Panegírico de la gloriosa aparicion de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe 12 de Dic, de 1801. MS. Mexico, 1803.
Hermosa (Jesus), Enciclopedia Popular Mejicana. Paris, 1857.
Hermosilla (J. G.), El Jacobinismo. Mejico, 1834. 3 vols.
Hernandez (Francisco), Nova Plantarvm Animalivm et Mineralivm Mex. historia. Romae, 1651. 4to.
Hernandez (Gregorio), Causa de Poligamia ante el Tribunal de la Inquisicion en Mexico. MS., 1771–4. folio.
Hernandez (José Gerónimo), Grande Empresa de Minas. Mejico, 1861.
Hernandez (José María Perez), Compendio de la Geografía del Estado de Michoacan de Ocampo. Mexico, 1872.
Hernandez (José María Perez), Estadística de la República Mejicana. Guadalajara, 1862.
Hernandez y Dávalos (J. E.), Estado de Jalisco. In Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin, 2a. Ep. iii.

Herrera (Antonio de), Description de las Indias Occidentales. Madrid, 1730. folio.
Herrera (Antonio de), Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra Firme del Mar Océano. Madrid, 1601. 4to. 4 vols.; also edition Madrid, 1726–30. folio.
Herrera (J. Antonio de), Vindicacion que hace de los cargos del Señor D. Plácido Vega. Durango, 1861.
Herrera (José J. de), Breves Ideas sobre el arreglo provisional para el Ejército Mexicano. Mex., 1845; Discurso al prestar el juramento para entrar al ejercicio de la presidencia. Mex., 1845; Ley orgánica de la guardia nacional. Mex., 1848; Proyecto de estatuto del ejército Mexicano. Mexico, 1848.
Herrera y Gomez (J. M. Fernandez de), Crítica sobre las Cartas Americanas de Rinaldo. Querétaro, 1820. MS.
Hidalgo, La Defensa del Cura. n.pl., 1811.
Hidalgo (D. J.), Apuntes para Escribir la Historia de los Proyectos de Monarquía en Mexico. Mex., 1868; Copia del Expediente relativo al Lugar del Nacimiento del. Mex., 1868.
Hidalgo y Costilla (Miguel), Biografía del Cura de Dolores. Paris, 1869.
Hill (S. S.), Travels in Peru and Mexico. London, 1860. 2 vols.
Hillard (G. S.), Life and Campaigns of G. B. McClellan. Philadelphia, 1864.
Hilliard, Speech on the Mexican War, in U. S. House of Rep., Jan. 5, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Historia de la Milagrosa Imágen de Nuestra Señora del Pueblito, etc. n.pl., n.d.
Histoire de l'Empire Mexicain representée par figures. Paris, 1696.
Hittell (John S.), History of Culture. New York, 1875.
Holmes (E. B.), Speech on Mexican War, June 18, 1846. Washington, 1846.
Hospicio de Pobres, Ordenanzas para el gobierno. Mex., 1806; Sobre Establecimiento del. Mex., 1774.
Hospicios de Filipinas, Documentos Interesantes para saber el orígen de los bienes, etc. Mexico, 1832.
Hospital Civil de Valencia, Reglamento general. n.pl., n.d.
Hospital del Divino Salvador, Manifiesto que la Junta de Beneficencia del. Mexico, 1844.
Hospital de Indios, Constituciones. Mexico, 1778.
Hospital para la Tropa, Instruccion y metodo con que se ha de establecer. Mexico, 1774. 4to.
Hospital Real y general, Constituciones, y Ordenanzas. Mexico, 1778. 4to.
Houston, Speech in United States Senate April 20, 1858. n.pl., n.d.
Houston (Sam), Letter to General Santa Anna. Washington, 1852.
Houston (Sam), Speech in United States Senate, February 19, 1847.
Howard (Volney E.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., July 6, 1852. Washington, 1852.
Howitt (Mary), History of the U. S. New York, 1860. 2 vols.
Huasteca, Noticias Estadísticas de la Huasteca. Mexico, 1869.
Hudson (Charles), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., December 16, 1846; Feb. 13, 1847. n.pl., n.d.
Huerta (Epitacio), Apuntes para servir á la Historia de los Defensores de Puebla. Mexico, 1868.
Huesca (Manuel Gutierrez de), Respiracion de gratitud que un Presbytero Americano. MS.
Humboldt (Alex. de), Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne. Paris, 1811. folio. 2 vols. and atlas.
Humboldt (Alex. de), Examen Critique de l'histoire de la Géographie du Nouveau Continent. Paris, 1836–9. 5 vols.
Humboldt (Alex.), Letters to Varnhagan von Ense. New York, 1860.
Humboldt (Alex.), Life, Travels and Books. New York, 1859.
Humboldt (Alex.), Political Essay on New Spain. Translated by John Black. London, 1814.

Humboldt (Alex.), Tablas Estadísticas del Reyno de Nueva España en el año de 1803. n.p., n.d.
Humboldt (Alex. de), Versuch über den politischen Zustand des Königreichs Neu-Spanien. Tübingen, 1809.
Humboldt (Alex.), Volcans des Cordillères de Quito et du Mexique. Paris, 1854.

Ibañez (Manuel de), Coleccion de poesías escogidas. Querétaro, 1802. MS.
Ibar (Francisco), Muerte política de le República Mexicana; and Regeneracion política de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1829–30, 2 vols.
Icazbalceta (Joaquin García), Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico. Mexico, 1858–66. folio. 2 vols.
Idea Mercurial y descripcion breve de la plausible jura. Mexico, 1761. 4to.
Ideas necesarias á todo pueblo Americano. Philadelphia, 1821.
Ideas necesarias á todo pueblo Americano que quiere ser libre. Puebla, 1823.
Iglesia de Chiapas, Observaciones que hace la Iglesia Catedral del. Mexico, 1826.
Iglesia Catedral de la Puebla de Los Angeles, Reglas y Ordenanzas del choro. Puebla, 1731.
Iglesia de Guadalaxara, Fundacion y descripcion. Mexico, 1865.
Iglesia Metropolitano de Mexico, Carta pastoral Sept. 10, 1811. Mexico, 1811.
Iglesia Parroquial de San Miguel, Privilegios y Gracias singulares que goza esta. Mexico, 1844.
Iglesias (Antonio de San Miguel), Relacion sencilla del funeral y exequias. Mexico, 1805.
Iglesias (J. M.), Revistas Históricas sobre la Intervencion Francesa. Mexico, 1867. 3 vols.
Iglesias (José M.), Estudio Constitucional sobre facultades de la Corte de Justicia. Mex., 1874; Manifiesto del Presidente Interino sobre las Negociaciones con Diaz. [Querétaro, 1876.]
Iglesias y Conventos de Mexico, Relacion descriptiva. Mexico, 1863.
Iguala, Acta Celebrada en. Mexico, 1821.
Igualdad, Cinco artículos sobre. Mexico, 1850.
Ilustracion Mexicana (La). Mexico, 1851–3. 4 vols.
Immaculada Cōcepcion, Regla y ordinaciones de las Religiosas. Mexico, 1700.
Imperio de Mexico. A collection relating to Maximilian's Empire.
Importantes Observaciones sobre los Gravísimos Males en que se va á ver Envuelta la Nacion como resultado del decreto de 10 del Actual. Mexico, 1846.
Impugnacion á las Cartas de D. J. M. Gutierrez Estrada sobre el Proyecto de Establecer en Mejico una Monarquía moderada. Mejico, 1840.
Incitativa de un Español Americano á todos los Españoles Ultramarinos que se hallan en la Peninsula. Mexico, 1820.
Incitativa de un Mejicano á todos los Españoles en defensa de la que se publicó en la peninsula. Mexico, 1820.
Indicacion del Orígen de los Extravios del Congreso Mexicano. Mexico, 1822.
Indicador (El), de la Federacion Mejicana. Mejico, 1833–4. 3 vols.
Indulgencias perpetuas concedidas á los congregantes. Mexico, 1793.
Industria Nacional, Reglamento de una sociedad para el fomento. Mex. 1839; Representacion dirigida al Presidente Provisional. Meg. 1843.
Infante (Joaquin), Solucion á la cuestion de derecho sobre la Emancipacion de la América. Cádiz, 1821.
Informacion sobre aranceles en las doctrinas. MS. 1749. folio.
Informe de la Comision nombrada para la reconocimiento del teatro de Santa-Anna. Mexico, 1843.
Informe Crítico-legal dado al muy ilustre y venerable Cabildo. Mexico, 1835.
Informe en Estrados en Defensa de los Empleados de la Aduana Marítima de San Blas. Mexico, 1843.

Informe Secreto al Pueblo Soberano. Mexico, 1833.
Informes en derecho, a Collection.
Inge (S. W.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., March 22, 1848. n.pl. n.d.
Inigo (Josef), Funeral Gratitud con que la religiosa comunidad. Puebla, 1774.
Inquisicion, a Collection.
Inquisicion, Apología. Mexico, 1811.
Inquisicion, Informe sobre el Tribunal. Mexico, 1813.
Inquisicion, Memorial Santa. Mexico, 1821.
Inquisicion de España, Anécdota importante. Mejico, 1820.
Inquisicion Mexicana, Epítome Sumario de las Personas, assí vivas, como difuntas, que se han penitenciado. [Mexico], 1659.
Inquisicion y pública declaracion testamento y última voluntad de la Santa Inquisicion. Mexico, 1850.
Inquisidores fiscales, Reglas y Constituciones. Mexico. 1659. 4to.
Inquisidores. Nos los Inquisidores contra la herética pravedad, y apostasía, en este ciudad. Mexico, 1738.
Instituta Congregationis Oratorii S. Mariae in Vallicella de Urbe. Mexici, 1830.
Instituto de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes, Memorias. Mex., 1826; Reglamento. Mex., 1825.
Instituto Nacional de Geografía y Estadística, Boletin. See Sociedad Mexicana, etc., its later name.
Instituto Religioso, Defensa. Mexico, 1820.
Instruccion de los comisionados de la direccion general y juzgado privativo de Alcabalas y Pulques del Reyno. Mexico, 1783. 4to.
Instruccion, Formada en virtud de Real Órden de S. M., que se dirige al Señor Comandante General de Provincias Internas Don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola. Mexico, 1786.
Instruccion para la Infantería ligera Ejército Mexicano. Mexico, 1841.
Instruccion pastoral del ilustrísimo Arzobispo de Paris, Mexico, 1822.
Instruccion Provisional para los Comisarios Generales que han de Administrar los Ramos de la Hacienda Pública. Mexico, 1824.
Instruccion que se remite de órden de Su Majestad á las Juntas de Temporalidades establecidas en los dominios de Indias. Madrid, 1784.
Instruccion sobre el cultivo de moreras y cria de gusanos. Mexico, 1830. 4to.
Instrucciones de los Vireyes de Nueva España. Mexico, 1867.
Insurreccion de 1810. A Collection.
Insurreccion de Nueva España, Resúmen Histórico. Mexico, 1821.
Intendentes de Exército y Provincia, Real Ordenanza. Madrid, 1786.
Intendentes de Provincias y Exércitos, Ordenanza de 13 de Octubre de 1749. Madrid, 1749. folio.
Intervencion Europea en Mejico. Paris, 1859; Philadelphia, 1859.
Interference of the British Government in the dispute between Spain and her American colonies. MS.
Iriarte (Francisco), Contestacion á la expresion de agravios. Mex., 1832; Manifiesto á los pueblos de la República Mejicana. Mejico, 1829.
Iriarte (Francisco Suarez), Defensa, 21 de Marzo de 1850. Mexico, 1850.
Iris Espanol (El). Mexico, 1820 et seq.
Isabel la Católica, Institucion de la Real Órden Americana. Mexico, 1816.
Itta (Joseph Mariano Gregorio), Dia festiva Propio para el Culto. Mexico, 1744.
Iturbide (Agustin), Breve diseño crítico de la emancipacion y libertad de la nacion Mexicana. Mexico, 1827.
Iturbide (Agustin), Breve manifiesto. Mexico, 1821.
Iturbide (Agustin), Carrera Militar y Política. Mexico, 1827.
Iturbide (Agustin), Carta al Pensador Mexicano. Mexico, 1821.
Iturbide (Agustin), Cartas de los Señores Generales. Mexico, 1821.
Iturbide (Agustin), Catástrofe de el 18 de Mayo de 1822. Mexico, 1826; Paris, 1825.
Iturbide (Agustin), Del grande Iturbide. Mexico, 1838.

Iturbide (Agustin), Denkwurdigkeiten aus dem offentlichen leben des kaisers von Mexico. Leipzig, 1824.
Iturbide (Agustin), El generalísimo Almirante á los habitantes del Imperio. Mexico, 1822.
Iturbide (Agustin de), El generalísimo Almirante á sus conciudadanos. Mexico, 1822.
Iturbide (Agustin de), El Primer gefe del exército imperial. Mexico, 1821.
Iturbide (Agustin de), Entrada Pública en Valladolid. Mexico, n.d.
Iturbide (Agustin), Mémoires Autographes. Paris, 1824.
Iturbide (Agustin), Mejicanos. Puebla, 1821.
Iturbide (Agustin), Plan publicado en Iguala el 24 de Febrero de 1821. Mexico, 1821.
Iturbide (Agustin), Poblanos ilustres. Puebla, n.d.
Iturbide (Agustin), Primer premio general concedido á los señores gefes y oficiales. Mexico, 1821.
Iturbide (Agustin), Proclama El primer gefe del ejército imperial de las tres garantias. Mexico, 1821.
Iturbide (Agustin), Proclamacion, dated July 14, 1821. Valladolid, 1821.
Iturri (Francisco), Carta Crítica sobre la historia de América del Señor Juan Bautista Muñoz. Madrid, 1798; Puebla, 1820.
Ixtlilxochitl (Fernando de Alva), Cruautés Horribles des Conquérants du Mexique. In Ternaux-Compans, Voy., série i., tom. viii.
Ixtlilxochitl Relaciones. In Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq., vol. ix.
Izaguirre (Pedro de), Relacion de los sitios y calidades de los puertos de Caballos. MS. 1604–5. folio.

Jacob (William), Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals. London, 1831.
Jaillandier (P.), Extraite d'une Lettre dattee de Pondichera au mois de Fevrier. Pondichera, 1711. MS.
Jalisco, Arancel para el cobro de derechos judiciales y curia eclesiástica. Guad., 1825; Buen Tratamiento de Indios. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiv.; Comision Permanente. Guad., 1867; Constitucion politica. Guad., 1824; Contestaciones habidas. Guad., 1825. 4to; Discurso del Gobernador. n.pl. [1867]; Documentos Importantes. Mex., 1868; Documentos oficiales de la Comandancia. Guad., 1834. 4to; Documentos Oficiales de la Revolucion. Guad., 1852; Dictámen presentado por la comision de Hac^da. Guad., 1829; Esposicion á Congreso. Mex., 1832. 4to; Memoria histórica de los sucesos mas notables de la conquista particular de Jalisco. Guad., 1833; Memoria presentada por el Gobernador. Guad., 1857; Memoria que el Exmo Gob. del Estado el dia 1° de Sept. de 1847. Guad., 1848; Memoria sobre el Estado actual de la administracion Pública. Guad., 1826; Noticias Estadísticas. Guad., 1843; Patriótica Iniciativa. Guad., 1844; Reglamento para el gov. interior del Cong. Const. [Guad.] 1824; Revolution de. Guad., 1852. 4to; Santos Degollado. Guad., 1859; Voto general de los pueblos de la Provincia. [Mexico], 1823.
Jay (Guillermo), Revista de las causas y consecuencias de la Guerra con Mexico. Mexico, 1850.
Jay (William), Mexican War. Boston, 1849.
Jenkins (John S.), History of Mexican War. Auburn, 1851; New York, 1859.
Jesuitas, Cartas escritas por el Rey al papa, extermino de los jesuitas. MS. 1764–7.
Jesuitas, Colegio de San Francisco Xavier noviciado en Tepotzotlan. MS. 1770. folio.
Jesuitas, Constitucion secreta. Mexico, 1823.
Jesuitas, Documentos y Obras importantes. Mexico, 1841. 2 vols.
Jesuitas, Instrucciones Secretas. MS.
Jesus María (Nicolás de), La Santidad Derramada. Mexico, 1748.
Jesus de Atocha Silver Mining Co., Mex. San Francisco, 1863.

Jimenez (Lázaro), Inquisidor fiscal de este Santo Oficio. MS.
Jimenez (Manuel María), Apología de la Conducta Militar de General Santa-Anna. Mex., 1847.
Jimenez y Frias (Jos. Ant.), El Fénix de los Mineros ricos de la América. Mexico, 1779. 4to.
Jimenez Pantoja (Tomás), Defensa jurídica. n.pl,, n.d. folio.
Jimeno (José), Informe dado al Supremo Gobierno sobre la Partida. Mex., 1837; Opúsculo sobre los casos Reservados. Mex., 1816; Declaracion breve de la cartilla que manifiesta las heregías. Mex., 1811. 4to.
Johnson (Reverdy), Speech on Three Million Bill, Feb. 6, 1847. Wash. 1847.
Jones (Charles Lee), Supplemental Memorial of, in relation to Capt. Geo. W. Hughes. Washington, 1848.
Jones (Walter), The case of the Battalion stated. Washington, 1847.
Jordan (John), Serious actual Dangers of Foreigners and foreign commerce in the Mexican States. Philadelphia, 1826.
Jorry, Historia Univ. de la Iglesia. Mexico, 1854.
Jourdanet (D.), Du Mexique au point de vue de son influence sur la vie de l'homme. Paris, 1861.
Jove y Aguiar (José Alexandro), Oracion fúnebre pronunciada en las solemnes exequias por los Españoles. Mexico, 1808.
Juarez (Benito), Biografía. Puebla, 1867.
Judson (E. Z. C.), The Volunteer; or the Maid of Monterey. Boston, n.d.
Juicio de Imprenta, Documentos relativos al, promovido por E. Barron contra B. G. Ferias. Mexico, 1856.
Juicio de los Locos. Puebla, 1820.
Juicio de un Patriota sobre las Diferentes Opiniones Políticas. Mexico, 1823.
Juicio Privado sobre el Dictámen Presentado al Congreso General. Mexico, 1824.
Julien (Antonio), Trasformazione dell'America o sia trionfo della S. Chiesa. Roma, 1790.
Junta Patriótica, Exposicion. Mexico, 1850–8; Reglamento. Mex., 1850.
Junta Provincial de Censura al Público. [Mexico, 1821.]
Junta de Señoras, Esposicion que hace al público. Mexico, 1840–1.
Junta Suprema del Reyno. Mexico, 1810. 4to.
Jurisdiccion Ordinaria. Defensa de los Señores Obispos para conocer de los negocios de los regulares. Mexico, 1841.
Juzgados de Hacedurías, In Mexico, Doc. Eccles. MS. tom. ii.

Karsten (D. L. G.), Tablas Mineralógicas dispuestas segun los descubrimientos. Mexico, 1804.
Kendall (Geo. Wilkins), The War between the United States and Mexico. New York, 1851. folio.
Kenly (John R.), Memoirs of a Maryland Volunteer in the Mexican War. Philadelphia, 1873.
Kératry (Emil G.), Kaiser Maximilians Erhebung und Fall. Leipzig, 1867.
Keymolen (Louis), Manifeste fesant suite à l'exposé sur le procés dit de Gallinas. Mexico, 1855.
King (Daniel P.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep. Feb. 4, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Kingsborough (Lord), Antiquities of Mexico. London, 1831–48. folio. 9 vols.
Kingsley (Vine Wright), French Intervention in Mexico. New York, 1863.
Klemm (Gustav), Allgemeine cultur Geschichte der Menschheit. Leipzig, 1847.
Kollonitz (Countess Paula), The Court of Mexico. London, 1867.
Kottenkamp (Franz), Der Unabhangigkeitskampf der Spanisch-Amerika. Stuttgart, 1838.

L. (F.), Études Historiques sur le Mexique. Paris, 1859.
L. P. J., Memoria para los Soldados Mexicanos. Mexico, 1833.
Labarthe (Charles de), Les Sacrifices humains au Mexique. Paris, 1862.

Lacombe (H. Mercier de), Le Mexique et les États-Unis. Paris, 1863.
Lacunza (José María de), Discursos Históricos. Mexico, 1845.
Lacunza (Juan N.), Ocho dias á dios. Mexico, 1841. 4to.
Lafragua (J. M.), Memorandum de los Negocios Pendientes entre Mex. y España. Poissy, 1857; Negocios Pendientes entre Mex. y España. Paris, 1858.
Lancaster-Jones (Alfonso), Documentos importantes del Proceso de Gobernador Constitucional de Jalisco. Mexico, 1868.
Lanciego y Eguilaz (Joseph de), Carta Pastoral del Arçobispo de Mexico. Mexico, 1716; Oraciones fúnebres en los solemnes exequias del. Mexico, 1728.
Landa (Cárlos de), Sobre el Sistema Prohibitivo. Mexico, 1843. 4to.
Landa (Diego de), Relation des choses de Yucatan. Paris, 1864.
Langosta, Dictámen sobre la, presentado por la escuela nacional de agricultura. Mexico, 1856.
Langsdorff (G. H. von), Voyage and travels in various parts of the world. London, 1813.
Lanuza (Pedro José), Vindicacion del General Manuel Rincon. Mexico, 1840.
Larenaudière, El Universo Pintoresco, etc. Paris, 1846.
Larenaudière, Histoire Abrégée de l'origine de la Géographie. Paris, 1828.
Larenaudière, Mexique et Guatemala. Paris, 1843; also Paris, 1847.
Lares (Teodosio), Lecciones de derecho administrativo dadas en el Ateneo. Mexico, 1852.
Laris (Mariano G.), Discurso cívico pronunciado el 16 de Setiembre, 1854. Morelia, 1854.
Larrainzar (Manuel), Algunas Ideas sobre la historia y manera de escribir la de Mexico. Mexico, 1865. 4to; La Cuestion de Tehuantepec. New York, 1852; Dictámen presentado á la Sociedad de Geog. y Estad. de Mex. Mex., 1865; Estudios sobre la Historia de America. Mex., 1875. 5 vols; Noticia Histórica de Soconusco. Mexico, 1843.
Larrañaga (Bruno Joseph de), Poema Heróyoco. Mexico, 1804. 4to.
Larrañaga (Bruno Francisco), Prospecto de una Eneida Apostólica ó Epopeya. Mexico, 1788.
Lascano (M.), Operaciones militares del Ejército de Oriente. n.pl., n.d.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Breve Relacion de la Destruccion de las Indias. Sevilla, 1822.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Cartas, Representaciones, Asientos, and other Documents. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. vii.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Coleccion de las Obras del Obispo de Chiapa. [By Juan Antonio Llorente.] Paris, 1822. 2 vols.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Conqvista dell' Indie Occidentali. Venetia, 1644.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Decouverte des Indias Occidentales. Paris, 1697.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Extractos. [From his Historia de las Indias.] MS.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Historia Apologética de las Yndias Occidentales. MS. folio. 4 vols.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Historia de Indias. MS. folio. 4 vols.; also edition Madrid, 1875. 5 vols.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Indio Esclavo. Puebla, 1821.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Istoria ó Breuissima Relatione. Venetia, 1630; also Venetia, 1643.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Liberta Pretesta dal suplice. Venetia, 1640.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Œuvres. Paris, 1822. 2 vols.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Real Cédula. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. vii.; Ternaux-Compans, Voy., serie ii., tom. v.; Florida, Col. Doc.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Regionvm Indicarum per Hispanos. Heidelberg, 1664.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Relation des Voyages et des Découvertes. Amsterdam, 1698.
Las Casas (Bartolomé de), Tyrannies et Crvavtez des Espagnols. Anvers, 1579.
Las Casas and Valdivieso. In Cartas de Indias.

Las Casas y la Mota (Lúcas de), Memorial relativo al gobierno de la Iglesia Catedral de Guadalajara. Mexico, 1729. folio.
Las Cruces, Borderer. Las Cruces, 1872 et seq.
Laso (Francesco), El Atlas Abbreviado. Amberes, 1711.
Lassáya (Juan Lúcas de), y Joaquin Velasquez de Leon, Representacion que hacen al Rey á nombre de la minería de Nueva España. Mexico, 1774. folio.
Lastarria (J. V.), La América. Gante, 1867.
Lato Monte (Ludovico de), Catecismo de la Independencia. Mexico, 1821.
Laurent (Paul), La guerre du Mexique. Paris, 1867.
Lázaro, Carta Pastoral del Arzobispo de Mexico. Mexico, 1855.
Lazcano (Francisco Javier), Vida exemplar y virtudes heróicas del venerable padre Juan Antonio de Oviedo. Mexico, 1760.
Lazcano (Francisco Xavier), Honras funerales que al R. P. Doeur. Mexico, 1763.
Lazcano (Francisco Xavier), Opusculum Theophilosophicum de principatu seu antelatione. Mexico, 1750.
Lazcano (Francisco Xavier), Oratio funebris que regia au Pontifica. Mexico, 1763.
Lazcano (Francis Xavier), Sermon fúnebre. Mexico, 1763.
Lazcano (Marcial), Manifestacion que el Gral hace al público. Mexico, 1858.
Lazcano (M.), Operaciones Militares del Ejército de Oriente. Vera Cruz, 1867.
Lebrija y Barrera, Breves Reflesciones sobre el análisis que han formado. Mexico, 1841.
Lebrija y Barrera, Replica de á los Señores de la Compañía Empresaria de la renta nacional del tabaco.. Mexico, 1841.
Lebron y Cuervo (Joseph), Apología Jurídica de los derechos que tiene el Señor Conde de Santiago del Pueblo de Calemaya, etc. Mexico, 1779. 4to.
Lechuga (Antonio Fernandez), Dedicatoria á Don P. Arias de Mora Guzman y Caballero. Mexico, 1675. 4to.
Lee (Alfred), The Reformation in Mexico. n.pl., n.d.
Lefèvre (E.), Documentos Oficiales recogidos en la Secretaría Privada de Maximiliano, Historia de la Intervencion. Bruselas, etc., 1869. 2 vols.
Lefèvre (E.), Le Mexique et l'intervention Européenne. Mexico, 1862.
Leggett (Aaron), Claims upon the Mex. Govt. Washington, 1848.
Lejalde, Segunda Probanza, In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. ii.
Lempriere (Charles), Notes on Mexico in 1861-2. London, 1862.
Leon, Acta Municipal July 13, 1865. n.pl., n.d; El Ayuntamiento de, pide la ereccion del Estado del Centro. Mex., 1870; La Municipalidad de, solemniza la memoria de su Independencia. Leon, 1871.
Leon (Antonio de), Contestacion del Ciudadano. Oaxaca, 1841.
Leon (Antonio de), Tratado de confirmaciones Reales de Encomiendas, Oficios i casos. Madrid, 1630.
Leon (Francisco Leon de), Hernandia. Triumphos de la fé y gloria de las armas Españolas. Poema Heróyco. Madrid, 1755.
Leon (Joachin Velasquez de), Explicacion de los adornos. Mexico, 1771. 4to.
Leon (José R. G.), El Cura de Santiago de Querétaro á sus fieles habitantes. [Querétaro, 1810.]
Leon (Juan Domingo de), Sermon de la purissima. Mexico, 1719.
Leon (Joaquin Velasquez), Comentarias de las Ordenanzas de Minería. MS.
Leon (Martin de), Manval breve y forma de administrar. Mexico, 1640.
Leon (Rodriguez de), Panegýrico Avgvsto Castellano Latino al Serenissimo Infante. Mexico, 1639.
Leon (Joseph Antonio Ponce de), La Abeja de Michoacan. Mexico, 1752.
Leon (Joseph Antonio Ponce de), La azucena entre Espinas sobre sentada en la vida y virtudes de la madre Luisa de Santa Catarina. Mexico, 1750.
Leon (Nicolás Ponce de), Historia de la singular vida del venerable hermano Cristóval de Molina. Puebla, 1686.
Leon y Gama (Antonio de), Carta que sobre las Observaciones críticas, etc. MS. [1792]; Descripcion histórica de las dos Piedras. Mex., 1832; Instruccion sobre el remedio de las Lagartijas. Mex., 1782.

Lerdo (Francisco), Esposicion sobre el Juicio. Mexico, 1849.
Lerdo (Ignacio María), Esposicion del Doctor Lerdo contra las observaciones del Pensador Mexicano. Mexico, 1826.
Lerdo de Tejada (Francisco), Esposicion sobre Administracion de la Aduana Marítima de Mazatlan. Mexico, 1849.
Lerdo de Tejada (Miguel M.), Apuntes Históricos de la Heróica Ciudad de Vera Cruz. Mexico, 1850–5. 5 parts.
Le Saint (L.), Guerre du Mexique. Lille, n.d.; Paris, 1867.
Letran (San Juan de), La Junta Catedrática Directiva del Nacional y primitivo Colegio de Mexico. Mexico, 1850.
Levanto (Leonardo), Crísis Americana. Madrid, 1741. folio.
Leyes, Varias Anotaciones á muchas leyes de Indias. n.pl., n.d. MS.
Leyes y Ordenanças Nuevamente hechas por su Magestad, para la gouernació de las Indias. Valladolid, 1603. folio.
Leyes y Ordenanzas. Madrid. [1581.]
Lexarza (F. Manuel), Espulsion de los Padres Jesuitas y Vida comun de las Monjas. n.pl., 1768. MS. folio.
Lezama (José de), Exhortacion de Paz que, descubierta la infame revolucion de tierra. Mexico, 1811. small 4to.
Liberalismo y sus Efectos en la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1858.
Libertad de Imprenta Defendida. Puebla, 1821. folio; Defensa. Mej., 1821; Prohibida. Mej., 1820; Triunfo de la Mex. 1821. folio.
Libro de Cabildo, Copia de la mayor parte. 1521–9.
Libro de las Constituciones. Mexico, 1796.
Liceaga (José María de), Adiciones y rectificaciones á la Historia de Mexico. Guanajuato, 1868.
Liceo Mexicano. Mexico, 1844. 2 vols.
Limon (Ildefoust Gomez), Sermon que en la exaltacion del Señor Cárlos IV., Mexico, 1791. Mexico, 1791.
Linares (Duque de, Virey de Mex.), Instruccion á su Sucesor. n.pl., 1716. MS. folio.
Linares (Obispo de), Aclaraciones sobre la circular que espidió en Tampico á 16 de Octubre del corriente año. Mexico, 1860. 4to.
Linati (C.), Costumes du Mexique. Bruxelles. n.d. 4to.
Linieres (Eduardo Enrique Teodoro de Turreau), Plan de los Establecimientos y Estatutos Generales de la Compañía Mexicana Científica. Mexico, 1835.
Linterna Mágica ó semanario fisonómico. Mexico, 1822.
Liot (W. B.), Panamá, Nicaragua and Tehuantepec. London, 1849.
Lippard (George), Legends of Mexico. Philadelphia, 1847.
Lista de los individuos matriculados en el colegio de abogados. Mexico, 1807.
Lista Interina de los informantes contra las víctimas de la noche del 10 y 11 de Mayo de 1814. [Mexico, 1820.]
Livermore (Abiel Abbott), The war with Mexico reviewed. Boston, 1850.
Lizana (Xavier de), Anónimo contra su pastoral. MS. 1803.
Lizana y Beaumont (Francisco), Carta Gratulatoria. Mexico, 1810; Carta pastoral que dirige á su clero sobre la santidad del estado. Mex., 1807; Elogios Latino y Castellano 20 y 21 de Julio de 1812. Mex., 1813; Exhortacion del Arzobispo de Mex. á sus fieles. Mex., 1810; Sermon el dia 18 de Agosto de 1808. Mex., 1808.
Lizana y Beaumont (Francisco) Cartas Pastorales, A collection.
Lizardi (J. J. Fernandez de), Advertencias Necesarias para la Eleccion de Diputados del Futuro Congreso. Mex., 1823; Contestacion del pensador á la carta que se dice dirigida á el Coronel D. Augustin Iturbide. Mex., 1821; Noches Tristes. Mex., 1818; Pensador Mexicano. Mex., 1813, et seq.; Observaciones que el Pensador Mexicano hace á las censuras. Mexico, 1825; El Periquillo Sarniento. Mexico, 1842. 4 vols.; Mexico, 1865. 4 vols.
Llano (Manuel), Opúsculo sobre telegrafía-electro-magnética y apuntes. Mexico, 1858.

Llanto de la puebla en la traslacion de su amabilísimo prelado. Puebla [1800]. MS.
Llave de Oro para abrir las puertas del cielo. Mexico, 1815.
Llorente (Juan Antonio), Aforismos Políticos. Mexico, 1822.
Loayzaga (Manuel), Historia de la milagrosíssima imágen de Nra Sra de Occotlan. Mexico, 1750.
Lobo (Manuel), Relacion de la Vida y Virtudes de Pedro de San Joseph Betancur, 1724. MS.
Logroño (Pedro de), Carta al Rey Don Felipe II. In Cartas de Indias.
Lombardo (Francisco M.), Informe que en contestacion al que hizo. Mexico, 1852.
London Geographical Society, Journal. London, 1831–70. 40 vols.
Long (Edward), Speech on Mexican War in U. S. House of Rep., Jan. 9, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Lopez (Gerónimo), Carta al Emperador Oct. 20, 1541. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. ii.
Lopez (Gregorio), Declaracion del Appocalipse. Mexico, 1626. MS.
Lopez (Gregorio), Tesoro de Medicina y de las plantas de la Nueva España. Mexico, 1673.
Lopez (Jesus de), Discurso. Aguascalientes, 1861.
Lopez (Miguel), Refutacion al folleto con motivo de la ocupacion de Querétaro en 15 de Mayo de 1867. Morelia, 1867.
Lopez Claros (Pedro), Defensa legal de D. Lorenzo y D. Mariano Sisa. Madrid, 1849. 4to.
Lopez Matoso (Antonio Ignacio), Extracto cuasi á la letra de la causa criminal. Mexico, 1816. MS.
Lopez Portillo (Antonio), Manifiesto legal. MS. 1761.
Lopez de Salcedo (Diego), Instruccion, descubrimiento del Desaguadero. Año 1527. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc. vol. xiv.
Lopez de Silva (Francisco), Tratado de Plata y Oro. Cádiz, 1699.
López de Zubiria (José Antonio), Documentos oficiales relativos al Estrañamiento. Victoria de Durango, 1834.
Lorenzana (Francisco Antonio), Aranzel para curas de la ciudad de Mex. [Mexico, 1777.] folio.
Lorenzana y Buitron (Francisco Antonio), Cartas pastorales y edictos. Mexico, 1770.
Losada (Juan Miguel), El Grito de Dolores. Mexico, 1850.
Lossada (P. Domingo), Compendio de los Privilegios Regulares de Indias, Madrid, 1737.
Löwenstirn (Isidore), Le Mexique. Paris, 1843; Journey from the city of Mexico to Mazatlan, in London Geog. Soc., Jour. xi.
Ludecus (Edward), Reise durch die Mexicanische Provinzin, Tumalipas, Cohahuila und Texas im 1834. Leipzig, 1837.
Luli, Refutacion contra la memoria presentada sobre las Americas. Madrid, 1821.
Luz (La). Mexico, 1869 et seq.
Luz (La), Semanario Religioso. Monterey, 1877.
Lyon (G. F.), Journal of a Residence and Tour in Mexico in 1826. London, 1828. 2 vols.

M. (J.), Minero Comerciante. Mexico, 1820.
McDougall (J. A.), Speech in the Senate of the U. S., Feb. 3., 1863, on French interference in Mexico. Baltimore, 1863.
Macedo (Miguel), Documentos que manifiestan la conducta que observó. Mexico, 1828.
M'Ilvaine (William), Sketches of Scenery and Notes of Personal Adventure in California and Mexico. Philadelphia, 1850.
Mackenzie (E.), Historical, Topographical and Descriptive view of the U. S., Canada, and Mexico. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1819.
McLane (R. M.), Speech on Bill to supply deficient appropriations for Mexican War, March 1, 1848. Washington, 1848.

McLane (R. M.), Speech on War with Mexico, Jan. 19, 1848. Washington, 1848.
McSherry (Richard), El Puchero. Philadelphia, 1850.
Madelène (Henri de la), Le Comte Gaston de Raousset Boulbon. Paris, 1876.
Maldonado (Felipe Peon), Justa Memoria del heroismo que en el sitio de Gerona manifestó. Mexico, 1810.
Maldonado (Fernando N.), Informe elevado al Vice-Gobernador de Chiapas. Vera Cruz, 1850; Proyecto para que todos los empleados públicos. San Cristóbal Las Casas, 1851.
Maldonado (Francisco Severo), El Telégrafo de Guadalaxara. [Guad.] 1811–1812. 4to. 2 vols.
Mallol y Herrera (Manuel), Oracion pronunciada en elogio de Revilla-Gigedo. Mexico, 1791.
Malo (José R.), Apuntes Históricos sobre D. Agustin Iturbide. Mexico, 1869.
Malo y Manrrique (Juan Leonardo), La Estrella de el Norte de Mexico. Mexico, 1741.
Malte-Brun, Les États-Unis et le Mexique. Paris, 1862.
Malte-Brun. Un coup d'œil sur le Yucatan. Paris. n.d.
Mancera, Instruccion. In Col. Doc. Inéd. tom. xxi.
Mancera (Gabriel), Ferrocarril Interoceánico Discurso del 19 de Nov. de 1872. Mexico, 1872.
Mancilla (Antonio), Imágen Iris de hermosura. Mexico, 1725.
Maneiri (Joannis Aloysii), De vitis Aliquot Mexicanorum. Bononiæ, 1791–2. 3 vols.
Manero (Vicente E.), Apuntes Históricos sobre Ferrocarriles. Mexico, 1872.
Manifestacion de la Validez del Decreto de 13 de Mayo 1840. Mexico, 1840.
Manifiesto contra las instrucciones comunicadas por el Emp. de los franceses. Mexico, 1811.
Manifiesto del Ayuntamiento á los habitantes de la Capital sobre las causas del mal estado. Mexico, 1848.
Manifiesto del Gobierno Provisional acerca de los negocios de Yucatan. Mexico, 1843.
Manifiesto del Supremo Tribunal de Guerra y Marina. Mexico, 1848.
Manifiesto de su Justicia que producen los dueños de Haciendas. Mexico, 1750. 4to.
Manifiesto que la Honorable Legislatura del estado libre de Mexico. Mexico, 1834.
Manifiesto sobre la nulidad de las Elecciones. Mexico, 1820.
Manjarres (F. C.), Defensa de la precedencia de los hermanos ex-Guardianes. Mexico, 1841.
Mansfield (Edward D.), Life and Services of General W. Scott. Auburn, 1852.
Mansion (Hypolite), Précis Historique sur la colonie française au Goazacoalcos. Londres, 1831.
Manso y Zvñiga (Francisco), Regla y ordenaciones de las religiosas de la limpia e immacvlada. Mexico, 1635.
Manual seráfico ó libro de la vida de los Frayles menores. Mexico, 1779. 4to.
Manzi (Pietro), Il Conquista di Messico. Roma, 1817.
Maraver, Carta del presbítero de 1° de Junio de 1544. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. viii.
Marfil (Jacinto), Noticias Instructivas que por muerte del Señor Amarillas, etc. Mexico, 1760. MS.
María Santísima Compendio histórico y novena. Valencia, 1795.
Marian y Torquemada (José Nicolás), Panegírico de San Juan Nepomuceno. Mexico, 1832. sm. 4to.
Marin (Manuel Gomez), Defensa Guadalupana. Mex., 1819; Oracion panegírico que en la funcion. Mex., 1816.
Marin (Miguel Angel), Vida de San Paphnucia abad. Mexico, 1810.
Marquéz (Leonardo), A las tropas de su division Enero 31 de 1864. n.pl., n.d.; Ejército Imperial Dic. 20 de 1868. n.pl., n.d.; El General á las tropas de su division.. Mex., 1864; Manifiesto que hace á la Nacion. Guadalajara, 1859; Refuctacion hecha por el General. Nueva York, 1869.

Marroquí (José María), Discurso. Mex., 1861.
Marsh (G. P.), Speech on Mexican War, Feb. 10, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Martin (Ch.), Précis des évènements de la campagne du Mexique. Paris, 1863.
Martinez (Antonio Fernando), Estado de las misiones á cargo de la Provincia de San Francisco de Zacatecas en 13 de Octubre de 1789. MS.
Martinez (Antonio Joaquin Perez), Oracion fúnebre. Mexico, 1808.
Martinez (Manuel Silvestre), Librería de Jueces ultilísima. Madrid, 1791.
Martinez (Miguel), El Pontificado y El Rey de Roma. Mexico, 1860; Sermon panegírico que en la dedicacion. Mexico, 1785.
Martinez (Rafael G.), Refutacion á las reflecsiones médicas de Don M. Dávila y Arrillaga. Mejico, 1535. sm. 4to.
Martinez (Victor José), Sinópsis Histórica Filosófica y Política de las Revoluciones Mexicanas. Mexico, 1874.
Martyr (Peter), Anglimediolanensis Opera. Seville, 1511.
Martyr (Peter), De Nvper svb D. Carolo repertis Insulis. Basiliæ, 1521.
Martyr (Peter), De Orbe Decades. Alcala, 1516.
Martyr (Peter), De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis Protonotarrii Cæsaris senatoris decades. n.pl., 1530.
Martyr (Peter), De Rebus Oceanicis. Paris, 1536.
Martyr (Peter), Libro Primo della Historia delle Indie Occidentali. Vinegia, 1534.
Martyr (Peter), Opus Epistolarum. Copluti, 1530.
Maseras (Bartholomé), Informe tocante á las misiones de Nayarit el 13 de Octubre de 1785. MS.
Mason (R. H.), Pictures of Life in Mexico. London, 1851. 2 vols.
Masones Bula de Nuestra Santísimo Padre el Señor Leon XII. Puebla, 1830.
Masseras (E.), Le Programme de l'Empire. Mexico, 1864.
Masseras (E.), Un essai d'empire au Mexique. Paris, 1879.
Massey (Thomas E.), Mexico as it is. Washington, 1866.
Masson (Ernesto), Olla Podrida. Paris, 1864.
Mata (J. E. M.), Reflecsiones sobre la guerra entre los Estados Unidos y Mejico. Nueva-Orleans, 1847.
Mateos (Juan A.), Composicion leida por la noche del 18 de Octubre de 1866. Mérida, 1866; El Sol de Mayo. Mex., 1868; Los Insurgentes. Mex., 1869; Sacerdote y Caudillo. Mex., 1869.
Maximilian, Alocuciones, cartas officiales. Mexico, 1867.
Maximilian and the Mexican Empire. Non-intervention the true policy of the U. S. New York, 1866.
Maximilian, Aus meinem Leben Reiseskizzen, Aphorismen, Gedichte. Leipzig, 1867.
Maximilian, Coleccion de las Composiciones Poéticas. Mexico, 1864.
Maximilian, Empereur du Mexique. Paris. n.d.
Maximilian, Memorandum sobre el Proceso. Mexico, 1867.
Maximilian, Noticia Biográfica. n.pl. [1864.]
Maximilian, To Mexicans, in Spanish and Aztec, Oct. 2, 1865. [Mexico, 1865.]
Maximilian y Carlota, Breve Noticia del Recibimiento y Permanencia en la Ciudad de Puebla. Puebla, 1864.
Mayer, MSS. (A collection of thirty copies, from Mexican archives.)
Mayer (Brantz), History of the Mexican War. New York, etc., 1848.
Mayer (Brantz), Mexico as it was and as it is. New York, 1844; also Baltimore, 1846; and Philadelphia, 1847.
Mayer (Brantz), Mexico. Aztec, Spanish, and Republican. Hartford, 1853. 2 vols.
Mayer (Brantz), Observations on Mexican History, etc. Washington, 1856.
Mayora (Juan), Relacion de la Vida, etc., de Antonio Herdoñana. Mexico, 1758.
Mayorga, Derechos sobre tabaco y pulques. Mexico, 1780.
Mayorga (Martin de), Proclamacion [War with Great Britain] Junio 20. Mexico, 1780.
Mazariegos (Mariano Robles Dominguez de), Memoria Histórica de la provincia de Chiapa. Cádiz, 1813.

Medina (Balthassar de), Chrónica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de Mexico. Mexico, 1682. folio.
Medina (Balt. de), Vida de Fray Bernardo Rodriguez. Mex., 1688; Vida, Martyrio y Beatificacion del invicto Proto-Martyr de Japon San Felipe de Jesus. Mex., 1683; Madrid, 1751.
Medina y Sarabia (Joseph Diego de), Escrito en respuesta á los cargos hechos al capitan. Mexico, 1712. folio.
Memmi (Juan Baptista), Vida del padre Francisco María Galluzzi. Mexico, 1761. 4to.
Memoria Político-Instructiva enviada desde Filadelfia en Agosto de 1821. Filadelfia, 1821; Mexico, 1822.
Memorial Histórico. Mexico, 1846, et seq.
Mena (Francisco de), Extracto de los capítulos de buen gobierno en la América. n.d. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xi.
Mendez (Gregorio), Reseña Oficial de los sucesos del Estado de Tabasco, etc. Mexico, 1867.
Mendez (Juan Baptista), Regla y constituciones de las reglas religiosas. Mexico, 1730.
Mendez (Luis), Código Civil del Distrito Federal. Mexico, 1871. 4to.
Mendez (Santiago), Presupuesto de un Ferro-Carril. Vera Cruz, 1857.
Mendibil (Pablo de), Resúmen Histórico de la Revolucion de los Estados Unidos Mejicanos. Londres, 1828.
Mendieta (Gerónimo de), Historia Eclesiástica Indiana. Mexico, 1870.
Mendieta (Gerónimo de), Carta al Rey Don Felipe desde Toluca en 8 de Oct. de 1565. MS. folio; Correspondencia con varios personages desde 1570 á 1572. MS. folio.
Mendizabal (Francisco), Carta Edificante. Mex., 1842; Representacion que al Soberano Congreso dirije. Mex., 1841.
Mendizabal (Pedro Josef de), Sermon en el 30 de Septiembre de 1810. Mexico, 1810.
Mendo (Andrés), Crísis de la Compañía de Jesus. Mexico, 1765.
Mendoza (Antonio), Carta á Juan de Aguilar. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. iii.
Mendoza (Antonio), Carta al Emperador. In Cartas de Indias.
Mendoza (Antonio), Carta al Marqués de Gauiotte. In Cartas de Indias.
Mendoza (Antonio), Carta escrita al Emperador Cárlos V. dandole cuenta de lo ocurrido en los territorios de su mando. In Florida, Col. Doc.
Mendoza (Antonio), Fragmento de la Visita hecha. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. ii.
Mendoza (Antonio), Provision dada por el virey 30 de Nov. de 1537. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xii.
Mendoza (Antonio), Relacion, apuntamientos y avisos. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. vi.
Mendoza (Antonio), Relacion de la jornada que hizo Francisco de Sandoval Acazitli. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. ii.
Mendoza (Eufemeo), Disertacion presentada al Jurado Respectivo para la Oposicion á la Plaza. Mex., 1872; Nociones de cronología universal, estractadas de los mejores autores de Jalisco. Guadalajara, 1868.
Mendoza (Javier de), La Cuestion de Mejico y el conde de Reus. Madrid, 1859.
Mendoza (Juan de), Relacion del Santuario de Tecaxic. Mexico, 1684.
Mendoza (E.), and Manuel A. Romo, Nociones de Cronología Universal. Mexico, 1874.
Menonville (Thiery de), Reise nach Guaraca in Neu-Spanien. Leipzig, 1789.
Menonville (Thiery de), Traité de la culture du Nopal. Paris, 1787.
Mensagero (El). Mexico, 1877 et seq.
Mensajero Español (El.) Mexico, 1860, et seq.
Mesa (Francisco de Paula), Breve Manifestacion que hace al público, de su conducta como Gobr de Querétaro. Mexico, 1849.
Mesa y Leompart, Compéndio de la Historia de America. Paris, 1870. 2 vols.
Meseguer (Francisco), El diablo, discurso que en la catedral de Mexico, 1809.

Método que se observa constantemente en Mexico, etc., para recibir y despachar el Galeon de Filipinas. Cádiz, 1763. MS.
Mexican Affairs, Papers relating to. Washington, 1865.
Mexican Bondholders, General Meetings. London, 1850 et seq.
Mexican Bondholders, Reports of the Committee. London, 1850 et seq.
Mexican Company, Report of Directors, May 1, 1828. London, 1828.
Mexican Constitutional Government, Decrees inviting American emigrants to settle. New York, 1864; San Francisco, 1865.
Mexican Debt Reports. A Collection. 3 vols.
Mexican Empire (The) and the American Union. n.pl., n.d.
Mexican Finance 1852–6. A Collection.
Mexican Imperial Street Railroad Company. New York, 1865.
Mexican Missionary Association, Its Origin and Work. New York, 1871.
Mexican National Debt contracted in London. London, 1860.
Mexican Ocean Mail and Inland Company, Reports. New York, 1853 et seq.
Mexican Pacific Coal and Iron Mining and Land Company, Prospecto. Nueva-York, 1856; Exploring expedition to the States of Guerrero and Michoacan, 1856–7. New York, 1858.
Mexican Pamphlets. A Collection. 5 vols.
Mexican War. A Collection of U. S. Government Documents, Scraps, Pamphlets, etc. 12 vols.
Mexican War, Complete History of the late, By an eye-witness. New York, 1850.
Mexican War, History of the raising of the first American flag on the Capitol of Mexico. Washington, 1856.
Mexican War, Incidents and Sufferings in the. Boston, etc., 1848.
Mexican War, Messages of the President [30 Cong. 1st Sess. House Ex. 60; Senate Ex. 1]. Washington, 1847–8. 2 vols.
Mexican War, Official list of officers who marched with the army under Scott, etc. Mexico, 1848.
Mexican War Pamphlets. A Collection of 30 pamphlets.
Mexican War (The) by an English soldier. New York, 1860.
Mexicanische Typen und Skizzen. Berlin, 1870.
Mexicanische Zustände aus den Yahre 1830 bis 1832. Stuttgart, etc., 1837. 2 vols.
Mexicanos (Los), Descripcion de la República de Mexico. n.pl., n.d.
Mexico. London, 1846.
Mexico. San Francisco, 1861.
Mexico, No. 1. Shall our Government Act, etc. n.pl. n.d.
Mexico, No. 2. Historical and Financial Items. n.pl., n.d.
Mexico, No. 3. Biographical Sketch of the Constitutional President Juarez. n.pl., n.d.
Mexico, Aboriginal History. MS.
Mexico, Acta del Cabildo celebrado en 30 de Mayo de 1836. Mexico, 1836.
Mexico, Acta constitutiva de la Federacion Mexicana. Mexico, 1824.
Mexico, Actas del Congreso Constituyente Mexicano. Mexico, 1822–5. 10 vols.; also Mexico, 1824–5. 4 vols.
Mexico, Actas de la Junta de Minería, 1846–7. Mexico, 1858. MS. folio.
Mexico, Actas Provinciales de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico, etc., desde 1540 hasta 1589. MS.
Mexico, Acuerdo de la Junta de guerra y Real Hacienda, 30 de Abril de 1772. MS.
Mexico, Al pueblo Mexicano, Relacion de las causas que influeron en los desgraciados sucesos de 20 de Agosto 1847. Mexico, 1847.
Mexico, Anales del Ministerio de Fomento. Mexico, 1854–5. 3 vols.
Mexico, Análisis de la Memoria de la Comision de Hacienda. Mex., 1822. Analysis of Memorial presented by Sec. of Treas. to 1st Const. Cong. of United Mexican States. London, 1825.
Mexico, Anuario de Ordenes Imperiales 1865. Mexico, 1865, folio.
Mexico, Arancel general de Aduanas Marítimas y Fronterizas. Mexico, 1842 et seq.

Mexico, Arancel Parroquial. MS. 1703. folio.
Mexico, Aranzeles de los Tribunales, Juzgados y oficinas de Justicia. Mexico, 1759. 4to.
Mexico, Archivo Mexicano, Actas de las Sesiones de Cámaras. Mexico, 1852. 2 vols.
Mexico, Archivo Mexicano, Coleccion de Leyes, Decretos, etc. Mexico, 1856–63. 7 vols.
Mexico, Archivo Mexicano, Documentos, Historia de Mexico. Mexico, 1852.
Mexico, Arreglo del cuerpo de Artillería. Mexico, 1838.
Mexico, Auto de la audiencia. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. iii.
Mexico, Autos de la real audiencia á la ciudad y su respuesta de Marqués de Gelves. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. iii.
Mexico, Autos sobre ereccion de nuevos parroquias de Mexico. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. iii.
Mexico, Ayuntamiento. Acta del Cabildo en 30 de Mayo de 1836. Mexico, 1836; Coleccion de Documentos Oficiales relativos al Parian. Mexico, 1843; Continuacion de documentos á la cesacion. Mexico, 1843; Documentos relativos á las contestaciones entre el supremo Gobierno y el. Mexico, 1843; Manifiesto al público que hace el de 1840. Mexico, 1840; Manifiesto del de 1835 al Público Mexicano. Mexico, 1836; Memoria de los Ramos Municipales 31 de Diciembre de 1846. Mexico, 1847; Reglamento de la Secretaría. Mexico, 1844; Representacion que hace en defensa de Industria Agrícola. Mexico, 1841; Representacion sobre Distrito Federal. Mexico, 1825.
Mexico, Balanza general del Comercio Marítimo. Mexico, 1829.
Mexico, Bandos publicados á conseqüencia de Reales Ordenes y cédulas de Su Magestad, etc. Mexico, 1772.
Mexico, Bases y leyes Constitucionales de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1837.
Mexico, Bases Orgánicas de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1843.
Mexico, Bases sobre las que se ha formado un plan de Colonizacion en el Ystmo de Hoazacoalco, etc. Mexico, 1823.
Mexico, Battles of. New York, 1847; New York, 1848.
Mexico, Bienes de la Iglesia. Guadalajara, 1847.
Mexico, Boletin de las leyes del Imperio Mexicano ó sea código de la Restauracion. Mexico, 1863–5. 3 vols.
Mexico, Boletin de Noticias. Mexico, 1844 et seq.
Mexico, Boletin Oficial. Mexico, 1829 et seq.
Mexico, Bosquejo Histórico de la Revolucion de tres dias. Mexico, 1828.
Mexico, Bosquejo Ligerísimo de la revolucion. Philadelphia, 1822.
Mexico, Cabildo Metropolitano de Gobernador sede Vacante. MS. 1811. folio.
Mexico, Carta del cabildo sobre el tumulto de 15 de Enero de 1624. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. iii.
Mexico, Casa de sus Magestades 1865. Mexico, 1865.
Mexico, Casas de Moneda, Noticias de Acuñacion. Mex., 1879; Ordenanzas que para el manejo y gobierno del apartado de oro, etc. Mex., 1790.
Mexico, Causa Instruida contra los Placiarios del C. Juan Cervantes, etc. Mexico, 1872.
Mexico, Ceremonial para la Fiesta Nacional del 16 de Setiembre de 1866. Mexico, 1866. 4to.
Mexico, Circular sobre nombramientos 1771–83.
Mexico, Circulares y Otras Publicaciones hechas por la Legacion Mexicana en Washington durante la Guerra de Intervencion 1862–67. Mexico, 1868.
Mexico, Código Civil del Imperio Mexicano. Mexico, 1866.
Mexico, Código de Comercio. Mexico, 1854.
Mexico, Código de la Reforma ó coleccion de Leyes, etc., desde 1856 hasta 1861. Mexico, 1861.
Mexico, Código fundamental de los Estados-Unidos Mexicanos. Mexico, 1847.
Mexico, Coleccion completa de los decretos generales. Mexico, 1863.

Mexico, Coleccion de constituciones de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. Mexico, 1828. 3 vols.
Mexico, Coleccion de decretos sobre contribuciones directas y papel sellado. Mexico, 1842.
Mexico, Coleccion de disposiciones relativas á la renta de Alcabalas. Mexico, 1853.
Mexico, Coleccion de Itinerarios y Leguarios. Mexico, 1850.
Mexico, Coleccion de las leyes, decretos y órdenes 1850–1, 1853–5. Mexico, 1850–5. 8 vols.
Mexico, Coleccion de Leyes y Decretos, 1839-41, 1844–8, 1850. Mexico, 1851–2. 6 vols.
Mexico, Coleccion de Leyes, Decretos y Circulares 1863–67. Mexico, 1867. 3 vols.
Mexico, Coleccion de Leyes, Decretos, Circulares, etc., relativas á la desamortizacion. Mexico, 1861. 2 vols.
Mexico, Coleccion de leyes, decretos y reglamentos, sistema político del Imperio. Mexico, 1865. 8 vols.
Mexico, Coleccion de los decretos espedidos por el supremo gobierno. Mexico, 1844.
Mexico, Coleccion de los decretos y órdenes de las Córtes de España. Mexico, 1829.
Mexico, Coleccion de los Documentos relativos al préstamo de medio millon de pesos. Mexico, 1839.
Mexico, Coleccion de oficios originales. MS. 1779.
Mexico, Coleccion de Ordenes y decretos de la Soberano Junta. Mexico, 1829. 3 vols.
Mexico, Coleccion de Sentencias pronunciadas por los Tribunales de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1850.
Mexico, Colonias Militares, Proyecto. Mexico, 1848.
Mexico como Nacion Independiente. Descripcion. Mexico, 1828.
Mexico, Condition of Affairs. Washington, 1866. 2 vols.
Mexico, Conducto ilegal del Ministerio de Hacienda en sus providencias. Mexico, 1841.
Mexico, Conquest of. London, n.d.
Mexico, Consideraciones sobre la situacion política y social de la República. Mexico, 1848.
Mexico, Consolidacion de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1850–1. 3 vols.
Mexico, Constitucion federal de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. Mexico, 1824 et seq.
Mexico, Constitucion política del Estado de Mexico. Mexico, 1827.
Mexico, Constituciones. A Collection. 2 vols.
Mexico, Contestacion á la nota dirigida por la Junta de Colonizacion é Industria. Puebla, 1848; Contestacion de la Junta Directiva del Banco Nacional. Mex., 1841; Contestacion de la segunda comision de Hacienda. Mex., 1850; Contestacion en derecho de Don Estéban Diaz Gonzalez. Mex., 1830; Contestacion que da el Ayuntamiento. Mex., 1840; Contestacion que da la Comision de Hacienda. Mex., 1825; Contestaciones habidas entre el gobierno Mexicano y el commisionado de los Estados Unidos. Mex., 1847; Contestaciones habidas entre el Señor Arzobispo y el Ministerio de Justicia. Mex., 1855.
Mexico, Contrata del ramo de alumbrado de las calles de la Capital federal. Mexico, 1835.
Mexico, Corporaciones civiles y eclesiásticas, Noticia de las fincas. Mexico, 1856.
Mexico, Copia de una carta de un religioso conventual de la ciudad de Mexico dando cuenta del tumulto de Junio 8 de 1692. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. iii.
Mexico, Correspondencia de la Legacion Mexicana en Washington durante la Intervencion Estranjera 1860–68. Mex., 1870; Correspondencia que ha mediado, Baño de Caballos Mayo 25, 1845. Mex., 1845; Correspondencia

que ha mediado entre la Legacion Extraordª de, y el Deptº de Estado de los Esta Unidos. Phil., 1836; Correspondencia que ha mediado entre el Ministro de Relaciones y la Legacion de Francia. Mex., 1845.
Mexico, Cosas. Vera Cruz, 1858.
Mexico, Cuaderno de Formularios. Mexico, 1840.
Mexico, Cuenta de la percepcion, distribucion é inversion de los diez millones de pesos que produjo el tratado de Mesilla. Mexico, 1855.
Mexico, Cuestion de Mejico, si la monarquía constitucional. Madrid, 1862; Cuestion relativa á la provision de Obispados. Mex., 1850.
Mexico, Declaraciones sobre el tumulto. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. ii.
Mexico, Decreto (A very large number quoted by date, subject, or authority).
Mexico, Defensa Jurídica por el venerable Dean y cabildo, etc. Mexico, 1741. MS.
Mexico, Derechos Mexicanos en órden á los Agentes comerciales. Vera Cruz, 1859.
Mexico, Derechos reales de la Alcabala. Mexico, 1805. folio.
Mexico, Descargos del Marqués de Gelves á los cargos. MS. folio.
Mexico, Description of the Republic. Philadelphia, 1846.
Mexico, Destierro del Arzobispo. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. ii.
Mexico, Diario de la Junta Nacional Instituyente. Mexico, 1822 et seq.
Mexico, Diario del Gobierno de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1840 et seq.
Mexico, Diario de las Sesiones de la Junta Provisional Gubernativa del Imperio Mexicano. Mexico, 1821 et seq.
Mexico, Diario del Imperio. Mexico, 1865 et seq.
Mexico, Diario Oficial. Mexico, 1870 et seq.
Mexico, Dictámen (Several hundred reports of Committees of State and National Governments cited by date and topic).
Mexico, Die Auswanderung nach Mexico, etc. Leipzig. n.d.
Mexico, Diferencias entre Franciscanos y Curas Párrocos. MS.
Mexico, Direccion General de la Industria Nacional. MS.
Mexico, Discurso pronunciado ante el Congreso General por José Herrera. Mexico, 1845.
Mexico, Discurso pronunciado por el Presidente 1° de Enero de 1852. Mexico, 1852.
Mexico, Discurso pronunciado por el Presidente 15 de Oct. de 1852. Mexico, 1852.
Mexico, Disposiciones legales y otros documentos relativos á prohibicion de Impresos. Mexico, 1850.
Mexico, Documentos Eclesiásticos. MS. folio. 5 vols.
Mexico, Documentos importantes tomados del Espediente instruido. Mexico, 1826.
Mexico, Documentos impresos por acuerdo del Supremo Poder. Mexico, 1840.
Mexico, Documentos justificativos sobre la inversion de los fondos pedidos á la Junta directiva de Crédito Público. Mexico, 1851.
Mexico, Documentos que publica la Direccion de Colonizacion é Industria. Mexico, 1848.
Mexico, Documentos referentes á la cuestion agitada en estos últimos dias sobre si los nombramientos de Jueces Militares. Mexico, 1852.
Mexico, Documentos relativos á la apertura de comunicacion de Tehuantepec. Mexico, 1852.
Mexico, Documentos relativos á las últimas ocurrencias de Nueva España. Madrid, 1821.
Mexico, Documentos relativos al decreto sobre provision de las magistraturas vacantes. Mexico, 1846.
Mexico, Dos Años en Mexico. Mexico, 1840.
Mexico, Dos Años en Mejico ó memorias críticas. Valencia, 1838.
Mexico, Draft for a Convention. Washington, 1861.
Mexico, Dramas. MS.
Mexico, Edicto del Presidente y cabildo Metropolitano Gobernador del Arzobispado. Mexico, 1830.

Mexico, Edicto sobre pago de Primicias. MS.
Mexico, El Alcalde primero del Ayuntamiento publica la manifestacion que hizo. Mexico, 1840.
Mexico, El Congreso de 1842. Morelia, 1842.
Mexico, El Imperio y la Intervencion. Mexico, 1867.
Mexico, El Virey de Nueva España Don Felix M. Calleja á sus habitantes. Mexico, 1814.
Mexico en 1847. Mexico, 1847.
Mexico, Encarnacion prisoners. Louisville, 1848.
Mexico, Escalafon General de Artillería. Mex., 1839; Escalafon General del Ejército. Mex., 1843; Escalafon General de todas Armas del Ejército. Mex., 1845.
Mexico, Escudo de Armas. In Figueroa, Vindicias. MS.
Mexico, Estado Mayor Gral. del Ejército, Escalafon. Mexico, 1854.
Mexico, Estatuto Orgánico Provisional de la República Mexicano. Mex., 1856; Estatuto para el Régimen de Plana Mayor del Ejército. Mex., 1839; Estatuto provisional del Imperio Mexicano. Mexico, 1865.
Mexico, Estatutos de la Compañía de Colonizacion Asiática. Mex., 1866; Estatutos de la Compañía del Ferro-carril de Orizava á Vera Cruz. Mex., 1861.
Mexico, Espediente con dos acuerdos del Senado sobre convenciones diplomáticas. Mexico, 1852.
Mexico, Expediente instruido en el Ministerio de Relaciones Esteriores del Gobierno Constitucional. Vera Cruz, 1860. 4to.
Mexico, Exposicion (Several hundred by various commissions and individuals on different topics).
Mexico, Expulsion del Arzobispo. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. iii.
Mexico, Extractos de Cédulas en los archivos de la Ciudad. MS. folio.
Mexico fiel y valiente en el crisol que la pusieron los insurgentes. Mexico, 1810.
Mexico, Forcible abduction of a citizen of the U. S. Washington, 1851.
Mexico, Franciscanos y quejas de Indios. MS. 1672. folio.
Mexico, Gaceta del Gobierno Supremo. Mexico, 1826 et seq.
Mexico, Hacienda, 1845–52. A Collection. 6 vols.
Mexico, Historia de la Revolucion de Mexico contra la Dictadura del General Santa-Anna. Mexico, 1856.
Mexico, Hostilities by (29 Cong. 1st. Sess. House Ex. Doc. 196). Washington, 1846.
Mexico, Important official Documents. n.pl., n.d.
Mexico in 1842. New York, 1842.
Mexico, Indemnities, Convention of Jan. 30, 1843 (28 Cong. 2d Sess. Sen. Doc. 81). Washington, 1845.
Mexico, Indicacion del orígen de los estravios del Cong. Mex. Mexico, 1822.
Mexico, Informacion sobre el tumulto. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. ii.
Mexico, Informe (A very large number of reports by various committees, corporations, and individuals on different topics and of different dates).
Mexico, Iniciativa del Gobierno para la demarcacion de la linea de Comercio libre. Mexico, 1852.
Mexico, Iniciativa que la Exma Junta Departamental hace al Congreso General. Mexico, 1839.
Mexico, Instruccion de los comisionados de la Direccion General. Mexico, 1783.
Mexico, Instruccion del Rey. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xii.
Mexico, Instruccion para la práctica de los padrones que se han de formar. Mexico, 1853.
Mexico, Instruccion para que los administradores de aduanas hagan la legítima exaccion. Toluca, 1835.
Mexico, Instruccion Provisional á que han de arreglarse las Comisarías Generales. Mexico, 1824.
Mexico, Its present Government and its Political Parties. Washington, 1860.

Mexico, Juicio Imparcial sobre los Acontecimientos en 1828–29. New York, etc., 1830.
Mexico, La Intervencion Europea en Mexico. Filadelfia, 1859.
Mexico, La Intervencion y la Monarquía. Washington, 1862.
Mexico, La Ley. Toluca, 1871 et seq.
Mexico, Legislacion Mejicana, Coleccion completa de las Leyes 1848–56. Mejico, 1855–6. 12 vols.
Mexico, Ley decretada por el Congreso general estableciendo un impuesto. Mexico, 1844.
Mexico, Ley de 4 de Nov. de 1848 sobre arreglo del ejército. Mexico, 1848.
Mexico, Ley de Presupuestos Generales de la República Mexicana 1861. Mexico, 1861.
Mexico, Ley orgánica de la guardia de seguridad.
Mexico, Ley orgánica de la Guardia Nacional. Mexico, 1857.
Mexico, Ley para al arreglo de la Admin. de Justicia. Guadalajara, 1837.
Mexico, Ley penal para los Desertores del Ejército. Mexico, 1839.
Mexico, Ley penal para los Empleados de Hacienda. Mexico, 1853.
Mexico, Ley que arregla la renta del papel sellado y los usos de esta decretada en 14 de Feb. de 1856. Mexico, 1856.
Mexico, Ley que arregla las procedimientos Judiciales. La Paz, 1867.
Mexico, Ley sobre derechos y observaciones parroquiales. Mexico, 1857.
Mexico, Ley sobre Libertad de Cultos. Mexico, 1861.
Mexico, Leyes á las que ha debido arreglarse la eleccion de los Supremos Poderes. Mexico, 1848.
Mexico, Leyes, Decretos y Convenios Relativos á la deuda estrangera. Mexico, 1848.
Mexico, Lista pormenorizada de los daños, etc. MS.
Mexico, Manifestacion de las actas de las discusiones, etc. Tlalpam, 1829.
Mexico, Manifestacion que hace al público la comision nombrada por los acreedores de Minería. Mexico, 1850.
Mexico, Manifestacion que el Exmo Ayuntamiento hace al público, contratas, de limpia de ciudad. Mexico, 1834.
Mexico, Manifestacion que la Exma Junta Departmental de Mexico. Mexico, 1837.
Mexico, Manifiesto de la Cámara de Diputados en la legislatura de 1831 y 1832. Mejico, 1832.
Mexico, Manifiesto del Congreso General en el presente Año. Mexico, 1836.
Mexico, Manifiesto del Gobierno Constitutional á la Nacion. Colima, 1859.
Mexico, Manifiesto del Supremo Tribunal de Guerra. n.pl., n.d.
Mexico, Manifiesto del Supremo Tribunal de Guerra y Marina. Mexico, 1848.
Mexico, Memoria de Plumages. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xii.
Mexico, Memorias (Regular Reports of the different government departments; Agricultura, Fomento, Guerra, Hacienda, Interior, Justicia, Marina, Relaciones Exteriores, etc., from 1822 to latest date; a complete set cited by dates).
Mexico, Memorandum de los Negocios Pendientes entre Mexico y España. Poissy, 1857.
Mexico, Memorial de lo sucedido en la ciudad de Mexico desde el dia primero de Nouiembre de 1623, hasta quinze de Enero de 1624. Mexico, 1624. folio.
Mexico, Mensage del Presidente. [Cited by dates.]
Mexico, Merced de S. M. de las cosas arzobispales al Obispo D. Fr. Juan de Zumárraga y sus succesores para siempre jamas. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. iii.
Mexico, Notes made in 1822. Philadelphia, 1824.
Mexico, Noticia Histórica de Infantería. Mexico, 1840.
Mexico, Noticia Histórica de los Cuerpos de Caballería. Mexico, 1840.
Mexico, Noticias de la ciudad. Mexico, 1855.
Mexico, Noticias de Mexico y sus contornos. MS. folio.
Mexico, Observaciones generales sobre Caminos de Hierro. Nueva York, 1838.

Mexico, Observaciones que hace el ejecutivo al Proyecto de Arancel de Aduanas. Mexio, 1870.
Mexico, Observaciones que sobre el proyecto de Bases. Guadalajara, 1843.
Mexico, Observaciones sobre la Influencia del Comercio Estrañgero. Mexico, 1869.
Mexico, Observaciones sobre las facultades del Congreso Constituyente. Tlalpam, 1830.
Mexico, Observaciones sobre reformas á las leyes constitucionales. Mexico, 1841.
Mexico, Observations on the origin and conduct of the war with. New York, 1847.
Mexico, Occupation by French troops. Message of the President, Dec. 21, 1865.
Mexico, Ordenanza de la division de la nobilísima ciudad de Mexico en quarteles. Mexico, 1782. folio.
Mexico, Ordenanza de la renta del Tabaco, 24 de Agosto, 1846. Mexico, 1846.
Mexico, Ordenanza del ramo de carnes. Mexico, 1850.
Mexico, Ordenanza general de Aduanas Marítimas y fronterizas. Mexico, 1856.
Mexico, Ordenanza militar para el régimen, disciplina, etc., del Ejército. Mexico, 1833. 3 vols.
Mexico, Ordenanza militar provisional que debe observar el cuerpo de patriotas. Mexico, 1810.
Mexico, Ordenanzas de esta nobilíssima ciudad. Mexico, 1775. MS. folio.
Mexico, Ordenanzas de la fiel executoria formadas por la ciudad de Mexico. Mexico, 1730. folio.
Mexico, Ordenanzas de Lotería. Mexico, 1844.
Mexico, Ordenanzas para el régimen de los tenderos y tiendas de pulpería. Mexico, 1758. fol.
Mexico, Ordenanzas que se han de observar y guardar en la muy nobilísima y leal ciudad de Mexico. [Mexico, 1729.] folio.
Mexico, Pamphlets. A Collection.
Mexico, Papeles Varios. A Collection.
Mexico, Papers relating to. Washington, 1866.
Mexico, Periódico Oficial. Mexico, 1863 et seq.
Mexico, Piezas Justificativas del Arreglo de la deuda Esterna de Mexico. Mexico, 1849.
Mexico Plausible con la Triumphal demonstracion. Mexico, 1711.
Mexico, Present Condition. Messages of the President of the U. S., April 14, 1862, Jan. 20, 1867. Washington, 1862, 1867. 2 vols.
Mexico, Presupuesto del Ministerio de Guerra y Marina 1° Julio de 1851 á 30 de Junio de 1852. Mexico, 1852. folio.
Mexico, Presupuesto del Ministerio de Hacienda de 1° Jul. de 1851 á 30 de Junio de 1852. Mexico, 1852. folio.
Mexico, Presupuesto del Ministerio de Justicia, etc., del 1° de Julio de 1851 á 30 de Jul. de 1852. Mexico, 1851. folio.
Mexico, Presupuesto del Ministerio de Relaciones, etc., 1849, 1° de Julio de 1851 á 30 de Junio de 1852. Mexico, 1849, 1851. folio. 2 vols.
Mexico, Presupuesto de los gastos que en un mes. Mexico, 1850.
Mexico, Proceedings of a meeting of citizens of New York to express sympathy, etc., for the Mexican republican exiles. New York, 1865.
Mexico, Proceso instructivo formado por la seccion del Gran Jurado de la cámara de diputados. Mexico, 1833.
Mexico, Providencias Diocesanas de Mexico. MS. n.pl., n.d.
Mexico, Proyecto de Basis de Organizacion; de Constitucion; de Ley, etc., etc. (A very large number of important bills introduced before Mexican Congress. Cited by topic and date.)
Mexico, Puntos del parecer que el Señor Auditor de guerra, etc., en 4 de Julio de 1744. MS. folio.
Mexico, Razon de los préstamos que ha negociado el Supremo Gobierno de la Federacion. Mexico, 1829. folio.

Mexico, Reales Aranzeles de los ministros de la Real Audiencia. Mexico, 1727. folio.
Mexico, Recollections of, and the battle of Buena Vista, by an Engineer Officer. Boston, 1871.
Mexico, Reflexiones importantes al bien y beneficio de la Hacienda, etc. Mexico, 1845.
Mexico, Reflexiones importantes sobre la inconveniencia del contrato. Mexico, 1849.
Mexico, Reflexiones sobre el acuerdo del Senado, adopcion del sistema de partida doble. Mexico, 1850.
Mexico, Reflexiones sobre el ramo de Alcabalas. Mexico, 1848.
Mexico, Reflexiones sobre la Independencia. Guadalajara, 1821.
Mexico, Reglamento de Aduanas Marítimas. Mexico, 1829. 4to.
Mexico, Reglamento de la casa de Moneda. Tlalpan, 1827.
Mexico, Reglamento de la Direccion de Colonizacion. Mexico, 1846.
Mexico, Reglamento de la Milicia Activa y General de la Cívica. Mejico, 1833.
Mexico, Reglamento del Archivo general y público de la Nacion. Mexico, 1846.
Mexico, Reglamento del cuerpo de cosecheros de Tabaco. Mexico, 1842.
Mexico, Reglamento del Teatro de Mex. Ap. 11. 1786. [Mexico, 1786.] folio.
Mexico, Reglamento é instruccion para los presidios. Mexico, 1834. folio.
Mexico, Reglamento general de la libertad de imprenta. Mexico, 1827.
Mexico, Reglamento interino y Provisional para la Comisaría Central de Guerra y Marina. Mexico, 1825.
Mexico, Reglamento para el corso de particulares en la presente guerra. Mexico, 1846.
Mexico, Reglamento para el establecimiento de las colonias militares del istmo de Tehuantepec. Mexico, 1851.
Mexico, Reglamento para el gobierno interior del Congreso General. Mexico, 1848.
Mexico, Reglamento para el Gobierno interior de la Suprema Corte marcial. Mexico, 1837.
Mexico, Reglamento para el Gobierno interior de los tribunales superiores. Mexico, 1838.
Mexico, Reglamento para el gobierno interior y económico de la Secretaría de Estado. Mexico, 1852.
Mexico, Reglamento para el Supremo Tribunal de Justicia del Estado. Mexico, 1825.
Mexico, Reglamento para la administracion y contabilidad. Mexico, 1867.
Mexico, Reglamento para la Comunicacion por la via Inter-Oceánica de Tehuantepec. Mexico, 1857.
Mexico, Reglamento para la Guardia Nacional. Mexico, 1846.
Mexico, Reglamento para la seccion superior de los distritos de Hacienda. Mexico, 1852.
Mexico, Reglamento para la Tesorería general. Mejico, 1831. 4to.
Mexico, Reglamento para los Servicios de Honor y ceremonial de la Corte. Mexico, 1866.
Mexico, Reglamento Provisional para las funciones y servicio del Estado Mayor. Mexico, 1823. 4to.
Mexico, Reglamento que han de observar el juez, el administrador Tesorero, el contador de los juzgados de Acordada y Bebibas prohibidas. Mexico, 1790. folio.
Mexico, Reglamento y Arancel de Corredores para la plaza de Mexico. Mexico, 1854.
Mexico, Reglamentos de los Gabinetes Civil y militar del Emperador. Puebla, 1865. folio.
Mexico, Relacion de los Conquistadores. In Doc. Inéd., tom. i.
Mexico, Relacion del estado en que el Marqués de Gelues halló los Reynos de

la Nueva España. Madrid, 1628; Relacion del principio y causa del Alvoroto. MS. folio; Relacion particular y descripcion de toda la provincia del Santo Evangelio. MS. folio; Relacion Svmaria y Puntual del Tumulto en Mexico 15 Enero 1624. n.pl., n.d. 4to.
Mexico, Report of the Committee on Public Credit, etc., on the adjustment of the English Debt. London, 1850.
Mexico, Reports and Dispatches exhibiting operations of the U. S. Naval forces during the War with Mexico. Washington, 1849.
Mexico, Representacion dirigida á la cámara de Diputados por el Supremo Tribunal de Guerra y Marina. Mexico, 1835.
Mexico, Representacion dirigida al Virey de Nueva España. Mexico, 1812.
Mexico, Representacion por la Junta directiva de la Industria Nacional sobre necesidad de su fomento. Mexico, 1843.
Mexico, Representacion que hace el Ayuntamiento en defensa de la industria agrícola. Mexico, 1841.
Mexico, Representacion umilde que hace la ciudad en favor de sus naturales á Cárlos III. en 2 de Mayo de 1771. Mexico, 1771. MS. 2 vols.
Mexico, Representacion que la Junta de Fomento y Administrativa de Mineria. Mexico, 1850.
Mexico, Representacion sobre pago de primicias en las doctrinas. MS.
Mexico, Reseña de las festividades que han tenido lugar en Puebla de Sarагoza. Puebla, 1870.
Mexico, Reseña histórica de las negociaciones entre España y Mexico. Madrid, 1857.
Mexico, Reseña histórica y explicativa de los últimos sucesos de Mexico. Paris, 1857. 4to.
Mexico, Reseña sobre el estado de los principales ramos. Mexico, 1850.
Mexico, Revolucion en Mexico. Marzo de 1860. Monterey, 1860.
Mexico, Segunda representacion que hace el comercio de Megico al Supremo Congreso. Megico, 1840.
Mexico (Servicio). In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. vi.
Mexico, Sesion secreta ordinaria de 11 de Marzo de 1830. [Tlalpam, 1830.]
Mexico, Sesiones tenidas por el Congreso Constituyente del Estado en los dias 28 y 29 del último Mayo. Tlalpam, 1830.
Mexico, Silver Mines in Mexico. n.pl., n.d.
Mexico, Síndico segundo del Exmo Ayuntamiento sobre la nueva respuesta. [Mexico, 1838.]
Mexico, Sitio de Puebla de Zaragoza. Mexico, 1863.
Mexico, Stories of. New York. n.d.
Mexico, Tarifa para el cobro de los derechos de Alcabala y Municipal. Mexico, 1853. 4to.
Mexico, Tarifas de los Haberes líquidos mensuales que corresponden á todas las clases pertenecientes al ramo de guerra. Mexico, 1840.
Mexico, Tercera parte sobre Consolidacion de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1851.
Mexico, Terrible situacion de la República. Mexico, 1852.
Mexico, Testimonio de la averiguacion practicada por órden del Supremo Gobierno. Mexico, 1861.
Mexico, Testimonio simple de los autos de la Audiencia en el asunto de la expulsion del Arzobispo 1624. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. ii.
Mexico, The complaint of Mexico and conspiracy against liberty. Boston, 1843.
Mexico, The Country, History and People. London, 1863.
Mexico, The Marine Corps in Mexico—Trial of First Lieutenant J. S. Devlin. Washington, 1852.
Mexico, The Mexican Empire, its actual situation. New York, 1866.
Mexico, The Republic of Mexico restored. Mexico, 1867.
Mexico, The West Coast of. Washington, 1880.
Mexico, Tratado de Amistad, etc., Austria. [Mexico. 1843.]
Mexico, Tribunal del Protomedicato. MS.

Mexico, Tumulto de 1624. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii, tom. ii.
Mexico, Ultimas Notas Diplomáticas cambiadas entre el Ministro de Relaciones Esteriores y las legaciones estrangeras. Mexico, 1862.
Mexico, Ultimo Adios al Congreso Constituyente del Estado. Mexico, 1830.
Mexico, Varias cartas del cabildo de Mexico á los señores del consejo sobre el tumulto de 15 de Enero de 1624.
Mexico, Verdadera Noticia de los Tres Dias de Ministerio. Mexico, 1839.
Mexico and Havanna, A Voyage to...by an Italian. New York, 1841.
Mexico and Mr Poinsett, Reply to a British Pamphlet. Philadelphia, Dec. 21, 1829.
Mexico and the Monroe Doctrine. n.pl., n.d.
Mexico and the United States, An American view of the Mexican Question. San Francisco, 1866.
Mexico and the United States, Treaties of 1832; 1848; 1849; 1862. Mexico, etc., 1832–62. 11 vols.
Mexico y Guatemala, Cuestion de Límites. Mexico, 1875.
Mexico y la Intervencion. Mexico, 1861.
Mexico y sus Alrededores, Coleccion de Vistas, etc. Mexico, 1855–7. atlas. folio.
Mexico y sus Disturbios. MS. 2 vols.
Mexico, Texas and Canada, Message of the President, Jan. 8, 1838 (25th Cong. 2d Sess. H. Ex. doc. 74). Washington, 1838.
Mexiko, Aus einer Discussion, etc. New York, 1865.
Mexique, De la Revolution au Mexique. Mars, 1860.
Mexique, Description Situation à vue de la Ville. n.pl., n.d.
Mexique, Documents relatifs à la protection des sujets étrangers résidant, etc. Mexico, 1864.
Mexique, Documens sur le Commerce. Paris, 1847.
Mexique (Le) et l'Europe ou exposé de la situation actuelle. Paris, 1847.
Mexique (Le) et l'Intervention. Paris, 1861.
Mexique (Le) et ses Richesses. Nouvelle-Orléans, 1862.
Mexique, Études Historiques au point de vue politique et social. Paris, 1859.
Mexique, Le Géneral Prim Le Sénat, etc., dans la question du Mexique. Paris, 1863.
Mexique, L'Empereur du Mexique. Paris, 1864.
Mexique, L'Empire et l'intervention. Leipzig. 1869.
Mexique, L'Intervention française au Mexique. Paris, 1868.
Mexique, Memorandum des négotiations pendantes entre le Mexique et l'Espagne. Poissy, 1857.
Mexique, Recueil de piéces relatives à la Conquête de. Paris, 1838.
Mexique, Recueil (second) de piéces. Paris, 1846.
Mexique, Commission Scientifique, Archives. Paris, 1865–9. 3 vols.
Mexique Conquis (Le). Paris, 1752. 2 vols.
Michelena (José Mariano), Contestacion que dió ante la seccion del gran Jurado. Mex., 1836; Esplicacion de la conducta en algunos puntos. Mex., 1827.
Michoacan, Análisis Estadístico en 1822 por J. J. L. Mex., 1824; Arancel de los honorarios y derechos judiciales que se han de cobrar. Mex., 1840; Constitucion política del Estado. Mex., 1825; Decretos del Congreso Constituyente 1824–5. Mex., 1828; El Señor Diputado al Congreso Gen. Don Ricardo Villaseñor y su Retractacion, etc. Mex., 1861; Gobernador del Estado á todos sus habitantes, Marzo 28 de 1835. Morelia, 1835; (Historia de la Prov. de San Nicolás de Tolentino del órden de San Agustin); Informe del Obispo acerca de las missiones de Rio Verde su fecha 23 de Octubre de 1787. MS. Informes dados al Sup. Gob. de la República por las autoridades. Morelia, 1845; Iniciativa que la Asamblea Departamental elevó en 28 de Febrero de 1845. Morelia, 1845; Manifiesto que para justificar ante la opinion pública. Morelia, 1849; Memoria de la Admōn pública del Estado de. Morelia, 1830; Protesta del Señor Obispo y venerable cabildo contra la ley de 11 de Enero de 1847. Guadalajara, 1847; Representacion en defensa del Sistema Federal. Mex., 1835. 4to.

Mier (Servando Teresa), Profecía política, discurso 13 de Dic. 1823. Mexico, 1849.
Mier (Servando Teresa), Vida, aventuras, escritos, y viages. Mexico, 1865.
Mier y Teran (Manuel de), Manifestacion del ciudadano al público. Mexico, 1825.
Mills (Nicholas), History of Mexico. London, 1824.
Mina (Francisco), Breve Extracto de la vida. London, 1825.
Mina de la Luz, Recurso de Atentado que algunos de los dueños de la mina. Mexico, 1848.
Mina de San Clemente, Dictámenes de varios abogados sobre el fallo. Megico, 1840.
Minería, Informe dado por el Establecimiento de, á la Comision de Industria del Congreso General. Mex., 1836; Informe del Establecimiento al Señor Ministro de Hacienda. Mex., 1838; Manifestacion que con motivo de la nota pasada. Mex., 1850; Representaciones del Real Tribunal de. Mex., 1791.
Minería de Nueva-España, Reales ordenanzas para la direccion, régimen y gobierno. Madrid, 1783. folio; Representaciones del Real Tribunal de. Mexico, 1781. folio.
Miqueorena (Augustin de), Vida de la Venerable Madre Michaela Josepha de la Purificacion. Puebla, 1755.
Miramar á Mexico, Viaje del Empereur Maximiliano y de la Emperatriz Carlota. Orizaba, 1864.
Miramon, Defensa de los ministros. A collection.
Miramon (Michel), Général de division Chef de l'Armée et Président substitut de la République Mexicaine à la Nation. [Chapultepec, 1859.]
Miranda (Cathalina de), Proceso y causa criminal contra. MS. 1690.
Miranda (Francisco Javier), Algunas Reflexiones sobre la cuestion de la Paz. Mex., 1860; Esposicion. n.pl., n.d.; Panegírico pronunciado 16 de Oct. de 1859. Puebla, 1859; La vida ó la Muerte. n.pl., 1857. MS. folio.
Miranda (Francisco Montero de), Memoria sobre la provincia de Verapaz. MS., 1575. folio.
Miranda (Jacinto), Causa de homicidio. MS., 1792. folio, 92 pages; folio, 10 pages.
Miscelanea, A Collection. 7 vols.
Miscelanea Curiosa, A Collection. 3 vols.
Miscelanea del Messico, A Collection.
Miscellaneous Pamphlets, A Collection.
Miscellany, A Collection. 10 vols.
Missa Gothica seu Mozarabica, etc. Angelopoli, 1770. folio.
Missæ pro defunctis. n.pl. n.d. 4to.
Mittheilungen eines jungen Bayers über dessen See München, 1827.
Moderados (Los) y el Estado de Mexico. Toluca, 1861.
Modern Traveller (The), Mexico and Guatemala. London, 1825. 2 vols.; Boston, 1830. 2 vols.
Molina (Alonso de), Ordinançaz para estas Ospitalles. MS.
Molina (Alonso de), Vocabulario en lengua Castellana y Mexicana. Mexico, 1571. 2 vols. folio.
Molinero del Cerro (Caralampio), Cartas de. Mexico, 1868.
Monardes (Nicolás), Historia medicinal de las cosas que se traen de Indias Occidentales. Sevilla, 1574.
Monglave (Eugéne de), Résumé de l'histoire du Mexique. Paris, 1826.
Monitor Constitucional Independiente. Mexico, 1845 et seq.
Monitor Ultramarino (El). Madrid, 1822.
Monroy (Antonio de Villaseñor), Oraciones panegýricas fúnebres en las exequias. Mexico, 1716.
Montaña (Joseph Isidro), El corazon de las Rosas. Puebla, 1765.
Montaña (Luis), Carácter político y marcial de los insurgentes. Mex., 1810; Guanaxuato Invadido 28 de Sept. de 1810. Mex., 1810; Reflexiones

sobre los alborotos acaecidos en algunos pueblos de Tierradentro. Mex., 1810.
Montejo, Testimonia. In Col. Doc. Inéd., tom. i.
Montemaior (Joannes Franciscas), Excvbationes Semicentvm ex Decisionibus Regiæ Chancellariæ Sancti. Mexici, 1667.
Montemaior (Joannes Franciscus), Pastor Bonus Dominus Jesus. Mexico, 1676.
Montemaior (Juan Francisco de), Discurso político histórico Jurídico del derecho y repartimiento de presas. Mexico, 1858.
Montemayor y Córdova de Cuenca (Juan Francisco de), Svmarios de las Cédvlas Ordenes por su Magestad hasta 1677. Mexico, 1678. 4to.
Montenegro (A. de la P.), Itinerario para Parochos de Indios. Amberes, 1754.
Montepio, Reglamento para el Govierno del Monte pio viudas de ministros de Audiencias. Madrid, 1770.
Monte Pio de Oficinas, Prontuario general en cinco Tarifas. Mexico, 1784.
Monterde (Pedro M. de), Proclama que el Intendente de la Provincia de Mexico. Mexico, 1810.
Montes de Oca y Obregon (Ignacio), Oracion fúnebre que en las honras de Juan Ruiz de Alarcon. Mexico, 1878.
Montesclaros, Carta. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. vi.
Montesdeoca (Demetrio), Oracion cívica el dia 16 de Sept. de 1851. Guanajuato, 1851.
Montesquieu, Esprit des lois. Paris, 1867.
Montgomery (H.), Life of Zachary Taylor. Auburn, 1851.
Montlong (Wilhelm von), Authentische Enthüllungen über die letzten Ereignisse in Mexico. Stuttgart, 1868.
Montúfar (Lorenzo), Respuesta al Segundo Opúsculo sobre Jesuitas. Leon, 1873.
Monumentos Históricos de la dominacion Española en Mexico. MS. folio.
Monumentos Históricos y Políticos de la Administracion Colonial. A Collection. MS. folio.
Moore (Nathan B.), Geological Sketch. MS. folio.
Mora, Mexico y sus Revoluciones. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. iii.
Mora (J. M. L.) Mejico y sus Revoluciones. Paris, 1836. 3 vols.
Mora (José Joaquin), De la Libertad del Comercio. Mexico, 1853.
Mora (José María), Memoria que para informar sobre el orígen y estado actual de las lagunas. Mexico, 1823.
Mora (José María Luis), Obras Sueltas. Paris, 1837. 2 vols.
Mora (Juan Antonio de), Alientos á la Verdadera Confianza. Mexico, 1721.
Morales (Juan Bautista), Disertacion contra la Tolerancia Religiosa. Mejico, 1831; El Gallo Pitagórico. Mex., 1845.
Moran y Butron (Jacintho), La Azvcena de Qvito que brotó en el florido Campo, etc. Mexico, 1732.
Moran y Crivelli (Tomás), Juicio crítico sobre el sistema de Hacienda en Mexico. Mexico, 1865.
Morelia, Iniciativa que el mui Ilustre Ayuntamiento de Morelia. Morelia, 1847; Representacion que el Vecindario de. Morelia, 1853; Suplemento al Número 12 de la discusion que se publica en. Morelia, 1857. 4to.
Moreno (Diego), Manifiesto sobre la conducta observada al dejar el gobierno de Michoacan. Mexico, 1833.
Moreno (Gerónymo), Reglas ciertas y precisamente necessarias para Juezes y ministros de Justicia. Mexico, 1637; Mexico, 1732.
Moreno (Juan Becerra), Relacion del Funeral, entierro y exequias de el illmo Señor Don Manuel Rubio y Salinas. Mexico, 1766.
Moreno (Manuel), Vida y Memorias. Londres, 1812.
Morfí (Juan Agustin), Coleccion de Documentos. MS. folio; Desórdenes que se advierten en el Nuevo Mexico, etc. MS. 1792. folio.
Morfí (Juan Augustin), La nobleza y Piedad de los Montañeses demonstrada por el Cristo de Búrgos. Mexico, 1775. folio.
Morga (Antonio de), Sucesos de las islas Filipinas. Mexico, 1609. 4to.

Moriana y Zafrilla (Marcos), Solemnes exequias el 9 y 10 de Mayo de 1810. Mexico, 1810.
Morillo (Pablo), Mémoires relatifs aux campagnes en Amérique de 1815 á 1821. Paris, 1826.
Moro (Gerardo), Informe en derecho sobre que la compañía de el Real asiento de la Gran Bretaña. Mexico, 1724. folio.
Morse (Isaac E.), Speech in defence of the Mexican War, Dec. 1846. Washington, 1846.
Mosaico Mexicano (El). Mexico, 1840–42. 7 vols.
Mota Padilla (Matias de la), Historia de la conquista de la Nueva-Galicia. Mexico, 1843. MS.; Mexico, 1870.
Motolinia (Toribio), Carta al Emperador Cárlos V. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. i.
Motolinia (Toribio), Historia de los Indios de Nueva España. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. i.
Motolinia (Toribio), La Vida y Muerta de tres niños de Tlaxcala. MS.
Motolinia (Toribio), Vidas y Martirios de tres Niños Tlascaltecas. MS. folio.
Motezuma, Testamento. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc. tom. vi.
Moya y Contreras (Pedro), Carta al Presidente de los Reales Consejos de Indios. In Cartas de Indias.
Moya y Contreras (Pedro), Carta Relacion al Rey Don Felipe II. In Cartas de Indias.
Mucharrez (José Antonio), Contestacion del Ensayador y Juez de Balanza. Mex., 1846; Esposicion sobre reformas constitutionales. Mex., 1841.
Muerde Quedito (El), Papel jocoso, serio, satírico y moral. MS. 1714.
Müller (Baron J. W. von), Reisen in den Vereinigten staaten Canada und Mexico. Leipzig, 1864. 3 vols.
Munguía (Clemente), Del Derecho Natural en sus principios comunes. Mex., 1849. 4 vols.; Manifiesto que dirige á la nacion Mejicana. Morelia, 1851; Mex., 1852; Un voto independiente en la cuestion del juramento. Morelia, 1851.
Munguía (Clemente de Jesus), Defensa Eclesiástica. Mex., 1858. 4to. 2 vols.; Instrucciones Pastorales. Mex., 1857; Obras diversas, Primera Serie. Morelia, 1852–53. 2 vols.; Obras diversas, Segunda Serie. Mex., 1852. 2 vols.
Munguía, Pastorales. A Collection.
Muñoz (Juan Bautista), Historia del Nuevo Mundo. Madrid, 1793.
Muñoz (Juan Bautista), Memoria sobre las Apariciones y el culto de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Mexico. [Madrid, 1794.]
Murphy (Tomás), Memoria sobre la Deuda esterior de la República Mexicana. Paris, 1848.
Muzzarelli, Opúsculo de la escomunion. Guadalajara, 1824; Opúsculo xi. de las riquezas del Clero. Guad., 1824; Opúsculo xviii. Inmunidad eclesiástica personal. Guad., 1824.

Nacion (La), Mexico, 1856 et seq.
Nacion Mexicana, Plan de la constitucion política. Mexico, 1823.
Nahuatl MS. 1576.
Nájera (Domingo), Estracto del Informe que ante la tercera sala. Mexico, 1865.
Nardi (Francesco), Visita dell' Imperatore é Imperatrice del Messico al S. Padre. Roma, 1864.
Narte (Sejo Amira de), Clamores de la América. Mexico, 1811.
Nautical Description of the Gulf of Mexico and Bay of Honduras. London, 1856.
Nava (Joseph Ignacio María de), Elogio fúnebre que en las honras de. Mexico, 1802.
Navarrete, Biografía. In Doc. Inéd., tom. ii.
Navarrete (Francisco Antonio), Relacion Peregrina de la Agua Corriente. Mexico, 1739.

Navarrete (J. G.), Esposicion que dirige al Congreso General. Mexico, 1832.
Navarrete (Manuel), Entretenimientos Poéticos. Mexico, 1823. 2 vols.
Navarrete (Martin Fernandez), Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron los Españoles desde fines del Siglo XV. Madrid, 1825–37. 5 vols.
Navarro (José Antonio), Estado de las misiones de Nayarit, informe dado en 26 de Julio de 1785. MS.
Navarro y Ibarra (Joaquin), Discurso pronunciado el 27 de Sept. de 1845. Mexico, 1845.
Navarro y Noriega (Fernando), Catálogo de los Curatos y Misiones que tiene la Nueva España. Mexico, 1813.
Navarro y Noriega (Fernando), Memoria sobre la poblacion del Reino de N. E. Mexico, 1820.
Nayarit, Fragmento Histórico. MS.
Nayarit, Informe de la audiencia de Guadalaxara fechado á 26 de Agosto de 1785. MS.
Nayaritas, Relacion de la Conquista. Madrid. [1722.]
Nebel (Cárlos), Viage pintoresco y Arqueolójico de la Rep. Mex. Paris, etc., 1839.
Nebrija (Antonio de), Explicacion de los libros qvarto y quinto. Puebla, 1695. 4to.
Negocios de Mexico, Discusion en el Senado Español sobre los. Mexico, 1863. 4to.
Negocios Pendientes entre Mexico y España. Paris, 1858.
Negocios Eclesiásticos, Dictámen de la Comision de. Mexico, 1833.
Nepomuceno (Mariana Juana), Vida de la, del Monasterio de religiosas. Mexico, 1808. 4to.
Newcomb (James P.), History of Secession Times in Texas and Travels in Mexico. San Francisco, 1863.
Nicolie (Elivd), Newe vnd warhaffte relation von deme was sich in beederly. München, 1619. 4to.
Nicolin (José Raimundo), La Division del Territorio en Yucatan, Mexico, 1861.
Nieremberg (J. E.), De la devocion y patrocinio de San Miguel. Mexico. [1643.]
Nieuw Spaanje. In Aa., tom. x.
Niles (John M.), History of South America and Mexico. Hartford, 1844. 2 vols.
Niles (John M.), Speech in Sen. of the U. S., Feb. 9, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Niños Expósitos, Exposicion que hace al público. Mexico, 1838.
Noamira (J. R. Z.), Memoria Instructiva sobre el Maguey ó Agave Mexicano. Mexico, 1837.
No es lo mas el Juramento sino si sabe Cumplir. [Mejico, 1823.]
No Me Olvides. Londres, 1824–28. 5 vols.
Noriega (José M. D.), Funestos Recuerdos del Libertador de Mexico. Mexico, 1860.
Norman (B. M.), Rambles by Land and Water. New York, 1845.
Norman (B. M.), Rambles in Yucatan. New York, 1843.
Notas, Vocabulario Geográfico. In Cartas de Indias.
Noticia Biográfica del Archiduque Fernando Maximiliano de Austria. n.pl. n.d.
Noticia de los Procedimientos en la Reposicion de la Sagrada Imágen, etc. Mexico, 1846.
Noticia Estraordinaria. Division de operaciones en la Barra de Tampico. [Mexico, 1829.] folio.
Noticia individual de los derechos que segvn lo reglado en el último real proyecto. Barcelona, 1732.
Noticias de las espediciones que han hecho los Españoles para la Conquista Mex. MS. folio.
Noticias históricas de la Nueva España publicadas con la proteccion del Ministerio de Fomento. Madrid, 1878. folio.

Noticias interesantísimas contra la independencia. Mexico, 1821. folio.
Noticioso General. Mexico, 1815 et seq.
Noue de le Isole & Terra ferma Nouamente trouate in India. Sevilla, 1522.
Nueva España, Acuerdos de la Junta Superior de Real Hacienda. Mexico, 1794. MS.
Nueva España, Breve Resúmen del Descubrimiento de la. Madrid. [1767.] MS. royal folio. 2 vols.
Nueva España, Respuestas á las preguntas hechas sobre el estado de los Indios. MS.
Nuevas Reflexiones sobre la cuestion Franco-Mexicana. Mexico, 1862.
Nuevo Diccionario de la lengua Castellana.
Nuevo Leon, Dictámen de la comision eclesiástico. [Apr. 30, 1834. Monterey, 1834.]
Nuevo Leon, Dictámen presentado sobre introduccion de Algodon. Monterey, 1845.
Nuevo Leon, Dictámen sobre reforma de las Bases Orgánicas. Monterey, 1845.
Nuix (Juan), Reflexiones Imparciales. Madrid, 1782.
Nuñez (Alonso), Carta Pastoral. Mexico, 1777. 4to.
Nuñez (Alonzo), Constituciones. Mexico. [1775.]
Nuñez (Antonio), Distribuciones de las obras ordinarias y extraordinarias. Mexico, 1712. 4to.
Nuñez (Ildefonzo), Relacion de la fúnebre ceremonia y exequias. Mexico, 1802. 4to.
Nuñez de Haro y Peralta (Alonzo), Carta Pastoral. Mexico. [1776.]
Nuño Pinto, In Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado.
Nye (James W.), Speech in Sen. of U. S., July 12, 1867. n.pl., n.d.

Oajaca, Asuntos. In Mex. Doc. Eccles. MS. tom. ii.
Oajaca, Carta del Ayuntamiento. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.
Oajaca, Constitucion del Estado de. Oax., 1857; Copias de las Contestaciones. Mex., 1825; Discurso que Pronunció el ciudadano J. M. Arteaga 2 de Enero de 1843. Oax., 1843; Esposicion por el Gobierno al Soberano Congreso, 1848 et seq.; Iniciativa que la Asamblea elevó 19 Feb. 1845 sobre reformas de bases Orgánicas. Oax., 1845; Ley de Instruccion Pública 1867. n.pl., n.d.; Ley Orgánica para el Gobierno y Administracion Interior. Oax., 1867; Reglamento espedido por el Hon. Asamblea 7 de Feb. 1844. Oax., 1844; Reparacion de la Catedral de Antequera. MS. 1723–4; La Victoria. Oaj., 1878 et seq.
Obispo de la Puebla, Memorias al Rey. MS. 1652.
Observaciones acerca del Parecer Fiscal y Acuerdo de la corte suprema de Justicia. Mexico, 1848.
Observaciones al dictámen de la segunda comision de Hacienda de la Cámara de Diputados. Mexico, 1840.
Observaciones de los Fabricantes y Agricultores de Mexico. Mexico, 1861.
Observaciones Imparciales acerca de la Administracion Financiera. Mexico, 1845.
Observaciones sobre las Cuestiones que el abate Testory, etc. Guadalajara, 1865.
Observaciones y comentarios á la carta que Manuel Payno ha dirijido al general Forey. [Vera Cruz, 1863.]
Observador de la República Mexicana (El). Mexico, 1827. 3 vols.
Observador Judicial y de Legislacion. Mexico, 1842 et seq.
Ocaña, Carta. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.
Ochoa (Anastacio de), Don Alfonso, Tragedia. Mexico, 1811. MS.
Olmo (José del), Relacion Histórica del auto general de Fé. Mejico, 1849.
Oñate (Zacarias), Algo sobre los Ultimos acontecimientos de Querétaro. Querétaro, 1869.
Onis (Luis de), Letter of 5th of January, 1818. In Annals of Congress 1819. vol. ii.
Onis (Luis de), Memoir upon the Negotiations between Spain and the United States. Baltimore, 1821.

Oposicion (La). Mexico, 1834 et seq.
Opúsculo de la verdad y de la razon contra el proyecto de un monopolio comercial. Mexico, 1839.
Oraciones Cívicas. A Collection.
Oratoria Española y Americana, Discurso Histórico-Crítico. MS. folio.
Orcolaga (Diego Ambrosio de), La Luz del Pharo Mas Pura. Mexico, 1718.
Ordenanza de la renta de Tabaco. Mexico, 1846.
Ordenanza Militar, tratado cuarto, Reglamento para el Ejercicio y Maniobras de la Infantería Mexico, 1854. 2 vols.
Ordenanzas. n.pl., 1548.
Ordenanzas de Indias. A Collection. 4to.
Ordenanzas de la Junta de Guerra de Indias. [Madrid] 1634.
Orden de Cárlos III., Real Despacho. Madrid, 1775. folio.
Ordenes de la Corona. A Collection. MS. folio. 7 vols.
Orellana (Manuel), Manifestacion que hace al Público. Mexico, 1859. 4to.
Orizava, Libro curioso que contiene algunos apuntes particulares acaecidos en esta Villa. MS.; Reglamento á que debe sujetarse el cuerpo de cosecheros del distrito 10 de Mayo 1842. Mex., 1842; Reglamento del cuerpo de cosecheros de Tabaco del distrito de 13 de Agosto de 1842. Mexico, 1842.
Orizava y Córdova, Documentos referentes á los sucesos ocurridos. Vera Cruz, 1834.
Ormaechea (Juan B.), Oracion fúnebre en las solemnes honras, José Santiago. Mexico, 1845.
Orozco y Berra (Manuel), Cartografía Mexicana. Mexico. n.d.; Geografía de las Lenguas y Carta Etnográfica de Mexico. Mexico, 1864; Historia de Mexico; Memoria para el Plano de la ciudad de Mex. Mex., 1867; Memoria para la Carta Hidrográfica del Valle de Mex. Mex., 1864. 4to.; Noticia Histórica del Marqués del Valle. Mex., 1853.
Orquesta (La). Mexico, 1870 et seq.
Orrio (Francisco X. A. de), Solucion del Gran Problema. Mexico, 1763. 4to.
Orta (Francisco de P.), Refutacion al manifiesto de la Guarnicion de Vera Cruz. Mexico, 1839.
Ortega (Amado), Voto fundado de uno de los ministros de la corte de justicia. Mexico, 1833.
Ortega (Eulalio María), Plaidoyer sur l'incompétence du conseil de Guerre Français. Mexico, 1864.
Ortega (F.), Poesías. Mejico, 1839.
Ortega (Fernando de), Alegacion Jurídica por. Mexico, 1714. folio.
Ortega (Jesus G.), Protesta del Presidente de la Corte Suprema de Justicia. [Mexico] 1865. 4to.
Ortega (Lúcas Fernandez), Vida de la Madre María Magdalena, religiosa del Monasterio de San Gerónimo de Mex. MS. [1636.] 4to.
Ortega (Manuel del C.), El Trono de Mexico 1864. Mexico, 1864.
Ortega y San Antonio (Joseph Joachin), Nueva Aljaba apostólica con varias canciones. Mexico, 1757.
Ortiz (Tadeo), Mexico considerado como nacion independiente. Burdeos, 1832.
Ortiz de Ayala (Tadeo), Resúmen de la Estadística del Imperio Mexicano. Mexico, 1822.
Osborne (John), Guide to the West Indies, Madeira, Mexico, etc. London, 1845.
Ossorio (Diego), Americano seráphico llanto de esta provincia del Santo Evangelio. Mexico, 1737. 4to.
Ossuna (Joachin), Peregrinacion christiana por el camino real. Mexico, 1756.
Oswald (Felix L.), Summerland sketches. Philadelphia, 1880.
Otero (Mariano), Comunicacion sobre las negociaciones entre Estados-Unidos y Mexico. Mexico, 1847.
Otero (Mariano), Ensayo sobre el verdadero estado de la cuestion social y política, Mexico, 1842. Mex., 1842.

Otero (Mariano), Obras. MS. 1859–60. 7 vols.
Otero (Mariano), Oracion cívica el dia 16 de Setiembre de 1843. Mexico, 1843.
Oviedo (Juan Antonio de), Vida admirable, apostólicos ministerios y heróicas virtudes. Mexico, 1752. 4to.
Oviedo y Valdés (Gonzalo Fernandez de), De la Natural Hystoria de las Indias. Toledo, 1526.
Oviedo y Valdés (Gonzalo Fernandez de), Historia General y Natural de las Indias. Madrid, 1851–5. 4 vols. 4to.
Oviedo y Valdés (Gonzalo Fernandez de) Sommario. In Ramusio, Viaggi. tom. iii.
Oviedo Herrera y Rueda (Luis Antonio de), Poema sacro de la pasion de Jesu Cristo. Mexico, 1780. 4to.
Owen (Tom), Anecdotes and Letters of Zachary Taylor. New York, 1848.

Pabellon Nacional. Mexico, 1844 et seq.
Pacheco (Joaquin F.) and Cárdenas et al., Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonizacion de las Posesiones Españolas en America. Madrid, 1864–81. 34 vols.
Pacheco (José Ramon), Cuestion de Mexico. Mexico, 1863; Descripcion de la solemnidad fúnebre etc. de Iturbide. Mex., 1849; Exposicion del exministro de relaciones. Querétaro, 1847; Guerra de España con Mejico. Paris, 1856; Lettres sur le Mexique. Bordeaux, 1833.
Pacto Social sobre Leyes, Jueces y Abogados, contra el nuevo. [Mexico, 1822.]
Palacio (Mariano Riva), and Rafael Martinez de la Torre, Memorandum sobre el Proceso del Maximiliano. Mexico, 1867.
Palacio (Vicente Riva), Soberanía de los Estados y la Suprema Corte de Justicia. Mexico, 1874.
Palafox y Mendoza (Juan), Obras. Madrid, 1762. folio. 15 vols. [Most of which works also exist in separate form.]
Palanca (La). Guadalajara, 1826 et seq.
Panes (Diego García), Extension interesante de la Plaza de Vera Cruz. MS. 1800.
Panes y Abellan (Diego), Cronología de los Vi-reyes de Nueva España. MS.
Papalotla, Instalacion de su Ayuntamiento. MS.
Papel de Estrasa en que se filtra el Baratillo y se cuela de Nulgo. MS. 1753.
Papeles en Derecho. A Collection.
Papeles de Jesuitas. A Collection. MS. folio.
Papeles Franciscanos. A Collection. MS. folio. 2 vols.
Papeles Sueltos. A Collection.
Papeles Varios. A Collection of Spanish and Mexican Pamphlets. 218 vols.
Parada (Vicente Gomez), Segunda esposicion que hace al Soberano Congreso. Mexico, 1841.
Pardo (Diego), Métrica exposicion de la regla seráfica, etc. MS. 1650.
Parecer de los Señores Theólogos de. Salamanca, 1541.
Paredes (Antonio de), Carta edificante. Mexico, 1791; Carta edificante, extinguida Compañía de Jesvs. Mexico, 1784; Voto Particular, en la Junta de Minería de 16 de Marzo. Mexico, 1868.
Paredes (Mariano), Breve Esposicion que el General hace. Mex., 1847.
Paredes y Arrillaga (Mariano), Breve esposicion que hace á sus conciudadanos. Mex., 1847; Contestaciones que á la circular. S. L. Potosí, 1845; Esposicion que á sus conciudadanos. Mex., 1841; Manifiesto de la República Mexicana. Mex., 1846.
Parescer ó Determinacion de los señores theólogos de Salamanca. Londres, 1854. 4to.
Parian (El), Coleccion de documentos oficiales relativos á la construccion, etc., del. Mex., 1843; Esposicion á la Cámara por Demolicion de. Mex., 1844; Primera representacion del Comercio solicitando una indemnizacion. Mex., 1849.
Parker (Theodore), A Sermon on the Mexican War. June 25, 1848. Boston, 1848.

Parkman (P.), Informe que dió el perito facultativo, minas del mineral del Gallo. Mexico, 1848. 4to.
Parra (Francisco), Conquista de la provincia de Xalisco, Nuevo Reyno de Galicia, etc. MS. [1805] 4to.
Parra (Joseph Gomez), Importantísimas y verdaderas resoluciones para Eclesiásticos. Puebla, 1712.
Parres (Luis), Manifestacion del Contador de la Aduana Marítima de Matamoros. Matamoros, 1839.
Parrodi (A.), Memoria sobre la Evacuacion militar del puerto de Tampico. Tamaulipas, 1846.
Parthe (Ernst), Die Intervention in Mexico. Leipzig and Stuttgart, 1864.
Pasatiempo (El), Coleccion de Novelas, Anécdotas, etc. Mejico, 1839.
Pastoral en dos Actos. MS. 1828.
Patino (Pedro Pablo), Disertacion crítico theo-filosófica sobre la conservacion de la Santa imágen. Mexico, 1801. 4to.
Patronato analizado contra el Patronato embrollado. Mejico, 1833.
Patronato, Diálogo entre un cura y un Abogado. Mexico, 1827.
Patronato, Opsúsculos sobre. A Collection.
Patterson (Geo. W.), Across Mexico to California. MS.
Pattronatto de Partte (1726 hasta 1742). MS.
Pauw (Corneille), Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains. Londres, etc., 1770. 3 vols.
Payno, Cronología de Mexico. In Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin, tom. vi.
Payno (Manuel), Compendio de la Historia de Mexico. Mexico, 1870; Cuadro, sinóptico de la Historia Antigua de Mexico. Mex., 1867; Cuentas, Gastos Acreedores y otros asuntos. Mex., 1868; La Convencion Española. Mex., 1857; La Deuda Interior de Mex. Mex., 1865; Memoria sobre el Maguey Mex. Mex., 1864; Memoria sobre la Revolucion de Dic. de 1857 y Enero de 1858. Mex., 1860; Mexico and her Financial Questions with England. Mex., 1862; Proyectos de arreglo de los gastos de la Hacienda. Mex., 1848.
Paz (La). Mexico, 1858 et seq.
Paz (José Ignacio), Plan de estatutos, constituciones y ejercicios. Mexico, 1819.
Pearce, Speech on Ten Regiment Bill. Jan. 13, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Pearce, Speech on Three Million Bill. March 1, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Pedraza (Manuel Gomez), Acusacion presentada en la cámara de diputados, 2 Dic. 1830. Mex. 1830; Impugnacion á la contestacion del. Mex., 1827; Manifiesto (Jul. 30, 1823). (Mex., 1823); Notas al manifiesto Publicado. Mex., 1831; Reflexiones importantes al Mensage de Pedraza. Mex., 1833.
Pedroza (F. de J.), Biografías de los principales Caudillos de la Independencia. La Paz, 1878; Compendio Histórico de la Conquista de Mexico. La Paz, 1877.
Pelletan (Eugenio), Profession de fé del Siglo Diez Y Nueve. Mexico, 1861.
Peña (Ignacio de la), Trono Mexicano en el Convento de religiosas pobres capuchinas. Madrid, 1728. 4to.
Peña (Luis de la), La Muerte Temprana pero Madura. Mexico, 1725.
Peña y Peña (Manuel de la), Coleccion de los documentos mas importantes relativos á la instalacion y Reconocimiento. Mex., 1847; Discursos presentados á la Academia de Jurisprudencia. Mex. 1850; Lecciones de Práctica Forense Mejicana. Mex., 1835–9. 4 vols; Revoquese esta sancion por el bien de la Nacion. Mex., 1841. folio; Voto fundado por, en la causa contra Alaman. Mex., 1835.
Peña y Peña (Manuel de la), Comunicacion Circular sobre la Cuestion de Paz ó Guerra. Querétaro, 1848.
Pensamiento Nacional (El). Mexico, 1855 et seq.
Penuelas (Pablo), Sermon que en accion de gracias por la exaltacion al trono. Mexico, 1791.
Penuelas (Pablo Antonio), Breve noticia de la prodigiosa imágen de Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles. Mexico, 1781.

Peralta (Antonio de), Disertaciones scholasticæ de Divinis Decretis. Mexico, 1727.
Peralta (Juan Suarez de), Noticias Históricas de la Nueva España. Madrid, 1878. folio.
Peraza (Juan), Proceso contra negro esclauo de Guillen Peraza. MS., 1599.
Peredo (Vicente del), Historia de la Santísima Vírgen María. Mexico, 1823.
Perez, Proclama del Capitan General. Mexico, 1809.
Perez (Antonio Joaquin), Oracion fúnebre, Salvador Biempica y Sotomayor. Madrid, 1804.
Perez y Camoto (Florencio), Representacion que á favor del libre comercio, etc. Habana, 1818. 4to.
Perez (Gio.), and Gio. Battista Zappa, see Relatione Della Missione, etc.
Perico (El). Mexico, 1862 et seq.
Periódicos Miscelaneos. A Collection.
Periódicos Varios. A Collection.
Perry (J. A.), Travels, Scenes, and Sufferings in Cuba, Mexico, etc. Boston, 1853.
Pésame á los Mexicanos por la muerte de la Patria. Ó Sea oposicion á la ley sobre cobre, Tabaco y Tejas. Mexico, 1841.
Pésame de Pésames y Respecto de respectos. MS.
Peterson (Charles J.), The Military Heroes of the War of 1812 and of the war with Mexico. Philadelphia, 1858.
Peypus (Frederick), Ein auszug ettlicher sendbrieff dem aller durchleuchtigisten. Nuremburg, 1520.
Phelps, Speech in U. S. Senate, Jan. 27, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Phillips (John), Mexico Illustrated. London, 1848. folio.
Pierard (A.), Souvenirs du Mexique. Bruxelles, 1867.
Pierron (Eduardo), Datos para la Geografía del Imperio Mexicano. Mexico, 1866. 4to.
Pieschel (Carl), Die Vulkane der Republik Mexiko. Berlin, 1856. folio.
Pillow, Defence of, before court of inquiry. n.pl. [1848.]
Pimentel (Francisco), Cuadro descriptivo y comparativo de las lenguas indígenas de Mexico. Mex., 1862. 2 vols.; Disertacion leida en la Sociedad Mexicana de Historia Natural. Mex., 1869; La Economía Política. Mex., 1866; Memoria sobre las Causas que han originado la situacion actual de la raza indígena de Mex. Mexico, 1864.
Piña y Cuevas (Manuel), Esposcion al Tribunal Superior del Distrito Federal. Mexico, 1861.
Pinal (L.), Catecismo de economía política. Mexico, 1856.
Pinart (Alphonse), Coleccion de documentos originales para la historia de Mexico. MS.
Pineda (Emeterio), Descripcion Geográfica del departmento de Chiapas y Soconusco. Mexico, 1845.
Piquero (Ignacio), Breve Instruccion sobre las Contribuciones. Mexico, 1845.
Pius V., Bulla Confirmationis. 1568.
Pizarro (Nicolás), Catecismo político constitucional. Mejico, 1867.
Pizarro y Orellana (Fernando), Varones Ilvstres del Nvevo Mvndo. Madrid, 1639. folio.
Plan de Hacienda para la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1847.
Plancarte (Joseph), Sermon de gracias que en la exaltacion al trono. Mexico, 1791.
Platería, Ordenanzas de la nobilíssimo arte. Mexico, 1715. folio.
Plausible gozo de la N. España por la prision de crueles insurgentes. [Mexico] n.d. 4to.
Plaza de Mexico, Balanza Mercantil, 1843–5. Mexico, 1844–6. folio.
Pleitos. A Collection. 6 vols.
Poblanos (Los), á los habitantes de Mejico. Puebla, 1821. folio.
Pobre Peregrino (El). Vera Cruz, 1844. folio.
Poesías Mexicanas 1700–1860. A Collection. 2 vols.
Poinsett (J. R.), Contestacion del Ministro Americano. Mex., 1829; Esposi-

cion de la conducta política de los Estados-Unidos. Mex., 1827; Manifiesto de los principios políticos. Mex., 1828; Notes on Mexico. London, 1825.
Polichinelle (Platon), El Arca del Pueblo. Mexico, 1858. 2 vols.
Política de los españoles en la conquista y colonizacion de América. Madrid, 1882.
Polk (J. K.), Mensage del Presidente de los Estados-Unidos. Mexico, 1848.
Ponmarede (J. A.), Nouveau moyen de prevenir les Inondations de la Ville et la Valle de Mex. Mexico, 1860.
Poore (Ben Perley), Life of Gen. Zachary Taylor. Boston, n.d.
Portegueda (Juan Ventura de), Sentimientos sublimes de religion. Mexico, 1811.
Porter (Charles T.), Review of the Mexican War. Auburn, 1849.
Portfolio (The). Philadelphia, 1817.
Portilla (Anselmo de la), España en Mexico. Mexico, 1871; Mejico en 1856 y 1857. New York, 1858.
Portilla (J. de la), Episodio Histórico del gob. Dictatorial en la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1861.
Portilla (Jesus Lopez), Esposicion que dirige al Público el Gobernador de Jalisco. Mexico, 1853, 4to.
Portilla (Pedro de la), Representacion que el ciudadano hace al soberano Congreso, 1826. Mexico, 1826.
Portugal (Juan Cayetano). [Pastoral letter 22 de Feb. 1850.] MS. [Morelia, 1850.]
Posadas (Manuel), Alegato de defensa. Mexico, 1830.
Potestad Pontificia. Madrid, 1826.
Poussin (Guillaume Tell), De la Puissance Américaine, etc. Paris, 1848. 2 vols.
Powell (C. Frank), Life of Maj.-Gen. Zachary Taylor. New York, 1846.
Pradt (Dufour de), The Colonies and the Present American Revolutions. London, 1817.
Presas (José), Juicio Imparcial sobre las principales causas de la revolucion de la América Española. Burdeos, 1828.
Presas (Josef de), Memoria sobre el estado y situacion política en que se hallaba el reyno de Nueva-España en Agosto de 1823. Madrid, 1824. 4to.
Prescott (William H.), Historia de la Conquista de Mexico. Mexico, 1844–6. 3 vols.; also Mexico, 1845–6, 3 vols.; also Madrid, 1847–50, 4 vols.
Prescott (William H.), Historia de la Conquista del Perú. Mexico, 1850. 2 vols.
Prescott (William H.), Historia del Reinado de los Reyes Católicos D. Fernando y Isabel. Mexico, 1854. 2 vols.
Prescott (William H.), History of the Conquest of Mexico. New York, 1844. 3 vols.; also Philadelphia, 1860. 3 vols.
Préstamos, Contribuciones y Exacciones de la Iglesia de Guadalajara. Guadalajara, 1847.
Prieto (Guillermo), Algunas ideas sobre organizacion de la Hacienda. Mex., 1861; Indicaciones sobre el orígen, etc., de las Rentas Generales de la Fed. Mex. Mex., 1850; Lecciones Elementales de Economía Política. Mex., 1871; Viaje á los Estados Unidos 1877. Mex., 1877–9. 3 vols.; Viages de Orden Supremo. Mex., 1857.
Prim (General), Discurso en el Senado Español, Cuestion Mex. Mexico, 1862. 4to; Speech upon the Mexican question in the Senate of Spain. San Francisco, 1863.
Primer gefe del Ejército imperial á los habitantes de Mexico. Mexico, 1821. folio.
Proceso por el Real Audiencia de la Española. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. i.
Proceso sobre la fuga de siete religiosos del Convento de la Merced. MS. Mexico, 1800.
Proclama de una Americana á sus compatricias. [Mexico, 1810.]
Proclama del Arzobispo Virey contra los engaños pérfidos de los Bonapartes. [Mexico, 1810.]

Proclama que dirige á los españoles Europeos. Mexico, 1810.
Prontuario por materias y órden alfabético. Mexico, 1828.
Prospectus and Act Incorporating the American and Mexican Railroad and Telegraph Company. New York, 1869.
Protesta del Illmo Señor Arzobispo de Cesarea y vicario Capitular. Mexico, 1848.
Providencias sobre Azogues, 1670–73. MS.
Provincia de San Diego de Mexico, Alternativa que se ha observado. MS. 1772.
Provincia de San Nicolás, (Por la)...De la Orden de San Augustin en el Pleyto con el Padre presentado Fray. n.pl., n.d.
Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Nueva España. [A collection of MSS. of the 16th century.] folio.
Provincial del Cármen, Esposicion que por las exenciones de la Provincia de Mexico, 1851.
Provincias Internas, Copia de una carta del Ministro de Guerra de España de 24 de Julio, 1812. MS.
Provincias Internas, Real Orden de 11 de Marzo de 1788 concediendo al virey de N. España. MS.
Provincias Internas, Real Orden de la Regencia de 12 de Julio, 1812. MS.
Provision de Obispados, Cuestion relativa á la. Mexico, 1850.
Proyecto de Comunicacion Oceánica por el Centro de la República. Vera Cruz, 1851.
Proyecto de un Ferrocarril y Telégrafo desde la Línea Division de Mexico y los Estados-Unidos. Mexico, 1868.
Proyecto para Galeones y Flotas del Peru y Nueva-España. Madrid, 1720. folio.
Proyecto sobre un establecimento de Papel Moneda. Mexico, 1822.
Puebla, Arancel de los honorarios y derechos judiciales. Puebla, 1841; Mex., 1840; El Ayuntamiento de Puebla á los habitantes de su comarca. [Mex., 1821.] folio; Breve Descripcion de los festivos. n.pl. [1767] 4to; Contestacion dada por el Sr. Obispo de Puebla. Mex., 1847; Contestacion dirigida al exmo Sr. Gob. Puebla, 1851. 4to; Contestacion al Manifiesto que seis individuos del Ayuntº de Puebla. Puebla, 1840. 4to; Coleccion de Acuerdos y Decretos. Puebla, 1832. 4to; Coleccion de los Decretos, etc., del 1° Cong. Constitucional en 1826–8. Puebla, 1828. folio; Constitucion Política del Estado Libre de Puebla. Puebla, 1825; Puebla, 1848; Puebla, 1861; Corona Cívica á los héroes del 2 de Abril de 1867. Mérida, 1868; Decreto de 28 de Setiembre de 1861. n.pl., n.d.; El C. Francisco Ibarra gobernador interino á sus habitantes, sabed. [Puebla, 1865]; Iniciativa que para impedir la importacion de hilaza estrangera y demas efectos Prohibidos. [Puebla, 1841.] 4to; De la Junta de industria de Puebla. n.pl., 1846. 4to; Libertad de Puebla. [Mexico, 1828]; Manifiesto que el Batallon. Puebla, 1830; Manifiesto del Señor Obispo con otros documentos para desengaño de los incautos. Mexico, 1812; Manifiesto que hacen al público el Alcalde, Regidores y Síndico. Puebla, 1840; Memoria presentada al Congreso de Puebla de los Angeles por el Secretario del Despacho de Gobº sobre el estado de la Admin. públª. año de 1827. Mex., 1827. 4to; Memoria presentada al Congreso de Puebla de Los Angeles por el Secretario del despacho de Gobº sobre el estado de la Admin. públª. año de 1830. Mex. [1830] 4to; Noticias Sagradas que á mayor honra y gloria de Dios. Puebla, n.d. 4to; Nuevos Medios para una Comunicacion Inter-Oceánica. Puebla, 1851; Ofrecimiento de los Señadores Eclesiásticos de la Ciudad de Puebla. Mex., 1821; Ordenanzas para el nuevo estab. de Alcaldes de Quartel. Puebla, 1796. folio; Parte Gen. que sobre la campaña de Puebla. Mex., 1856. Proclama Oct. 24, 1846. [Puebla, 1846.] folio; Reflexiones sobre varios Artículos del Proyecto de Constitucion. Puebla, 1823; Refutacion á la Contestacion. Puebla, 1840; Representacion del Exmo Ayuntamiento de la capital de Puebla. Puebla, 1836. 4to; Representacion que la exmª junta

Departmental de Puebla. [Puebla, 1841.] 4to; Representacion que la junta disectiva de industria. Puebla, 1851. 4to; Representacion de la Junta de industria. n.p. 1846. 4to; Representacion que la junta de industria de Puebla eleva al honorable congreso. Puebla, 1850. 4to.

Puebla de los Angeles, Noticias sagradas que á mayor honra. Puebla, 1691.

Puebla de Zaragoza, Sitio de. Mexico, 1863.

Pueblo Mexicano, Relacion de las causas que influyeron en los degraciados sucesos del dia 20 de Agosto de 1847. Mex., 1847.

Puente Escala aereo, Ligera descripcion. [Mexico, 1841.]

Puente (Pedro de la), Reflexiones sobre el Bando de 25 de Junio Último. Mexico, 1812. 4to.

Puerta (Juan de la), Carta al Emperador. In Cartas de Indias.

Puerte et al., Carta al Consejo de las Indias. In Cartas de Indias.

Puertocarrero, Testimonio de, In Col. Doc. Inéd., tom. i.

Puga (Vasco de), [Cedulario] Provisiones, Cédulas, Instrumentos de su Magestad. Mexico, 1563.

Puigblanch (Antonio), La inquisicion sin máscara, ó disertacion. Mexico, 1824.

Pulque Blanco, Ordenanças de los Señores Virreyes. [Mexico, 1653.] folio.

Purchas, His Pilgrimes. London, 1625–6. 5 vols. folio.

Purdy (John), Whittle and Laurie's complete Sailing Directions. London, 1819.

Pusalgas (Ignacio), El Nigromántico Mejicano. Barcelona, 1838. 2 vols.

Quarterly Review. London, 1809 et seq.

Que Muera el Papel Moneda ya que Comenzó á Enfermar. [Mexico, 1823.]

Queipo (Manuel Abad), Carta pastoral del ilustrísimo Señor Obispo electo y Gobernador. Mexico, 1813; Coleccion de los escritos mas importantes que dirigió al Gobierno. Mex., 1813; Edicto instructivo. [Sept. 30, 1810. Mex., 1810.]

Quejas de los Mexicanos á su Ilustre Presidente. Mexico, 1841.

Querétaro, Caida de...en 1867. Mex., 1868; Constitucion Política del Estado el 12 de Agosto de 1825. Mex., 1833; Dictámen que la Junta departamental. Querétaro, 1840; Dos Palabras en Honor de. Quer., 1842; El Congreso de Querétaro á sus Comitantes. Mex., 1849; El Cura de Santiago de, á sus fieles habitantes. n.pl., n.d.; Espediente formado sobre la suspension que decretó el Supremo Gobierno. Quer., 1844; Estadística del Departamento. Quer., 1846; Iniciativa que la Honorable Legislatura. Quer., 1848; Querétaro Libre. Mex., 1830; Notas estadísticas. Mex., 1848; Ocurrencias en los dias 18 y 19 de Enero de 1847. Quer., 1847; Ordenanza que para la Division de la ciudad de Santiago. Mex., 1796; Relacion Histórica que hace la Exma Asamblea. Quer., 1845.

Quijar (Gerónimo), Alegato de Buena Prueba presentado por el. Durango, 1871.

Quijotita (La), y su prima. Mexico, 1831-2. 4 vols.

Quinet (Edgar), La Espedicion de Mexico. Mexico, 1863.

Quiñones (José García), Descripcion de las demostraciones. Puebla, 1809.

Quintana Roo (Andrés), Acusacion presentada en la Cámara de Diputados el 2 de Dic. de 1830. Mex. 1830; Amplicacion que el. Mex., 1832; Cuarta representacion á la Cám de Dip. Mex., 1831; Discurso en la Alameda el 16 de Sept. de 1845. Mex., 1845; Informe del Apoderado de los Acreedores, etc. Mex., 1834; Observaciones sobre un informe que dió. Mex., 1835.

Quiroga, Carta. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.

Quiroga (Domingo), Compendio breve de la Vida, etc. Mexico, 1729.

Quiros (José María), Memoria de Estatuto. Vera Paz, 1817; Voz imperiosa de la Verdad. Mex., 1810.

Quixano (Dr), Discurso sobre la Insurrecion de América. Mexico, 1814; Guadalaxara, 1814.

Ramirez (Antonio de Guadalupe), Breve Compendio de todo lo que debe saber y entender. Mexico, 1785.

Ramirez (José Fernando), Acusacion presentada al Gran Jurado. Mejico, n.d.; Apuntes para escribir la Historia del valor y orígen de las Monedas que corrian en Mexico en el siglo de su conquista. MS. folio; Apuntes para servir á la historia de las Convenciones Diplomáticas. Mex., 1852; Documentos relativos á la fundacion del Hospital del Amor de Dios. MS.; Informe que hizo en defensa de Bonilla. Mex., 1861; Memorias, Negociaciones y Documentos para servir á la Historia entre Mexico y los Estados-Unidos [cuestion Tehuantepec]. Mex., 1853; Noticias Históricas y Estadísticas de Durango. Mex., 1851; Observaciones hechas al documento nº 4 de la memoria. Mej., 1852; Proceso de Residencia contra Pedro de Alvarado. Mex., 1847; Vida de Motolinia. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. i.

Ramirez (José Miguel), Voto Particular al proyecto de reformas de las leyes constitucionales. [Mex., 1840]; Voto Particular que sobre el punto de Patronato presentó al Sob. Cong. Mex., 1824.

Ramirez (Josephus), Via lactea seu vita candidissima S. Philippi Nerii. Mexico, 1698.

Ramirez Ponce de Leon (Juan Felix), Testimonio del Testamento Memoria y dos Cobdicillos. MS., 1714. folio.

Ramirez de Prado (Marcos) and J. de O. Montañez, Coleccion de las Ordenanzas que para el Gobierno de el Obispado de Michoacan. Mexico, 1776.

Ramirez y Sesma (Joaquin), Coleccion de Decretos para el Ejército. Mexico, 1827.

Ramon (Domingo), Derrotero para las misiones de los presidios internos. In Mayer MSS.

Ramos (Alonso), Lvz de Verdades Cathólicas. Mex., 1691; Primera Parte de los Prodigios de la Omnipotencia. Puebla, 1689.

Ramsey (Albert C.), The Other Side. New York, 1850.

Ramusio (Giovanni Battista), Navigationi et Viaggi. Venetia. tom. i., 1554; tom. ii., 1583; tom. iii., 1565. 3 vols. folio.

Rangel (Joaquin), Defensa que el Señor General Tomás Requena hizo. Mex., 1845; Esposicion hecha por los individuos de la estinguida Corte Marcial, etc. Mex., 1845; Segunda defensa del Sr. Gen. Requena. Mex., 1845; Tercera Brigada del Ejército Mexicano. Mex., 1847.

Rankin (Melinda), Twenty Years among the Mexicans. Cincinnati, 1881.

Ranking (John), Historical researches on the Conquest of Peru. Mexico, etc. London, 1827.

Raso. In Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin, tom. iii.

Ratos Entretenidos ó Miscelanea útil y curiosa. Mexico, 1819. 2 vols.

Ratzel (Friedrich), Aus Mexico Reiseskizzen, 1874 und 1875. Brealau, 1878.

Ravignan (X.), De los Jesuitas y de su Instituto. Mexico, 1845.

Rawson (William), The present operations and future prospects of the Mexican Mine Associations. London, 1825.

Raymond, Del Catolicismo en las sociedades. Mexico, 1851.

Rayon, Asedio y Defensa de Mexico ó sucesos del 13 de Agosto al 15 de Setiembre de 1847. Mexico, 1847. MS.

Razon (La). Mexico, 1857 et seq.

Razonador (El). Mexico, 1847 et seq.

Reales Cédulas, Ordenes y Decretos. In Col. Doc. Inéditos; Navarrete, Col. de Viages; Ordenes de la Corona; Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc.

Real Declaracion de 17 Junio 1773 sobre Monte Pio militar. Madrid, 1773. folio.

Real Executoria. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom, xii.

Reavis (L. U.), The New Republic. St. Louis, 1867.

Recopilacion de las Leyes del Gobierno Español que Rigen en la República. Mexico, 1851.

Recopilacion de Leyes de Los Reynos mandadas Imprimir y Publicar por Cárlos II. Madrid, 1791. folio. 4 vols.

Reflecciones sobre el Dictámen de las Comisiones Eclesiástica y de relaciones acerca de enviado á Roma. Mexico, 1826.
Reflexiones sobre algunas reformas á la Constitucion Federal de la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1835.
Reflexiones Confidenciales ó sea Carta á un Amigo sobre el Opúsculo. Mexico, 1865.
Reflexiones sobre la ley que declara irredimibles los capitales pertenecientes á corporaciones y obras pias. Mexico, 1847.
Refutacion de un español-Americano á proclamas de José Bonaparte. Mexico. 1810.
Refutacion en la parte histórica del artículo de fondo. Mexico, 1849.
Registro Trimestre. Mexico, 1832–3. 2 vols.
Registro Yucateco. Mérida, 1845. 2 vols.
Regla de la Purísima Concepcion, Orden que se ha de guardar. Mexico, n.d.
Regla y Constituciones de las Religiosas Descalzas de la Orden de la gloriosísima Vírgen María del monte Carmelo. Madrid, 1733.
Reglamento de las Ordenes militares de Fernando y San Hermenegildo. Mexico, 1816.
Reglamento de una sociedad para el fomento de la industria Nacional. Mexico, 1839.
Reglamento en los Hospitales. In Reales Ordenes. tom. ii.
Reglamento para el establecemiento de una Comisaría de guerra. Mex., 1817. folio.
Reglas de la Compañía de Jesus. Mexico, 1742.
Regulares. A Collection. Mexico, 1809 et seq.
Rejon (Manuel Crecencio), Justificacion de la conducta desde Oct. de 1841, hasta la fecha. New-Orleans, 1846; Observaciones del Diputado saliente contra los Tratados de Paz. Querétaro, 1848.
Relacion Anónima de los disturbios acaecidos. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. vii.
Relacion de las causas que influyeron los Desgraciados Sucesos. Mexico, 1847.
Relacion de las Tribulaciones de los Fieles. Mexico, 1804.
Relacion de el Tumulto de 15 Henero 1624 en Mexico con el Virrey, etc. MS.
Relatione d'alcvne cose della Nuoua Spagna della gran citta de Temistitan Messico fatta per un gentil' huomo del Signor Fernando Cortese.
Religion Bethlemítica, Regla y Constituciones. Mexico, 1751.
Religiosas de Santa Brígida, Regla y Constituciones. Mexico, 1822.
Religiosos de la Nueva España, Copia y relacion de las facultades y breves apostólicos. MS.
Religious Ceremonies and Customs. London, 1731. folio. 3 vols.
Remesal (Antonio de), Historia de la Provincia de S. Vicente de Chyapa. Madrid, 1619. 4to.
Renta del Tabaco, Instruccion general para los visitadores. n.pl., n.d.
Repartimientos de Indios, Parecer del Padre Provincial y otros religiosos theólogos de la Orden de San Francisco. MS., folio. Mex., 1594.
Repertorio de Literatura y Variedades. Mejico, 1841–2. 3 vols.
Representacion de los Caporetos al Señor Gobernador del Distrito Federal. [Mexico, 1833.]
Representacion por el clero de Mexico al Gobierno Supremo. [Mexico, 1847.]
Representacion que los súbditos ingleses hacen al Señor Ministro de S. M. B. Mexico, 1859.
República Mexicana, Consideraciones sobre la situacion política y social. Mex., 1848; Lijera Reseña de los Partidos, etc. Mex., 1851.
Requena (Tomás), Defensa. Mex., 1845; Segunda defensa. Mex., 1845.
Rescriptos Reales sobre Asuntos Eclesiásticos. MS. folio.
Reseña Histórica de la formacion de operaciones del ejército del Norte durante la intervencion francesa, etc. 4to.
Reseña Histórica y Explicativa de los últimos Sucesos de Mexico. Paris, 1857.

Respuesta á las Dudas sobre Gobierno de la Iglesia. Mexico, 1827.
Respuesta de un Americano á las Preguntas que hizo Iturbide al Pensador Mejicano. [Mexico, 1821.]
Respuesta que da un Soldado de la Almiranta. n.pl., n.d.
Restaurador (El.) Mexico, 1846 et seq.
Revilla (José de la), Resúmen Histórico de la Conquista de Nueva España. In Solis, Hist. Mex. Edition Madrid, 1843.
Revilla Gigedo (Conde de), Extractos de la carta de 27 de Diciembre de 1793. MS.; Instruccion que debe observarse para el arreglo, etc. Mex., 1794; Instruccion Reservada que dió á su sucesor. Mex., 1831–2; Instruccion sobre el cultivo de moreras y cria de gusanos de seda. [Mex., 1830]; Real Cédula (sobre Pulque blanco 16 de Mayo 1753. Julio 9, 1753. [Mex., 1753.] 4to. 2 vols.; Residencia de. [1795] MS. folio; Ynstruccion que el Exmo. Sr. dejó escrita 1789–94. MS. 2 vols.
Revista Católica. [Mexico] 1851 et seq.
Revista Española. Madrid, 1836 et seq.
Revista Minera, Periódico Cientifico é Industrial. Madrid, 1859 et seq.
Revolucion de Nueva España, Verdadero orígen, carácter, causas, resortes, etc. Mexico, 1820.
Revolucion de Vera Cruz, Nuevas ocurrencias. [Mexico, 1822.]
Revue Orientale et Américaine. Paris, 1859 et seq.
Reygadas (Fermin), Discurso contra el fanatismo y la impostura de los rebeldes de Nueva España. Mexico, 1811.
Ribadeneyra y Barrientos (A. J. de), Escudo Real en Defensa. MS. 4to; Manual Compendio de el Regio Patronato Indiano. Madrid, 1755. 4to.
Ribas (Andrés Perez de), Historia de los Trivmphos de Nvestra Santa Fé entre gentes las mas bárbaras y fieras del Nueuo Orbe. Madrid, 1645.
Ribera (Antonio de), Razon de la sentencia deffinitiva que dió. n.pl., n.d.
Ribera (Miguel), Informe que por el derecho que assiste. Mexico, 1771.
Ribero (L. Miguel), Proyecto de Monarquía en Mejico. Madrid, 1846.
Richards (Antonio D.), El General W. S. Rosecrans y el Ferrocarril de Tuxpan al Pacífico. Mex., 1870; Historia de la Concesion del Ferrocarril Proyectado de Tuxpan al Pacífico. Mex., 1872.
Richthofen (Emil K. H. F. von), Die Ausseren und inneren Politischen Zustande de Republik Mexicana. Berlin, 1854.
Richthofen (Emil Freih), Die Mexicanische Frage. Berlin, 1862.
Riesgo (Pascual), La Gran Artista y la Gran Señora. Mexico, 1855. 3 vols.
Rincon (Manuel), Justificado á los ojos de los Mexicanos imparciales. Mex., 1831; Manifiesto que dirige á sus Compatriotas. Mex., 1839; Vindicacion ante el Consejo de Guerra. Mex., 1840.
Rios (E. J. de los), Compendio de la Historia de Mexico. Mexico, 1852.
Riperdá (Baron de), Carta al Señor Baron de Croix comandante general de las provincias internas, 27 de Abril de 1777. MS.
Riperdá, Carta. In Texas, Doc. Hist. Eccles.
Ripley (R. S.), The War with Mexico. New York, 1849. 2 vols.
Rivas, Cartas Pastorales. A Collection. 2 vols.
Rivas de Velasco (Diego Rodriguez), Carta Pastoral. n.pl., n.d.
Rivera (Juan Antonio), Diario Curioso de Mexico. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. vi.
Rivera (Manuel), Historia Antigua y Moderna de Jalapa. Mexico, 1869–71. 5 vols.
Rivera (Manuel), Los Gobernantes de Mexico. Mexico, 1872. 2 vols.
Rivera (Mariano Galvan), La Tierra Santa. Mexico, 1842. 3 vols.
Rivera (Mariano P. de), Manifestacion que hace. Mexico, 1810.
Riviere (E.), San Felipe de Jesus Patron de Mexico. Mexico, 1853.
Rivero (Luis M. del), Mejico en 1842. Madrid, 1844.
Robertson (J. B.), Reminiscences of a campaign in Mexico. Nashville, 1849.
Robertson (William), The History of America. London, 1777. 2 vols. 4to.; also London, 1783. 3 vols.
Robertson (William Parrish), A visit to Mexico. London, 1853. 2 vols.

Robertson (William Parish), Foreign debt of Mexico, etc. London, 1850.
Robinson (Fayette), Mexico and her military chieftains. Philadelphia, 1847.
Robinson (W. D.), A cursory view of Spanish America. Georgetown, 1815.
Robinson (William Davis), Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution. Philadelphia, 1820; also London, 1821. 2 vols.
Robleda (María de las Nieves), El Senador Megicano ó Carta de Lermin á Clancolde. Madrid, 1836.
Robles (Antonio de), Diario de los años 1665 y 1703. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie i., tom. ii.
Robles (Mariano Robles), Memoria histórica de la Provincia de Chiapa. Cádiz, 1813.
Rocafuerte (Vicente), Carta á Cárlos M. Bustamante. Mex., 1831; Consideraciones generales sobre la bondad de un gobierno. Mex., 1831; Contestacion ó sea Banderilla. Mex., 1831; Cuaderno que contiene el préstamo hecho á Colombia. Mex., 1829; Ensayo Político. Nueva York, 1823; Ensayo sobre el nuevo sistema de cárceles. Mex., 1830; Ensayo sobre Tolerancia Religiosa. Mex., 1831; Ideas Necesarias á todo Pueblo Americano Independiente. Mex., 1861; Impugnacion á la nueva secta de Sublimes Cristianos. Mex., 1832; Observaciones sobre la carta inserta en el registro oficial del 4 de Oct. Mex., 1831; Un regalo de año nuevo para el Señor. Mex., 1832.
Roche (I. L.), Fernand Cortez. Lille, 1858.
Rodenbaugh (Theo F.), From Everglade to Cañon. New York, 1875.
Rodriguez (Ignacio), Muñoz, Visitador de Mejico. Mejico, 1838.
Rodriguez (Joseph Manuel), Relacion Jurídica sobre Fray Andrés Picazo. Mex., 1769; Vida Prodigiosa del V. Siervo de Dios Fray Sebastian de Aparicio. Mex., 1769.
Rodriguez (Mathias), Explicacion de las sesenta y cinco proposiciones prohibidas por Inocencio XI. Puebla, 1684.
Rodriguez y Cos (José M.), El Anáhuac. Mex., 1853; Ensayos poéticos. Mex., 1849.
Rodriguez y Valero (José Antonio), Cartilla histórica y Sagrada. Mexico, 1759.
Roman (J. Dixon), Speech on Mexican War, Jan. 25, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Romero, The situation of Mexico. Speech on, Dec. 16, 1863. New York, 1864.
Romero (José Guadalupe), Noticias para formar la Historia y la Estadística del Obispado de Michoacan. Mexico, 1862.
Romero (Matias), Apuntes para formar un Bosquejo Histórico del Regreso á la República. Mex., 1868; Contratos hechos en los Estados-Unidos, etc. Mex., 1868; Dinner to...on March 29, 1864. New York, 1866; Iniciativa de Hacienda. Mex., 1869; Tabla sinóptica de los tratados y convenciones que han negociado los Est. Un. Mex. Tabasco, 1859.
Roo (Andrés Q), Informe del Apoderado. Mejico, 1834; Observaciones sobre un informe que Dió. Mejico, 1835; Mal Maromero salió el, etc., de los Fanáticos. Mex., 1823.
Root (Joseph M.), Speeches in U. S. House of Rep., May 13, 1846; December 24, 1846; March 15, 1848. Washington, 1846, 1848. 3 vols.
Rosa (Agustin de la), Opúsculos. A collection.
Rosa (Luis de la), Contestacion del Arzobispo, etc. Mex., 1847; Discurso en la Alameda 16 de Setiembre 1846. Mex., 1846; Ensayo sobre la Administracion Pública de Mex. Mex., 1853. 4to; Impresiones de un viage de Mex. á Washington. N. Y., 1844; Observaciones sobre varios puntos. Balt., 1851.
Rosa y Figueroa (F. Antonio de la), Quejas contra Indios. A collection of Memoriala. MS. 1722.
Rosas (Landa), Manifestacion que hace al público con motivo de la conducta que observó en la campaña de la Sierra Gorda. Mexico, 1857.
Rosio (J. G.), El triunfo de la libertad sobre el despotismo. Oajaca, 1828.
Rosecrans (W. S.), Actual Estado del Asunto del Ferrocarril Interoceánico. Mex., 1873; El Ferrocarril Interoceánico, Ultimas Comunicaciones Cam-

biadas. Mex., 1873; Ferrocarriles, Carta del General. Mex., 1872; Ferrocarriles, La Concesion hecha. Mex., 1872; Historia de la Concesion del Ferrocarril. Mex., 1872; Mexico necesita sus Ferrocarriles. Mex., 1872.

Roure (M. P.), Conquête du Mexique. Paris, 1811.

Rubio (C.), Informe de la empresa de tabacos al público. Mexico, 1841.

Rubio (Juan), Ejemplos Morales ó las Consecuencias de la Buena y de la Mala Educacion en los Varios Destinos de la Sociedad. Mexico, 1820.

Rubio (Manuel), Demanda promovida en Guanajuato, Mina de la Luz. Mex., 1849; Demanda promovida en Guanajuato por los herederos. Mex., 1848; Informe que en contestacion al que hizo el Sr. Licdo Don José Ma Cuevas. Mina de la Luz. Mex., 1852; Informe que hizo el Licdo Dn. José Ma Cuevas [suit about Mina de la Luz]. Mex., 1852; Informe que en contestacion hizo el Licdo Franco M. Lombardo [suit about Mina de la Luz]. Mex., 1852; Pedimento del Sr. Fiscal suplente [suit about Mina de la Luz]. Mex., 1850; Pedimento del Sr. fiscal suplente, mina de la Luz. Mex., 1850; Recurso de atentado que algunos de los dueños de la mina de la Luz. Mex., 1848.

Rubio y Salinas (Manuel Joseph), Aranzel de derecho parrochial. Mex., 1757; Carta Pastoral que el Arzobispo. Mex., 1756; Carta Circular. Mex., 1762; Carta Circular 28 Sep. 1764. n.pl., n.d.; Explicacion de el Arco erigido en la puerta de el Palacio Arz. de Mex. Mex., 1760.

Rüder (F. A.), Gedrängtes Gemälde des Zustandes von Mexico. Leipzig, 1828.

Ruiz (Ivan), Discurso hecho sobre dos impressiones meteorológicas. n.pl., n.d.

Ruiz (José), Septenario Devoto. Mexico, 1861.

Ruiz (Manuel), Informe que ante la Suprema Corte de Justicia. Mexico, 1863.

Ruiz (Telesforo), Apuntes Poéticos. Mexico, 1866.

Ruiz de Cabrera (Christóual), Algunos singulares y extraordinarios sucesos del gouierno de Marqués de Galves. MS. folio.

Ruiz y Cervantes (Joseph Manuel), Memorias de la portentosa Señora de Xuquila. Mexico, 1791.

Rusk (Thos. J.), Speech on Mexican War, Feb. 17, 1848. Washington, 1848.

Sacramento del Altar. A Collection.

Saenz de Santa María (Jos.), Carta edificante ó relacion sumaria de la vida. Cádiz, 1807.

Sagazeta (Gabriel), Acusacion que eleva contra José Gomez de la Cortina. Megico, 1836.

Sahagun (Bernardino de), Historia de la Conquista de Mexico. Mexico, 1829.

Sahagun (Bernardino de), Historia General de las cosas de Nueva España. Mexico, 1829–30. 3 vols.

Sahagun (Bernardino de), Relacion de la Conquista de esta Nueva España. Mexico, 1840.

Saint Cloud, Historia secreta de la corte. Mexico, 1808. 2 vols.

Saint Jure (J. B.), El hombre espiritual ó la vida espiritual. MS. n.pl., n.d.

Saint-Martin (Vivien de), Rapport fait à la Comission Scientifique du Mexique. Paris, 1865.

Sala (Juan), Ilustracion del Derecho Real de España. Mexico, 1852. 2 vols.

Sala (Juan), Sala Hispano-Mejicano. [Paris, 1844.] 2 vols.

Salazar (Francisco Cervantes), Mexico en 1554. Mexico, 1875.

Salazar (Juan Francisco Regis), Sermon funeral en las honras. Mexico, 1759.

Salazar de Mendoza (Pedro), Monarquía de España. Madrid, 1770–1. folio. 3 vols.

Salazar y Olarte (Ignacio de), Historia de la Conquista de Mexico. Segunda Parte. [Continuation of Solis.] Córdova, 1743. folio; also Madrid, 1786. 4to.

Saldana (Ignacio), La Penitente Paloma. Mexico, 1758.

Salesii (Francisci), De confessionibus scrupulosorum brevis tractatus. Mechl., 1715.
Salguero (Pedro), Vida de Friar Diego Basalenque. Mexico, 1664. 4to.
Salinas del Peñon Blanco, Comunicados y Documentos. Zacatecas, 1845.
Salm Salm (Felix de), Contestacion á Don Miguel Lopez. Mexico, 1867.
Salm Salm (Felix de), Mis memorias sobre Querétaro y Maximiliano. Mexico, 1869.
Salm Salm (Felix), My Diary in Mexico in 1867. London, 1868. 2 vols.
Salm Salm (Felix), Ten Years of my life. Detroit, 1877.
Salm Salm (Inés de) Querétaro, Apuntes del Diario de la Princesa Inés de Salm Salm. Mexico, 1869.
Salmeron, Carta 30 de Marzo de 1531. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.
Salmeron (Pedro), Vida de la Venerable Madre Isabel de la Encarnacion. Mexico, 1675. 4to.
Salvatierra (Andrés Vernal de), El Camino Verdadero. Mexico, 1718.
Salvatierra y Zappa, Correspondencia entre los Venerables Padres. MSS., 1678–93.
Samaniego (Francisco), Representacion tocante á su salario. Mexico, 1647.
Sámano, Ordenanzas Reales. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xii.
San Agustin de las Cuevas, Esposicion documentada, Colegio y Escuelas. Mexico, 1827.
San Anastasio (Juan de), Coloquios Canónico-morales. Mexico, 1816.
San Clemente, Dictámenes de Varios Abogados. Megico, 1840; Escrito de Súplica Especial. Mex., 1839.
San Francisco (Juan de), Vindicacion del R. P. Provincial de Carmelitas. Mexico, 1846.
San Francisco de Mexico, Libro de entradas y profesiones de los novicios. MS. [1597–1684.]
San Francisco de Mexico, Libro de recepciones de este Santo Noviciado. MS. [1597–1680.]
San Francisco de Mexico, Libro segundo de recepciones y Profesiones en este convento. MS.
San Ignacio (María Anna Agueda de), Varias Devociones. Puebla, 1758.
San Luis Potosí, Composiciones leidas en el teadro de Alarcon. S. L. Potosí, 1867; Dictámen de la comision segunda de puntos constitucionales. Mex., 1850; Exposicion de la Audiencia. Mex., 1826; Exposicion que la Honorable Legislatura del Estado. S. L. Potosí, 1850; Las garantías individuales en el departamento de Mex., 1841; Protesta del Illmo Señor Obispo de. [Mex.] 1858; Relacion de las demostraciones con que la ciudad de. n.pl., n.d.; Revolucion comenzada el dia 14 de Abril de 1837. Mex., 1837.
San Miguel (Evaristo), Historia de Felipe II. Madrid, 1844–7. 4 vols.
San Miguel (Juan Rodriguez), La República Mexicana en 1846. Mexico, 1845; Pandectas Hispano-Megicanas. Paris, 1852. 3 vols.; Rectificacion de Graves Equivocaciones del Fondo Piadoso. Mexico, 1845.
San Miguel (María), La dignidad de una Esposa de Cristo. Mexico, 1682. MS. 4to.
San Milian (Francisco Lorenzo), Juez oficial de la casa. n.pl., n.d.
San Pedro (Joaquin), and F. Rodriguez, Comentarios á las leyes de minas, etc. Madrid, 1861.
San Salvador, Carta de un padre á sus hijos. [Mexico. 1810.]
San Salvador (Agustin P. Fernandez), Disengaños que á los Insurgentes. Mex., 1812; Memoria Cristiana Política. Mex., 1810; Sentimiento de la Nueva España. n.pl., n.d.
San Salvador (Fernando Fernandez), Defensa jurídica de la Sra. María Micaela Romero de Terreros. Mex., 1796; Reflexiones del Patriota Americano. Mex., 1810.
San Vicente (Juan Manuel de), Exacta Descripcion de la magnífica Corte Mexicana. Cádiz, n.d.

Sanchez (Francisco), Informe y Parecer acerca de las razones. Puebla, 1691; Principios de Retórica y Poética. Mex., 1825; Rosario de la Vírgen María. Mex., 1684.

Sanchez (Juan de Villa), Justas y debidas honras que hicieron. Puebla, 1756; Puebla Sagrada y Profana. Puebla, 1835; Sermon fúnebre el 11 de Julio de 1748. Mexico, 1749.

Sandoval (Prudencio), Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Cárlos V. Pamplona, 1634. folio. 2 vols.

Santa-Anna (Antonio Lopez), Alegato hecho ante el Juez Primero de lo criminal por el Apoderado. Mex., 1839; Apelacion al buen criterio de las nacionales y estrangeros. Mex., 1849; Apuntamientos para la historia. Mex., 1841; Biografía. Mex., 1857; Biografía del Gen. Mex., 1847; Causa criminal instruida al Exmo Sr. Mex., 1846; Collection of Pamphlets; Comunicacion oficial del Exmo Sr. Orizava, 1848; Guadalajara, 1848; Contestacion al oficio. Orizava, 1847; Correspondencia recogida á los agentes de Santa-Anna. Zacatecas, 1858; Defensa de. Mex., 1822; Detall de las operaciones ocurridas en la defensa de la Capital. Mex., 1847; Diálogo entre un abogado y un capitan. Mex., 1832; Dictámen de las sesiones unidas del Gran Jurado. Mex., 1845; El General á los Mexicanos, Junio 5, 1866. Elizabethfort, 1866; El General á sus Compatriotas. San Thomás, 1858; El General de division á sus compatriotas [dated Dic. 15, 1829.] Mex. 1829; Estas sí son Claridades. Mex., 1833; Esposicion dirigida al Exmo Sr. Gen. Presidente. Mex. 1853; Esposicion que dirige desde la Fortaleza de S. Cárlos de Perote. Mex., 1845; La despedida del General. Mex., 1847; Manifestacion que hace un ciudadano Mex., etc. Mex. 1834; Manifiesto, Cartajena, 1858; Manifiesto á sus conciudanos. Mex., 1823; Manifiesto del Exmo Sr. Mex., 1844; Manifiesto del General de Division Benemérito de la Patria. Mex., 1848; Manifiesto del Presidente de la República á la nacion. Mex., 1847; Manifiesto de sus Operaciones en la Campaña de Tejas, etc. Vera Cruz, 1837; Manifiesto que hace al público [Oct. 10, 1821]. Mex., 1821; Manifiesto que hace de la conducta que ha observado 7 de Julio de 1821. Puebla, 1821; Muerte del Sr. Poncha, Manifiesto, Oct. 5, 1821. Mex., 1821; Proceso del Gen. Mex., 1845; Proclama del impávido Teniente Coronel. Oct. 9, 1821. Puebla, [1821]; Proclamas á los habitantes y tropa de Vera Cruz. Mex., 1822; Pronunciamiento de Perote. Mex., 1829; Rápida Ojeada sobre la Campaña & segunda parte. Mex., 1847; Representacion dirigida al Congreso Nacional. Mex., 1837; Vindicacion de los Crímenes. Mex., 1837; What Santa Anna's professions of Republicanism are worth. n.pl., n.d.

Santa Anna Castro (José Manuel), Diario de sucesos notables, comprende los años de 1752 á 1758. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie i., toms. iv. v. vi.

Santa Imágen de la Macana. In Papeles de Jesuitas. MS.

Santa María, Carta al Emperador Don Cárlos. In Cartas de Indias.

Santa María, Poder que otorgó el Provincial. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. vii.

Santa María (Miguel), Exposicion y Protesta. MS., 1834; also Mexico, 1834.

Santa Theresa (Manuel de), Compendio de Institvciones Gramaticales. Mex., 1724; Instructorio Espiritual de los Terceros, etc. Mex., 1816.

Santa Teresa de Jesus Silver Mining Company, Reports, etc. San Francisco, 1864.

Santander, Carta el Emperador. In Doc. Inéd., tom. xxvi.

Santangelo, (O. de A.), A Circular to the World. N. Y., 1842; Claims on Mexico. Baltimore, 1846.

Santiago de los Domínicos. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. v.

Santiago de Papasquiero, Descripcion. MS. 1793.

Santisteban, Carta. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiv.

Santo Catharina, Panegýrico á la vida y glorioso Martyrio de. n.pl., n.d.

Santo Thomás (Diego de), Ceremonial y Manual sacado del Missal Romano. Mexico, 1660.

Sard (Antonio de), Ensayo sobre las Glorias Franciscanas. Mexico, 1860.

Sardo (Joaquin), Relacion histórica de la portentosa imágen, etc. Mexico, 1810.
Sariñana (Severo M.), Trovas Mexicanas. Mexico, 1850.
Sariñana y Cuenca (Ysidro), Solemne dedicacion del Templo Metropolitano. Mexico, 1668.
Sartorius (Cárlos), Importancia de Mexico para la emigracion Alemana. Mexico, 1852.
Saussure (Henri de), Coup d'œil sur l'Hydrologie du Mexique. Geneve, 1862.
Saussure (Henri de), Voyage au Mexique, etc. Paris, 1857.
Schadtler (Gustavo), Documentos relativos á la admision por la Junta Mercantil de Fomento. Mexico, 1844.
Scherr (Johannes), Das Frauerspiel in Mexiko. Leipzig, 1868.
Schmidt (Gustavus), The Civil Law of Spain and Mexico. New Orleans, 1851.
Scott (Winfield), Illustrated Life of. New York, 1847.
Scott (Winfield), Life of. New York, 1852.
Scott (Winfield), Memoirs of Lieut.-General Scott. New York, 1864. 2 vols.
Scott and Taylor Correspondence, Message of the President, March 20, 1848. [30 Cong. 1st Sess. H. Ex. Doc. 56.] Washington, 1848.
Seager (D. W.), The Resources of Mexico. Mexico, 1867.
Seaman (Henry I.), Speech on Mexican War February 13, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Sedicion en la ciudad de Mexico el 15 de Enero de 1624, Causas y principio de ella. MS. folio.
Segundo Quinze de Enero de la Corte Mexicana. Mexico, 1730.
Segur, La Revolucion. Mexico, 1863.
Segura (Francisco Ildephonso), Consultas Varias Morales y Mýsticas. Puebla, 1728.
Segura (Nicolás de), Defensa Canónica por las Provincias de la Compañía de Jesus de la Nueba España y Philipinas. MS. [1767.]
Segura (Vicente), Apuntes para la Estadística del Departamento de Orizava. Jalapa, 1831.
Select Pamphlets. A Collection.
Semanario de la Industria Mexicana. n.pl., n.d.
Semanario Judicial de la Federacion, Coleccion de las Sentencias pronunciadas por los Tribunales Federales, etc. Mexico, 1871. 4to.
Semanario Político y Literario de Mejico. Mexico, 1820–1. 2 vols.
Semanario Religioso. n.pl., n.d.
Semblanzas de los miembros que han compuesto la Cámara de Diputados del Congreso de la Rep. Mex., 1827–28. New York, 1828.
Semblanzas de los Representantes que compusieron al Cong. Const. de 1836. Mexico, 1837.
Semmes (Raphael), The campaign of General Scott. Cincinnati, 1852.
Semmes (Raphael), Service afloat and ashore. Cincinnati, 1851,
Series of intercepted letters captured by the American Guard at Tacubaya, August 22, 1847. Mexico, 1847.
Sermones, A Collection of 634 sermons preached in Mexican Towns, 1617–1860. 64 vols.
Sermones in Festis Sanctorum. MS.
Sermones Varios, A Collection of MSS. Sermons probably preached in Mexico. folio.
Serna (Juan Perez), Auto cessatio á Divinis. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. ii.
Serna (Juan Perez), Auto en que levanta la cesacion á Divinis. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. ii.
Serna (Juan Perez), Decreto del dicho declarando excomulgados. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. ii.
Serna (Juan Perez), Otra informacion que mandó recibir. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. ii.
Serna (Juan Perez), Representacion á la Real Audiencia. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. ii.

Serna (Juan Perez), Representacion á uno de los ministros del consejo en que dice haberle agraviado la audiencia de Mexico, 1624. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. ii.
Seward (William H.), Relations with Mexico. Washington, 1853.
Shackford (Charles C.), A citizen's appeal in regard to the War with Mexico. Boston, 1848.
Shepard (A. K.), The Land of the Aztec. Albany, 1859.
Sierra (Ivan de), Dictámen de Consciencia, informe apologético del estado y govierno de esta Provincia del Santo Evangelio. MS. 1702. folio.
Sierra y Rosso (Ignacio), Arenga cívica el 11 de Sept. 1854. Mex.; 1854; Discurso que por encargo de la Junta Patriótica. Mex., 1842; Discurso que pronunció en la colocacion en Santa Paula. Mex., 1842; Exposicion documentada que dirigió el ministro de Hacienda. Mex., 1852; Representacion dirigida al Congreso Nacional. Mex., 1837.
Sigala (Gerónimo Morales), Discurso Theojurídico. Mexico, 1744.
Sigüenza y Góngora (Cárlos), El Fenix de la América. [Mexico, 1688.] MS. folio; Anotaciones Críticas sobre el primer apostol de Nueva España y sobre el Imágen de Guadalupe. MS. folio; Carta al Almirante Don Andrés de Pez sobre alboroto y motin de los Indios de Mexico. MS. folio; Glorias de Querétaro. Mex., 1803; Paraiso Occidental plantado y Cultivado. Mexico, 1684; Teatro de Virtudes Políticas. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie iii.
Siliceo (Ignacio Nunez), Oracion cívica pronunciada en la plaza. Guanajuato, 1846.
Silva (Beatriz de), Vida de fundadera de la órden de la primera concepcion. Mexico, 1830. MS.
Sistema Métrico-Decimal, Tablas que establecen la relacion. Mexico, 1857.
Smith (S. Compton), Chile con carne. New York, 1857.
Smith and Hardcastle, Map of the Valley of Mexico. Reports of the Secretary of War, January 17 and 26, 1849 [30 Cong. 2d Sess. Sen. Ex. 19; 31 Cong. 1st Sess. Sen. Ex. 4]. Washington, 1849. 2 vols.
Sociedad, Humboldt Anales, Mexico, 1872.
Sociedad de Mejoras Materiales Morales Beneficencia y Socorros Mutuos de Texcoco, Documentos relativos. Mexico, 1865.
Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, Boletin. Mexico, 1861 et seq. [Includes Instituto Nacional.]
Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, Reglamento. Mexico, 1862.
Sociedad Mexicana Promovedora de Mejoras Materiales, Reglamento. Mexico, 1851.
Sociedad Patriótica, Estracto de las sesiones de la. Mexico, 1839.
Soden (Julius), Die Spanier in Peru und Mexico. Berlin, 1794. 2 vols.
Solana (Juan), Prontuario ó manual y correspondencia de delitos y penas. Mexico, 1844.
Solano (Franco), El Tunante de Fabio o pintura de Buenaparte. Mexico, 1808.
Solis (Antonio de), Historia de la Conquista de Mexico. Madrid, 1684; Barcelona, 1691. folio. 2 vols; Amberes, 1704; Paris, 1704. 2 vols.; London, 1724. folio; Madrid, 1783. 4to. 2 vols.; Londres, 1807. 3 vols.; Madrid, 1843.
Solórzano Pereyra (Juan de), Obras varias Posthumas. Madrid, 1776.
Soria (Francisco de), Istoria y Fundacion de la Ciudad de Tlaxcala, 1718. MS.
Soria (Francisco Joseph), Descripcion Fiestas Tehuacan Templo de Nuestra Señora del Cármen. Mexico, 1783.
Soriano (Juan Guadalupe), Prólogo historial. MS. folio.
Sosa (Francisco de P.), Manual de Biografía Yucateca. Mérida, 1866.
Soto (Manuel F.), El Nuevo Estado. Mex., 1856; Proyecto de Comunicacion Interoceánica. Mex., 1869.
Sotomayer (Gab.), Epítome del cómputo éclesiástico. Mexico, 1827.
Spain, Constitucion Política de la Monarquía Española. Mex., 1812; Manifiesto de los Procedimientos del Consejo Real. Madrid, 1808.
Speeches, A Collection of.

Speeches in Congress, A Collection of.
Stapp (William Preston), The Prisoners of Perote. Philadelphia, 1845.
Stephenson (Edmundo), Proyecto sobre formacion de Compañías Nacionales para construir ferrocarriles en la República. Mex., 1869; Speech [Feb. 13, 1861]. [Guanajuato, 1861.]
Stern (Adolf), Kaiser Maximilian I. von Mexico. Dresden, 1868.
Stevens (Isaac I.), Campaigns of the Rio Grande and of Mexico. New York, 1851.
Stewart (Wm. M.), Speech in U. S. H. of Rep., Feb. 13, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Strong (William), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., March 4, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Struvius (Burc. Gotth.), Bibliotheca histórica. Lipsiae, 1782–1804. 22 vols.
Sturm (Herman), The Republic of Mexico and its American Creditors. Indianapolis, 1869.
Suarez y Navarro (Juan), El General Santa Anna Burlándose de la Nacion. Mex., 1856; Historia de Mexico y del Gen. A. L. de Santa-Anna. Mex., 1850; Informe sobre las causas y carácter de los frecuentes cambios políticos en Yucatan. Mex., 1861.
Subsidio Eclesiástico en las Indias. MS. 1721–92. folio.
Sumaria criminal contra Tres Religiosos Agustinos. MS. 1811. folio.
Sumario del Derecho Popular dedicado á las Naciones de America. Mejico, 1834.
Sumpter (Arthur), The lives of General Z. Taylor and General W. Scott, etc. New York, 1848.
Sun of Anáhuac. Vera Cruz, 1847 et seq.

Tabaco, Demostracion de los términos en que ha obtenido la Renta del. Mex., 1846; Documentos que justifican el desistimiento de la Empresa de. Mex., 1841; Informe de la Empresa de, etc. Mex., 1841; Observaciones al dictámen de la 2ª comision de Hacienda. Mex., 1840; Oficio dirigido á la comision de Hacienda. Mex., 1841; Ordenanzas de la Real Renta del Tabaco. Mex., 1768; Restablecimiento del estanco de la siembra. Mex., 1839.
Tabasco, Manifiesto del Gobernador del Estado. Tabasco, 1847; Representacion del Batallon Guardacostas de, Junio 8. S. Juan Bautista, 1845.
Tabeles Cientificos. A Collection.
Tagle (Francisco M. S.), Discurso sobre creacion de un Poder Conservador. Mex., 1835; Obras Poéticas. Mex., 1852. 2 vols.
Tamaulipas, Conversiones del Rio Verde, Pánuco y Tampico. n.pl., n.d.; Die Deutsche Colonie in. Baltimore, 1841; Reglamento para el gobierno interior de las municipalidades del Departamento de. Victoria, 1843.
Tampico de Tamaulipas, Memoria sobre la evacuacion militar del Puerto. [San Luis Potosí, 1848.]
Tápia (Andrés de), Relacion sobre la conquista de Mexico. In Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., tom. ii.
Tápia (Eugenio de), Febrero Novísimamente redactado. Madrid, 1845–6. 8 vols.
Tarayre (E. Guillemin), Exploration Minéralogique des Régions Mexicaines. Paris, 1869.
Tastera, et al., Carta al Emperador Don Cárlos. In Cartas de Indias.
Taylor (Fitch W.), The Broad Pennant. New York, 1848.
Taylor (Fitch W.), The Flag Ship. New York, 1840. 2 vols.
Taylor (Isaac), The Mine. Philadelphia, 1841.
Taylor (Zachary), A brief review of the career, character, and campaigns of. Wash. n.d.; A review of the life, character, and political opinions of. Boston, 1848; A sketch of the Life and character of. By the one-legged Sergeant. Boston, 1847; A sketch of the Life and Public Services of. Wash. [1848]; Biography, A Collection; General Taylor's moral, intellectual, and professional character. Wash., n.d.; Letters of, etc.

N. Y., 1848; Life and Public Services of. By an officer of the U. S. A. N. Y., 1846; N. Y., 1850; Life and Public Services of, also life and services of Millard Fillmore. Hartford, 1848; Life, Battles, and Despatches. Phil., 1847; The Life and Public Services of. Phil., n.d.; The Life of. N. Y., 1847; The Life of, and a history of the War in Mexico. N. Y. 1847.

Taylor and Fillmore, Sketch of the lives of. Boston, n.d.

Taylor and His Campaigns, A Biography. Philadelphia, 1848.

Taylor and His Generals. Philadelphia, 1847.

Taylor and His Staff. Philadelphia, 1848.

Tehuantepec, An Account of the Isthmus of. London, 1846; Análisis del Dictámen de la Comision sobre el negocio de. Mex., 1852; Camino Carretero, Camino de Fierro y Canal por el istmo de. Mex., 1870; Cuestion de Nueva-York, 1852; Decreto del Supremo Gobierno para la apertura del Istmo. Mex., 1853; Dictámen de la Comision Especial, con motivo del privilegio concedido á José Garay. Mex., 1851; Dictámen de la Mayoría de las Comisiones de Industria. Mex., 1852; Dictámen de la Mayoría de la Comision especial de la Cámara de Diputados. Mex., 1851; Discurso pronunciado por el Señor Fuente, 29 de Noviembre. Mex., 1852; Documentos relativos á la apertura de una via. Mex., 1852; Memoria instructiva de los derechos y justas causas que tiene el Gobierno. Mex., 1852; Proyecto de colonizar el istmo. [Mex., 1823]; Reglamento para el Establecimiento de las Colonias Militares del Istmo. Mex. 1851; Reglamento para la Comunicacion por la via Inter-Oceánica. Mex., 1857; Right of way. n. pl. [1853]; Vindicacion de la conducta política de los. Oaxaca, 1847.

Tehuantepec Canal, A Collection.

Tehuantepec Canal, A memorial setting forth the rights and just reasons for not recognizing the validity of the privilege granted to D. José Garay. New York, 1852.

Tehuantepec Canal, A Review of the Tehuantepec Controversy. Georgetown, 1853.

Tehuantepec Railway, Its location, features, and advantages under the La Sere Grant of 1869. New York, 1869.

Tepic, Manifiesto que el Ayuntamiento. Guadalajara, 1845; Santa Cruz que se venera en el convento de Religiosos Franciscanos de la ciudad. Guadalajara, 1853.

Ternaux-Compans (Henri), Recueil de Documents et Mémoires originaux sur l'Histoire des Possessions Espagnoles dans l'Amérique. Paris, 1840.

Ternaux-Compans (Henri), Voyages, Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique. Paris, 1837–41. 2 series, 10 and 8 vols.

Testimonio á la letra del Espediente mandado formar por el Arzobispado de Cesarea. Mexico, 1848.

Testimonio de Hidalguía de Cortés. In Col. Doc. Inéd., tom. iv.

Testory (Abate), El Imperio y el Clero Mejicano. Mexico, 1865.

Tezozomoc, Recopilacion de tradiciones. MS.

Tezozomoc (Alvaro), Histoire du Mexique. Paris, 1853. 2 vols.

Thiers (A.), Historia del Consulado y del Imperio de Napoleon. Mexico, 1845.

Thomas (Lewis F.), Cortez, the Conqueror. Washington, 1857.

Thompson (John Lewis), History of the wars of the United States. Philadelphia, 1860. 2 vols.

Thompson (Waddy), Recollections of Mexico. New York, etc, 1847.

Thorpe (T. B.), Our Army at Monterey. Philadelphia, 1847.

Thorpe (T. B.), Our Army on the Rio Grande. Philadelphia, 1846.

Thümmel (A. R.), Mexiko und die Mexikaner. Erlangen, 1848.

Thümmel (A. R.), Neueste Geschichte der Republik Mexiko. Erlangen, 1848.

Tiempo (El). Mexico, 1834 et seq.

Tilden (Daniel R.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., July 14, 1846. Wash., 1846.

Tipografía Mexicana. Mexico, 1878 et seq.

Tlascala, Abusos de los mandones de Indios. MS. Mex., 1629; Acusacion que la Exma Diputacion Territorial. Mex., 1852; Despojo á mano armada por el Prefecto de. Puebla, 1843; Discurso pronunciado el 26 de Dic. de 1851. Puebla, 1852; Estatuto orgánico del territorio. Mex., 1849; Franciscanos é Indios. MS.; Representacion que la Diputacion Territorial de. Mex., 1849.
Todo tiene remedio siendo el aviso oportuno. Mexico, 1822.
Tolerancia de Cultos, Opúsculo que contiene una Corta Defensa de la Religion de Jesu Cristo. Mexico, 1849.
Tolerancia Religiosa, Disertacion contra la. Mejico, 1831; Representacion al Sob. Cong. contra el Art. 15 del Proyecto de constitucion sobre. Mex., 1856.
Toluca, Elecciones de. [Mexico, 1826.]
Tompkins (Patrick W.), Speeches in U. S. House of Rep., Jan. 19 and March 14, 1848. n.pl., n.d.
Tomson, Viage de. In Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin, 2da Ep., tom. i.
Toral (Francisco), Carta al Adelantado de la Florida. In Cartas de Indias.
Toral (Francisco), Carta al Rey. In Cartas de Indias.
Tornel (José María), Carta del Gen. á sus amigos. Mex., 1839; Discurso en la sesion del 12 de Oct. de 1842. Mex., 1842; El General á sus amigos. Mex., 1839; Fastos militares de Iniquidad. Mex., 1843; Manifestacion del C. Mex., 1833; Manifestacion presentada á la Cámara de Sen. Mex., 1841; Manifiesto del Orígen, Causas, Progresos y Estado de la Revolucion del Imperio Mexicano. Puebla, 1821; Proyectos de código criminal y Penal. Mex., 1853; Réplica de Varios Españoles. Mex., 1841; Respuesta del Gen. Mex., 1840; Varios Españoles al Sr Tornel, última respuesta. Mex., 1841; Voto Particular, etc., relativos al Istmo de Tehuantepec. Mex., 1852.
Tornel y Mendivil (J. Julian), La Aparicion de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Mexico. Orizava, 1849. 2 vols.
Tornel y Mendivil (José María), Breve Reseña Histórica de los Acontecimientos. Mex., 1852; Decretos, Dec. 29, 1828, Abril 22, 1829, Aug. 26, 1829. Mex., 1828–9; Discurso pronunciado en la Alameda 27 de Sept. de 1850. Mex., 1850; Discurso que en la Solemnidad 11 de Set. de 1843. Orizava, 1843; Discurso que al solemnizarse el feliz natalicio del Emp. Maximilian 6 de Julio de 1864. Orizaba, 1864; Discurso que pronunció el Exmo Sr. Gen. Mex., 1840; El grito de la patria, Aug. 4, 1821 [Puebla, 1821]; Los Héroes de Dolores vindicados. Mex., 1850; Proclamaciones, Dec. 27, 1828, Marzo 17, 1829, Abril 28, 1829. Mex., 1828–9; Protesta del Gen. contra el decreto espedido. Mex., 1839; Respuesta del Gen. Mex., 1840; Vindicacion del Coronel. Orizaba, 1842.
Torquemada (Juan de), Monarquía Indiana. Madrid, 1723. 3 vols. folio.
Torre (Juan de la), Relacion de los Resíduos. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xii.
Torre (Martin de la), Carta sobre el Cometa de 1680. In Morfi, Col. Doc.
Torrente (Mariano), Historia de la Revolucion Hispano-Americana. Madrid, 1830. 3 vols.
Torres, Certificacion. In Doc. Hist. Mex., serie ii., tom. iii.
Torres (C. A. de), De Laudibus Mariæ Barbaræ Reginæ 1759. Mexico, 1760.
Torres (José J. G. de), Desengaño á los Rebeldes sobre su monstruosa constitucion. [Mex., 1815]; Vindicacion del Clero Mexicano. Mex., 1812.
Torres (Luis de), Sermon fúnebre que en las honras que hicieron en 29 de Mayo de 1767. Mexico, 1768.
Torres (Miguel), Vida ejemplar y muerte preciosa. n.pl. [1723] 4to.
Torres del Palacio (Francisco de), Proceso contra. MS., 1595–7.
Torres y Recedo (Marcos), Testamentary disposition, leaving Government of Mexico to Real Audiencia. MS. [1699.]
Trait D'Union (Le), Mexico, 1861 et seq.
Translationuss hispanischer sprach zü Frantzösisch gemacht so durch dē Vice Rey, etc. 1522.

Trastour (P. E.), Memorial-claim against Tehuantepec Railroad Company. New-Orleans, 1853.
Trebarra (Napoleon), Los Misterios de Chan Santa Cruz. Mérida, 1864.
Tres Dias de Ministerio, Verdadera Noticia de los. Mexico, 1839.
Tribunal del Consulado. In Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin, tom. ii.
Tribuno (El), Guadalajara, 1827 et seq.
Tributo á la Verdad. Mexico, 1847.
Tributos. MS.
Tributos, Reglamento de los tributos de esta capital. Mex., 1792; Reglamento y Ordenanzas. Mex., 1771.
Trigueros (Ignacio), Defensa remitida al Gran Jurado el 13 de Jul. de 1846. Mexico, 1846.
Triunfo (El), de la justicia en los viles insurgentes. Mexico, 1811.
Trujillo (José Sanchez), Proyecto sobre productos y recursos. Mexico, 1865.
Tubino (Francisco M.), Un trono en Méjico. Sevilla, 1862.
Tumultos de Mexico. Collection of Documents. MS. folio.
Turchi (Adeodato), Coleccion de los discursos mas interesantes. Mexico, 1853. 2 vols.
Tyler (Edward B.), Anahuac, or Mexico and the Mexicans. London, 1861.

Ulloa, Mémoires Philosophiques. Paris, 1787.
Ulua (S. Juan de), Proclama. Mexico, 1822.
Unda (P. V.), Sorpresa del campo de Ahuatepec el año de 1828. Mexico, 1831.
Union de España con la Inglaterra. Mexico, 1809.
United Mexican Mining Association, Report of Directors. London, 1825–1827. 2 vols.
United States Government Documents. [Coast Survey; Commerce and Navigation; Commercial Relations; Foreign Relations, etc. Cited by their dates.]
United States Government Documents. [Senate, House, Miscellaneous, etc. Cited by their congress and session.]
United States and Mexican Boundary Survey. Washington, 1857–9. 4to. 3 vols.
Universal (El). Mexico, 1849, et seq.
Universidad de Guadalajara, Real Cédula, Deciembre 20, 1815. Guadalajara, 1816. folio.
Universad de Mexico, Constituciones. Mex., 1775. folio; Manifiesto del Ilustre Claustro. Mex., 1810; Obras de eloquencia premiadas el 28 de Dic. 1790. Mex., 1791; Suplemento á las Constituciones. Mex., 1839.
Urbano VIII, Breve, acerca de la Ternativa de los Religiosos, etc. Mexico, 1690.
Uribe (Joseph A. F.), Disertacion Histórica crítica. Mexico, 1801.
Uricoechea (E.), Mapoteca Colombiana. Londres, 1860.
Urizar y Estrada (Juan de), Defensa canónica de la jurisdiccion de los Prelados Regulares. n.pl. n.d.
Urrea (José), Diario de las Operaciones militares de la division, etc. Durango, 1838; Protesta contra la violacion de las capitulaciones de Tampico, etc. Mex., 1839.
Uruena (José Antonio), Defensa de la Secularizacion. Mexico, 1816. MS. 2 vols.

Vacuna (La), Instruccion para ministrar. Mexico, 1814.
Valdés (Joseph Eugenio), Vida Admirable y penitente. Mexico, 1765.
Valdivielso (Ignacio), Apuntes biográficos. Paris, 1861.
Valdovinos (Mucio), Cartilla de los Madres de Familia. Mexico, 1855.
Valencia (Gabriel), Manifiesto sobre su conducta. Mejico, 1841.
Valencia (Obispo de), Representacion á las Córtes. Valencia, 1820.
Valencia et al., Carta al Emperador. In Cartas de Indias.
Valentin (Ph.), Vortrag über den Mexicanischen Calender-Stein. New York, 1878.

Valladolid, Exhortacion que dirige á los habitantes de la Provincia. Mex., 1810; Exposicion que el Real Ayuntamiento de la ciudad. Mérida, 1836.
Vallarta (Ignacio L.), La Cuestion de Jalisco. Mexico, 1870.
Valle (J. N. del), El Viajero en Mexico. Mexico, 1859.
Vallecillo Mining Company. New York, 1855.
Vallejo (Josef Ignacio), Vida de la Madre de Dios. Cesena, 1779; Vida del Señor San José. Mex., 1845.
Vallejo (Mariano G.), Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico. MS. and print. folio. 2 vols.
Valori (Henry de), L'Expédition du Mexique. Paris, 1864.
Valverde (Antonio S.), Idea del valor de la Isla Española. Madrid, 1785.
Vander-Linden (Pedro), Memoria sobre el Cuerpo de Salud Militar. Mexico, 1845.
Van Dyke (J.), Speech in U. S. House of Rep., Ap. 2, 1848. n.pl., n.d.
Vargas (Joseph Mariano de), Carta de pésame por el fallecimiento. Mexico, 1787. 4to.
Varias Poesías, A Collection.
Variedades, A Collection. 3 vols.
Variedades de la Civilizacion. Mejico, 1852. 3 vols.
Variedades de Jurisprudencia. Mexico, 1850–5. 9 vols.
Variedades del Monitor, A Collection.
Varios Impresos, A Collection. 3 vols.
Varios Papeles, A Collection. 2 vols.
Vattel, Derecho de Gentes ó Principios de la Ley natural Aplicados á la conducta é Intereses. Burdeos, 1822. 4 vols.
Vazquez, Apuntamiento. In Doc. Inéd., tom. lii.
Vazquez (Rodrigo), Memorial referente á la reparticion y tributo de las tierras de la Nueva-España. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. vi.
Vazquez de Ávila (Juan), Carta al Emperador 10 de Febº de 1539. In Pacheco and Cárdenas. Col. Doc., tom. iii.
Vecinos del Distrito (Los), Solo piden igualdad y justicia en los impuestos. Mexico, 1852.
Vega (José Sixto Gonzalez), Exhortacion á los Americanos. Mex., 1811.
Vega (Plácido), Documentos para la Historia de Mexico. MS., 1862–8. 15 vols.
Vega (Plácido), Da Cuenta al Gobierno de la República Mejicana. Tepic, 1867; Depósito General de Armas. MS.; República Mejicana Oficial. n.pl., 1867.
Vega (Rómulo Diez de la), Manifestacion que hace á los habitantes de Yucatan. Mérida, 1854.
Vega (S. D. de la), Discurso sobre el objeto de las dramas. Mexico, 1786.
Veitia Linage, Cuatro Imágenes milagrosas de Nuestra Señora. MS., 1754.
Vejaciones á los Indios. MS.
Velasco (Alonso Alberto de), Exaltacion de la Divina Misericordia. Mex., 1699; Mex., 1724; Mex., 1776; Mex., 1807; Historia de la Milagrosa Renovacion, etc. Mex., 1845; Mex., 1858; Manifiesto en defensa de la Nota. Mex., 1700.
Velasco (Andrés Miguel Perez de), El Pretendiente de Curatos instruido. Puebla, 1765.
Velasco (Luiz de), Carta al Rey sobre robo por navíos franceses en el Puerto de Caballos. MS., 1558.
Velasco y Arellano (Joseph Luis), Amnestria Heróico. Mex., 1711; Saeta Amorosa. Mex. [1711]; Tierno recuerdo de. Mex., 1726.
Velasco y Texada (Antonio Joseph), Historia de la milagrosíssima imágen. Mex., 1750; Vozes Jurídicas que en el Tribunal de la razon de justicía. MS.
Velasquez (Andrés), Carta del á los P. P. Superiores de la Comp. de Jesus. Puebla, 1748.
Velazquez (Antonio), Instruccion que dió el adelantado á Hernan Cortés. In Col. Doc. Inéd., tom. xii.

Velazquez de Bazan (Antonio), Memorial del negocio de, cerca de la merced que pide á su Magestad. In Pacheco and Cárdenas Col. Doc., tom. x.
Velazquez (Diego), Carta en la que relaciona la desobediencia de Hernan Cortés de Octubre 12, 1519. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xii.
Velazco (Francisco de), Hecho del Litigio. Mexico, 1696. MS.
Velez (Pedro), Observaciones sobre el acuerdo de la cámara de senadores. Mex., 1830; Vindicacion de la primera sala de suprema corte de Justicia. Mex., 1834.
Venadito (Conde), Document leaving the Government to D. Fran. Novella, July 5, 1821. Mex., 1821; Fidelísimos habitantes de esta capital. Mex., 1821; Proclama 3 de Marzo de 1821. Mex., 1821.
Venégas (Francisco Xavier), Manifiesto de Su Virey á la Nueva España, Oct. 27, 1810. Mex., 1810; Pronóstico de la Felicidad Americana. Mex., 1810; Vindicacion de los agravios. Cádiz, 1811.
Venegas (Miguel), Vida y Virtudes del Juan Bautista Zappa. Barcelona, 1754.
Vera Cruz, Arancel de los Honorarios y Derechos Judiciales. Mex., 1840; Balanza del Comercio Marítimo, año de 1809. Mex., 1810, Carta de la Justicia de 10 de Julio, 1519. In Cortés, Cartas; Carta del Ayuntamiento. In Col. Doc. Inéd., tom. i.; Documentos referentes á los sucesos ocurridos en Orizava. Vera Cruz, 1834; El Plan Republicano del Triunvirato. Mex., 1823; Exposicion de los Empresarios de nuevos Caminos. Mex., 1834; Esposicion dirigida al Congreso General. Mex., 1849; Estadística del estado libre y soberano de Jalapa, 1831. 2 vols.; Fábrica de Parroquia en la Antigua. MS. 1783. folio; Manifiesto del Congreso. Jalapa, 1827; Memoria leida por el Gobernador del Estado. Vera Cruz, 1871; Memoria presentada al Hon. Congreso del Estado. Vera Cruz, 1869; Memoria relativa á la administracion municipal. Vera Cruz, 1865; Oficios del Consulado. Vera Cruz, 1821; Reglamento de administracion de propios del Ayuntamiento. Vera Cruz, 1848; Reglamento de policía y buen gobierno, etc. Vera Cruz, 1821; Reglamento para la policía interior del Departamento. Jalapa, 1841; Representacion al Congreso sobre Caminos. Mex., 1835; Representacion del Vecindario. Vera Cruz, 1821; Sesion del Hon. Congreso. Vera Cruz, 1833; Sucesos de la actual revolucion en el Estado. Mex., 1852.
Verdadera Idea sobre el impreso titulado "donativo de medio millon de Pesos." Mexico, 1845.
Verdadera Noticia de los Tres Dias de Ministerio. Mexico, 1839.
Verdades de suma importancia á la nacion Mexicana. Mexico, 1826.
Vergara y Estrada (Manuel U.), Eneas Español. Mexico, 1756.
Verona (Paciente de), Paromología de el Diphthongo de Querétaro en la procesion de el corpus desde el año de 1709. MS. [1740] 4to.
Vetancvrt (Avgvstin de), Manuel de administrar los santos sacramentos conforme á la reforma de Paula V. y Urbano VIII. Mexico, 1764.
Vetancvrt (Avgvstin de), Menologio Franciscano de los Varones mas Señalados. n.pl., n.d. folio; Mexico, 1871.
Vetancvrt (Avgvstin de), Sermon á la aparicion de la milagrosa imágen de Nuestra Señora de Pilar. Mexico, 1674.
Vetancvrt (Avgvstin de), Teatro Mexicano. Mexico, 1698. folio; also edition Mexico, 1870–1. 4 vols.
Vetancvrt (Avgvstin de), Tratado de la ciudad de Mexico. n.pl., n.d. folio.
Veytia (Mariano), Historia Antigua de Mejico. Mexico, 1836. 3 vols.
Veytia (Mariano), Sumaria Relacion de todas las cosas en la Nueva España y que los tultecas alcanzaron.
Viage á los Estados-Unidos del Norte. Cincinnati, 1834.
Vicarios Generales, Preguntase si. . . deban obtener honores de Ex-Provinciales. n.pl., n.d. 4to.
Victoria (Guadalupe de), Derrotero de las Islas Antillas. Mex., 1825; Proclama á las provincias de Oriente y Occidente. Mex., 1823.
Vidal (Joseph), Espada Aguda de Dolor. Mex., 1692; Vida del Migvel de Omaña. Mex., 1682.

Vigil (J. M.), and Juan B. Híjar de Haro, Ensayo Histórico del Ejército de Occidente. Mexico, 1871–2.
Vigne (G. T.), Travels in Mexico, South America, etc. London, 1863. 2 vols.
Vigneaux (Ernest), Souvenirs d'un Prisonnier de Guerre au Mexique, 1854–5. Paris, 1863.
Vilaplana (Hermenegildo), Breve Noticia de la portentosa conversion. Mex., 1760; Histórico y Sagrado Novenario de la milagrosa imágen, etc. Mex., 1765; Vida portentosa del Americano, etc. Madrid, 1775.
Villa-Amor (Manuel), Biografía del General Santa Anna. Mexico, 1857.
Villagutierre Soto-Mayor (Juan de), Historia de la Conquista de la Provincia de el Itza. [Madrid, 1701.] folio.
Villalobos (Gomez de), Relacion del viaje que hizo desde la Nueva España 1º de Agosto de 1584. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. v.
Villalovos (Joachin Antonio de), Relox de sombras. Puebla, 1729.
Villa Manrrique (Marqués de), Carta al Rey Don Felipe II., March 23, 1586. In Cartas de Indias.
Villarroel, Mexico por Dentro y Fuera. Mex., 1831.
Villarroel (Hipólito), Enfermedades políticas. MS. 4 vols.
Villa Señor y Sanchez (José Antonio), Theatro Americano. Mexico, 1746. folio. 2 vols.
Villavicencio (Jvan Joseph de), Vida y Virtudes de el venerable P. Juan de Ugarte. Mexico, 1752.
Villerias (Joseph de), Llanto de las Estrellas. Mexico, 1725.
Villuendas (Francisco), Estado de la mision de Laredo en 23 de Noviembre de 1785. MS.
Vindicacion del General Presidente. Mexico, 1837.
Vindicacion del Pueblo Mexicano en la Invasion Francesa de 1862. Mexico. 1867.
Virey Cerralvo, Acusacion contra el, por los Procuradores generales del Comisario General de la órden de San Francisco en Nueva España. MS. folio.
Vireyes de Mexico, Instrucciones, Residencias. MSS. and print. 2 vols.
Vives (Juan Luis), Diálogos de. Mexico, 1827.
Vivo (Buenaventura), Memorias del ministro de Mejico, en España, 1853–5, Madrid, 1856; Tratado Consular por el Cónsul de los Estados-Unidos Mexicanos en la Habana. Mex., 1850.
Vizarron y Eguiarreta, Copia de dos cartas. [Mex., 1742.] MS. folio; Respuesta y Satisfaccion. Mex., 1772. folio; Sentencia dada y pronunciada. Mex., 1742. folio.
Vocabulario Vocabulario filosófico-Democrático, Nuevo. Mexico, 1834. 2 vols.

Waldeck (F. de), Voyage Pittoresque, etc. Paris, 1838. folio.
Wappäus (J. E.), Geographie und Statistik von Mexiko und Central-Amerika. Leipzig, 1863.
War with Mexico, Reports, etc., of Operations of U. S. Naval Forces, 1846–7 [30th Cong. 2d. Sess. H. Ex. Doc. 1, Pt. ii.]. Washington, 1848.
Ward (H. G.), Gedrängtes Gemälde des Zustandes von Mexiko. Leipzig, 1828.
Ward (H. G.), Mexico in 1827. London, 1828. 2 vols.
Ward (H. G. Mrs), Six Views of the most important towns and mining districts of Mexico. London, 1829. folio.
Webster (Daniel), Speech on Mexican War. March 23, 1848. Washington, 1848.
Webster (Daniel), Speech at Philadelphia, December 2, 1846. Washington, 1847.
Welda (Othon), Dos Proyectos sobre fundacion de Colonias. Morelia, 1865.
Welzhofer (Max Moritz), Die Republik Mexico. Leipzig, 1862.
West-Indische Spieghel, door Athanasium Inga. [Amsterdam, 1624.]
Westminster Review. London, 1824 et seq.
Whitehead (Charles), Letter May 11, 1855, to G. W. Lettsom on debt of Mexican Government to British Bondholders. MS. folio.

Whitehead (Charles), Payment of dividends by Mexican Government to British Bondholders. May 11, 1855. MS.
Wilhelm (Thomas), History of the Eighth U. S. Infantry. n.pl., 1873. 2 vols.
Willard (Emma), Last Leaves of American History. New York, 1853.
Williams (J. J.), The Isthmus of Tehuantepec. New York, 1852. 2 vols.
Willie (Roberto Crichton), Mexico, Noticia sobre su Hacienda Pública bajo el Gobierno Español y Despues de la Independencia. Mexico, 1845.
Willson (Marcius), American history. Cincinnati, 1847.
Wilson (Robert Anderson), A New History of the Conquest of Mexico. Philadelphia, 1859.
Wilson (Robert Anderson), Mexico and its Religion. New York, 1855.
Wilson (Robert Anderson), Mexico: Its Peasants and its Priests. New York, etc., 1856.
Winthrop, Speech on the Mexican War, Jan. 8, 1847. Washington, 1847.
Witte (Nicolás), Carta al Emperador, July 15, 1552. In Cartas de Indias.
Woll (Adrian), Esposicion presentada al Presidente. Mexico, 1852.
Woods (Daniel B.), Sixteen months at the Gold diggings. New York, 1851.
Wool (John E.), A Sketch of the Life and Public Services of. New York, 1851.
Worrall (Tomás), Exámen del mérito que puedan tener los fundamentos, préstamo el Sup° Gob°. Mexico, 1839.
Worth (W. J.), Charges against by General Scott. n.pl., n.d.
Worthington (C. J.), The Woman in Battle. Hartford, 1876.

Yañez (Mariano), Alegato de buena prueba por parte de la Compañía Aviadora, etc. Mexico, 1862.
Yañez (Juan) y Socios, Extracto de la causa formado al. Megico, 1839.
Ylarregui (José Salazar), Datos de los trabajos astronómicos y topográficos 1849–50 por la comision de límites. Mexico, 1850.
Young (Eduardo), Obras Selectas. Mexico, 1833. 4 vols.
Young (Philip), History of Mexico. Cincinnati, 1850.
Yrolo (Nicolái), De las Escripturas. [Mexico, 1605.] 4to.
Yturrigarai (José Manuel), Acta Literario con que la Real y Pontificia Universidad de Mexico. Mexico, 1803. MS.
Yucatan, Actas de la Junta Electoral de Provincia 12 de Dic. 1830. Mérida, 1830; Case of H. M. subjects settled on the coast of Yucatan. Lond., 1789; Compendio histórico razonado del orígen, etc. Mex., 1825; Dictámen aprobado per la Exma Junta Departamental. Mérida, 1838; Discurso pronunciado por el Exmo Señor Gobernador 21 de Agosto de 1840. Mérida, 1849; Documentos interesantes y decretos del legítimo Cong. Const. del Estado. n.pl., n.d.; El proyecto de ley del Sr. Senador Vargas para pacificar el Estado. Mex., 1831; Es el ministerio quien dirige los planes. Mex., 1831; Estadística. Mex., 1853; Exámen sobre el actual estado del negocio. Mex., 1832; Exposicion del Gobierno. Mérida, 1845; Exposicion del Gobierno, derogacion del decreto 21 Feb., 1844. Mérida, 1844; Exposicion del Gobierno sobre reconocimiento y amortizacion de los créditos. Mérida, 1868. 4to; Exposicion que el Real Ayuntamiento. Mérida, 1836; Hace pocos dias que se publicó. Mex., 1831; Impugnacion á las observaciones hechas por varios Yucatecos. Mex., 1831; Impugnacion á las observaciones que en 19 del Oct. Mex., 1831; Iniciativa de la legislatura del estado. Mérida, 1832; La nueva proposicion del Señor Rejon sobre Yucatan. Mex., 1831; Las facultades de los supremos poderes federales en cuanto á la organizacion. Mex., 1832; Manifiesto de la Convencion del estado. Mérida, 1831; Manifiesto del Congreso á los habitantes de los estados de la Confederacion Mejicana. Mérida, 1824; Manifiesto del gefe Superior á los pueblos. Mérida, 1831; Manifiesto del Gob. Provisional á la nacion acerca de los negocios. Mex., 1843; Manifestaciones del Exmo Consejo, ilustres Ayuntamientos. Mérida, 1831; Memoria leida ante el Augusto Congreso Extraordinario. Mérida, 1846; Memoria leida ante la Excma Asamblea del Departamento de 7 de Mayo de 1845. Mérida, 1845; Newe zeittung von dem lande

des die Sponier funden haben, 1521. Mex., 1875; Observaciones sobre el dictámen en la proposicion del Señor Vargas. Mex., 1831; Observaciones sobre la actual situacion del departamento. Mex., 1845; Oprimido reclama á la cámara de Diputados su representacion legal. Mex., 1826; Piezas justificativas de la conducta política. Mérida, 1846; Proyecto de Bases para la regeneracion política de la República. Mérida, 1841; Representaciones y Documentos justificativos que la Legislatura Constitucional. Mérida, 1874; Segunda carta del Yucateco al Payo de Rosario. Mex., 1829; Tratado que celebró la administracion provisional con las autoridades. Mex., 1845.

Zacarias (Luis Gonzaga), Representacion que el lic. dirijió al Ilmo Sr. Obispo de esta Diócesis. Puebla, 1865.

Zacatecas, Acto de un Juicio verbal celebrado en el Juzgado de distrito. Zac., 1841; Arancel de los honorarios y derechos judiciales que se han de cobrar. Mex., 1840; Comunicaciones oficiales entre el Sup. Gob. del Estado y el Superior Ecles. de la Diócesis. Guad., 1852; Contestacion al folleto titulado "La Oposicion y el Gobierno." Aguascalientes, 1853; Continuacion de las comunicaciones oficiales, Ley de Hacienda. Guad., 1852; Decreto sobre estabto. de un Banco. Zac., 1830; Dictámen presentado por la Comision Especial, sobre calificacion de las Elecciones Nov. 30, 1843. Mex., 1843; Dictámen sobre Reformas Constitucionales. Mex., 1841; Diario exacto. Mex., 1835; Impugnacion á la iniciativa del hon. Cong. de...de 9 de Jun. de 1834, sobre Reformas Eclesiásticas. Mex., 1834; Iniciativa de la Honorable Asamblea Departamental sobre Reformas de las Bases de organizacion política de la República. Zac., 1845; Memoria presentada por el Ejecutivo á la Hon. Legislatura. Zac. 1871; Plan para el establecimiento de una Colonia en el Estado. Baltimore, 1852; Reflecsiones al Hon. Cong. sobre la esposicion que hace al Sup. Gob. Mex., 1831.

Zaccone (Pedro), El Hijo del Cielo. Mejico, 1858. 2 vols.

Zalatitan, Protesta que el cura y Feligreses de la Parroquia de Zalatitan hacen contra la Traicion consumada en Veracruz. Guadalajara, 1860.

Zamacois (Niceto de), El Jarabe, obra de Costumbres Mejicanas. Mejico, 1861; Historia de Mejico. Barcelona, etc., 1877–80. 11 vols.; Los Ecos de mi Lira. Mex., 1849; Ministerios de Mexico. Mex., 1850. 2 vols.; Salud del Alma, Devocionario en verso. Mex., 1851; Un Angel Desterrado del Cielo. Mex., 1855.

Zamboni (J. Fortunato), Ensayo de una memoria sobre la necesidad de prevenir á los incautos contra los artificios de algunos fisiólogos. Megico, 1840.

Zambrano (Juan A.), Apuntes sobre Caminos de Fierro y Facilidad de Hacerlos. Mex., 1867; Comunicaciones Relativas á la Renuncia que del Cargo de Tesorero General de la Nacion, hizo. Mex., 1861; Tarifa de Sueldos Militares arreglada para el uso de los cuerpos de Ejército de la Repúb. Mexicana. Mex., 1854.

Zamora (Antonio Fernandez), Plan de Hacienda para la República Mexicana. Mexico, 1847.

Zamora (Victoriano), Informe hecho á la Exma 2ª Sala, relativo á los Ruidosos Autos del Denuncio de San Chemente. Zacatecas, 1839.

Zamora y Azevedo (A. M. and M. D.), Pruebas de Nobleza. MS. 1768.

Zappa (Gio Battista), Copia di Vintisei Lettere Scritte dal Padre al Sig. Ambrosio Zappa. Milano [1687].

Zarauz (Joaquin de), Contestacion á la vindicacion y Respuesta que el capitan de navío de la Real armada Dn. Juan de Zarauz, dió al suplemento del diario de Mexico del viernes, 8 de Noviembre de 1805. Mexico, 1807.

Zarco (Francisco), Historia del Congreso Extraordinario Constituyente de 1856 y 1857. Mexico, 1857. 2 vols.

Zarza (Juan A.), Siestas Dogmáticas. Mexico, 1765.

Zarzosa (Pedro), Representacion que eleva á la Cámara del Senado. Mex., 1825.

Zavala (Lorenzo de), Dictámen sobre el proyecto de Ley. Mex., 1834; Ensayo histórico de las Revoluciones de Megico. Paris, etc., 1831. 2 vols.; Mex., 1845. 2 vols.; Manifiesto de los principios políticos. Mex., 1828; Proyecto de reforma del Congreso. Mex., 1822; Viaje á los Estados Unidos. Mérida, 1846; Voto del diputado sobre el proyecto de reglamento político. [Mex., 1823.]

Zavala (Manuel Quixano), La venerable congregacion del oratorio de Felipe Neri. Mexico, 1782.

Zelaa ó Hidalgo (José María), Discursos panegíricos ó Sermones varios. MS.; Glorias de Querétaro. Mex., 1803; Vida Portentosa. Mex., 1812;

Zelaeta (Juan), Manifiesto á sus compatriotas. Mexico, 1837.

Zerecero (Anastasio), Memorias para la Historia de las Revoluciones en Mexico. Mex., 1869. 2 vols.; Observaciones del ciudadano á la constitucion. Mex., 1857.

Zevallos (Francisco), Vida del P. Fernando Konsag. Mexico, 1764.

Zomera y Piña (Manuel), Esposicion que hace de sus actos de la invasion francesa. Mexico, 1867.

Zorilla (José), El Delator. Mex., 1857; Lecturas. Mex., 1864; Traidor inconfeso y Mártir. Mex., 1850.

Zorita (Alonso de), Breve y sumaria relacion de los señores en la Nueva España. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. ii.

Zozaya (José M.), Apelacion al Tribunal de la Opinion Pública. Mexico, 1839.

Zuazo (Diego de), Oracion Evangélica y Panegyrica de la Purificacion. Mexico, 1703. MS.

Zuazo (Licenciado), Carta al Señor de Xevres. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. i.

Zumárraga, Carta á su Magestad del Obispo electo D. Juan de Zumárraga, Agosto 27, 1529. In Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc., tom. xiii.

Zumárraga (Juan), Pastoral sobre fundacion de la Catedral de Mexico. Mexico, 1534. MS.

Zúñiga y Ontiveros (Felipe), Calendario Manual y Guia de Forasteros de Mexico. Mexico, 1789.

Zurita (Ramon M.), Esposicion al Supremo Gobierno de la República. Mexico, 1845.

GULF OF
MEXICO
Tizapantzinco
Villa Rica
Jalapa
Quiahuiztlan
Cempoala
Rio de la Antigua
San Juan de Ulua
Islas de los Sacrificios
Nombre de Dios
Xicalanco
Tampaniquita
Rio Jamapa
Rio de Tuxtlan
Cuetlachtlan
Mictlan-Quauhtla
CUETLACHTLAN
Sierra de San Martin
Rio Goazacoalco
Goazacoalco
GOAZACOALCO
Rio Papaloapan or Alvarado
POTECAPAN
TEHUANTEPEC
NEW
AS KN
CONQUE
STAT
0 10 20 40 60
22
20
18
16
95
103

HISTORY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE OF HERNANDEZ DE CÓRDOBA TO YUCATAN.

1516–1517.

A Glance at the State of European Discovery and Government in America at the Opening of this Volume—Diego Velazquez in Cuba—Character of the Man—A Band of Adventurers Arrives from Darien—The Governor Counsels them to Embark in Slave-Catching—Under Hernandez de Cordoba they Sail Westward and Discover Yucatan—And are Filled with Astonishment at the Large Towns and Stone Towers they See there—They Fight the Natives at Cape Catoche—Skirt the Peninsula to Champoton—Sanguinary Battle—Return to Cuba—Death of Córdoba.

During the first quarter of a century after the landing of Columbus on San Salvador, three thousand leagues of mainland coast were examined, chiefly in the hope of finding a passage through to the India of Marco Polo. The Cabots from England and the Cortereals from Portugal made voyages to Newfoundland and down the east coast of North America; Amerigo Vespucci sailed hither and thither in the service of Spain, and wrote letters confounding knowledge; Vasco da Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope; Columbus, Ojeda, Niño, Guerra, Bastidas, and Pinzon and Solis coasted the Tierra Firme of Central and South America; Ocampo skirted Cuba and found it an island; Cabral accidentally discovered Brazil; Juan Ponce de Leon hunted for the Fountain of Youth in Florida; Vasco Nuñez de

Balboa crossed the Isthmus and floated his ships on the South Sea. Prior to 1517 almost every province of the eastern continental seaboard, from Labrador to Patagonia, had been uncovered, save those of the Mexican Gulf, which casketed wonders greater than them all. This little niche alone remained, wrapped in aboriginal obscurity, although less than forty leagues of strait separated the proximate points of Cuba and Yucatan.

Meanwhile, in the government of these Western Indies, Columbus, first admiral of the Ocean Sea, had been succeeded by Bobadilla, Ovando, and the son and heir of the discoverer, Diego Colon, each managing, wherein it was possible, worse than his predecessor; so that it was found necessary to establish at Santo Domingo, the capital city of the Indies, a sovereign tribunal, to which appeals might be made from any viceroy, governor, or other representative of royalty, and which should eventually, as a royal audiencia, exercise for a time executive as well as judicial supremacy. But before clothing this tribunal with full administrative powers, Cardinal Jimenez, then dominant in New World affairs, had determined to try upon the turbulent colonists the effect of ecclesiastical influence in secular matters, and had sent over three friars of the order of St Jerome, Luis de Figueroa, Alonso de Santo Domingo, and Bernardo de Manzanedo, to whose direction governors and all others were made subject. Just before the period in our history at which this volume opens, the Jeronimite Fathers, as the three friars were called, had practically superseded Diego Colon at Española, and were supervising Pedrarias Dávila of Castilla del Oro, Francisco de Garay governor of Jamaica, and Diego Velazquez governor of Cuba. It will be remembered that Diego Colon had sent Juan de Esquivel in 1509 to Jamaica, where he was succeeded by Francisco de Garay; and Diego Velazquez had been sent in 1511 to Cuba to subdue and

govern that isle, subject to the young admiral's dictation; and beside these, a small establishment at Puerto Rico, and Pedrarias on the Isthmus, there was no European ruler in the regions, islands or firm land, between the two main continents of America.

The administration of the *religiosos* showed little improvement on the governments of their predecessors, who, while professing less honesty and piety, practised more worldly wisdom; hence within two short years the friars were recalled by Fonseca, who, on the death of Jimenez, had again come into power in Spain, and the administration of affairs in the Indies remained wholly with the audiencia of Santo Domingo, the heirs of Columbus continuing to agitate their claim throughout the century.

It was as the lieutenant of Diego Colon that Velazquez had been sent to conquer Cuba; but that easy work accomplished, he repudiated his former master, and reported directly to the crown.

Velazquez was an hidalgo, native of Cuéllar, who, after seventeen years of service in the wars of Spain, had come over with the old admiral in his second voyage, in 1493, and was now a man of age, experience, and wealth. With a commanding figure, spacious forehead, fair complexion, large clear eyes, well-chiselled nose and mouth, and a narrow full-bearded chin, the whole lighted by a pleasing intellectual expression, he presented, when elegantly attired as was his custom, as imposing a presence as any man in all the Indies. In history he also formed quite a figure. And yet there was nothing weighty in his character. He was remarkable rather for the absence of positive qualities; he could not lay claim even to conspicuous cruelty. He was not a bad man as times went; assuredly he was not a good man as times go. He could justly lay claim to all the current vices, but none of them were enormous enough to be interesting. In temper he was naturally mild

and affable, yet suspicious and jealous, and withal easily influenced; so that when roused to anger, as was frequently the case, he was beside himself.

Chief assistant in his new pacification was Pánfilo de Narvaez, who brought from Jamaica thirty archers, and engaged in the customary butchering, while the governor, with three hundred men, quietly proceeded to found towns and settlements, such as Trinidad, Puerto del Príncipe, Matanzas, Santi Espíritu, San Salvador, Habana, and Santiago, making the seat of his government at the place last named, and appointing alcaldes in the several settlements. Other notable characters were likewise in attendance on this occasion, namely, Bartolomé de las Casas, Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, Juan de Grijalva, and Hernan Cortés.

Discreet in his business, and burdened by no counteracting scruples, Velazquez and those who were with him prospered. Informed of this, above one hundred of the starving colonists at Darien obtained permission from Pedrarias in 1516 to pass over to Cuba, and were affably received by the governor. Most of them were well-born and possessed of means; for though provisions were scarce at Antigua, the South Sea expeditions of Vasco Nuñez, Badajoz, and Espinosa, had made gold plentiful there. Among this company was Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a soldier of fortune, who had come from Spain to Tierra Firme in 1514, and who now engages in the several expeditions to Mexico, and becomes, some years later, one of the chief historians of the conquest.

Ready for any exploit, and having failed to receive certain repartimientos promised them, the band from Tierra Firme cast glances toward the unknown west. The lesser isles had been almost depopulated by the slave-catchers, and from the shores of the adjoining mainland the affrighted natives had fled to the interior. It was still a profitable employment, however, for the colonists must have laborers, being themselves

entirely opposed to work. The governor of Cuba, particularly, was fond of the traffic, for it was safe and lucrative. Though a representative of royal authority in America, he was as ready as any irresponsible adventurer to break the royal command. During this same year of 1516, a vessel from Santiago had loaded with natives and provisions at the Guanaja Islands, and had returned to port. While the captain and crew were ashore for a carouse, the captives burst open the hatches, overpowered the nine men who had been left on guard, and sailed away midst the frantic gesticulations of the captain on shore. Reaching their islands in safety, they there encountered a brigantine with twenty-five Spaniards lying in wait for captives. Attacking them boldly, the savages drove them off toward Darien, and then burned the ship in which they themselves had made their enforced voyage to Cuba.

As a matter of course this atrocious conduct on the part of the savages demanded exemplary punishment. To this end two vessels were immediately despatched with soldiers who fell upon the inhabitants of Guanaja, put many to the sword, and carried away five hundred captives, beside securing gold to the value of twenty thousand pesos de oro.

Happy in the thought of engaging in an occupation so profitable, the chivalrous one hundred cheerfully adventured their Darien gold in a similar voyage, fitting out two vessels for the purpose, and choosing for their commander Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, now a wealthy planter of Santi Espíritu.[1]

[1] In the memorial of Antonio Velazquez, successor of the adelantado, Diego Velazquez, *Memorial del negocio de D. Antonio Velazquez de Bazan*, in *Mendoza, Col. Doc. Inéd.*, x. 80–6, taken from the archives of the Indies, the credit of this expedition is claimed wholly for the governor. Indeed, Velazquez himself repeatedly asserts, as well as others, that the expedition was made at his cost. But knowing the man as we do, and considering the claims of others, it is safe enough to say that the governor did not invest much money in it. The burden doubtless fell on Córdoba, who was aided, as some think, by his associates, Cristóbal Morante and Lope Ochoa de Caicedo, in making up what the men of Darien lacked, *Torquemada*, i. 349, notwithstanding the claims for his fraternity of Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, i. Ogilby, *Hist. Am.*, 76,

Velazquez added a third vessel, a small bark, in consideration of a share in the speculation.[2] After laying in a supply of cassava, a bread made from the yucca root, and some salt beef, bacon, and glass beads for barter, the expedition departed from Santiago de Cuba, and went round to the north side of the island. There were in all one hundred and ten[3] soldiers, with Antonio de Alaminos as chief pilot, Alonso Gonzalez priest, and Bernardino Iñiguez king's treasurer. Here the chief pilot said to the commander, "Down from Cuba Island, in this sea of the west, my heart tells me there must be rich lands; because, when I

says the three associates were all Cuban planters; that they equipped three ships, Velazquez adding one. This Hernandez de Córdoba was not he who served as lieutenant under Pedrarias, though of the same name.

[2] Opinion has been divided as to the original purpose of the expedition. As it turned out, it was thought best on all sides to say nothing of the inhuman and unlawful intention of capturing Indians for slaves. Hence, in the public documents, particularly in the petitions for recompense which invariably followed discoveries, pains is taken to state that it was a voyage of discovery, and prompted by the governor of Cuba. As in the *Décadas Abreviadas de los Descubrimientos, Mendoza, Col. Doc. Inéd.*, viii. 5–54, we find that 'El adelantado Diego Velazquez de Cuéllar es autor del descubrimiento de la Nueva España,' so, in effect, it is recorded everywhere. Indeed, Bernal Diaz solemnly asserts that Velazquez at first stipulated that he should have three cargoes of slaves from the Guanaja Islands, and that the virtuous one hundred indignantly refused so to disobey God and the king as to turn free people into slaves. 'Y desque vimos los soldados, que aquello que pedia el Diego Velazquez no era justo, le respondimos, que lo que dezia, no lo mandaua Dios, ni el Rey; que hiziessemos á los libres esclavos.' *Hist. Verdad.*, i. On the strength of which fiction, Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, ii. 224, launches into laudation of the Spanish character. The honest soldier, however, finds difficulty in making the world believe his statement. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 348, does not hesitate to say very plainly that the expedition was sent out to capture Indians, 'ir é enviar á saltear indios para traer á ella,' for which purpose there were always men with money ready; and that on this occasion Córdoba, Morante, and Caicedo subscribed 1,500 or 2,000 castellanos each, to go and catch Indians, either at the Lucayas Islands or elsewhere. Torquemada, i. 349, writes more mildly, yet plainly enough; 'para ir à buscar Indios, à las Islas Convecinas, y hacer Rescates, como hasta entonces lo acostumbraban.' Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 1–6, follows Bernal Diaz almost literally. Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 60, is non-committal, stating first 'para descubrir y rescatar,' and afterward, 'Otros dizen que para traer esclauos delas yslas Guanaxos a sus minas y granjerias.' Oviedo and Herrera pass by the question. Landa, *Rel. de Yucatan*, 16, 'a rescatar esclavos para las minas, que ya en Cuba se yva la gente apocando y que otros dizen que salio a descubrir tierra.' Says the unknown author of *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 338, 'In has igitur insulas ad grassandum et prædandum, ut ita dicam, ire hi de quibus suprà dictum est, constituerant; non in Iucatanam.' It is clear to my mind that slaves were the first object, and that discovery was secondary, and an after-thought.

[3] Bernal Diaz holds persistently to 110. It was 110 who came from Tierra Firme, and after divers recruits and additions the number was still 110.

sailed as a boy with the old admiral, I remember he inclined this way." Suddenly the vision of Córdoba enlarged. Here might be something better, nobler, more profitable even than kidnapping the poor natives. Despatching a messenger to Velazquez, Córdoba asked, in case new discoveries were made while on the way to catch Indians, for permission to act as the governor's lieutenant in such lands. The desired authority was granted, and from the haciendas near by were brought on board sheep, pigs, and mares, so that stock-raising might begin if settlements were formed.

Sailing from the Habana, or San Cristóbal, the 8th of February, 1517, they came to Cape San Antonio, whence, on the 12th, they struck westward, and after certain days,[4] during two of which they were severely tempest-tossed, they discovered land;[5] first the point of an island, where were some fine salt-fields, and cultivated ground. The people who appeared on the shore were not naked as on the Islands, but well dressed in white and colored cotton, some with ornaments of gold, silver, and feathers. The men were

[4] Authorities vary, from four days given by Las Casas, and six by Oviedo, to 21 by Bernal Diaz and Herrera. The date of departure is also disputed, but the differences are unimportant. Compare *Peter Martyr*, dec. iv. cap. vi.; *Dufey, Résumé Hist. Am.*, i. 93; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 3; *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 348–63; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 3–8; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 60–1; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 1–2; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xvii.; *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 22–4; *Vida de Cortés*, or *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortessii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 331–41; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, i. 463–8; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, i. 237–40; *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 5–8.

[5] Though remarkably fair and judicious in the main, Mr Prescott's partiality for a certain class of his material is evident. To the copies from the Spanish archives, most of which have been since published with hundreds of others equally or more valuable, he seemed to attach an importance proportionate to their cost. Thus, throughout his entire work, these papers are paraded to the exclusion of the more reliable, but more accessible, standard authorities. In the attempt, at this point, to follow at once his document and the plainly current facts, he falls into an error of which he appears unconscious. He states, *Conq. Mex.*, i. 222, that Córdoba 'sailed with three vessels on an expedition to one of the neighboring Bahama Islands, in quest of Indian slaves. He encountered a succession of heavy gales which drove him far out of his course.' The Bahama Islands are eastward from Habana, while Cape San Antonio is toward the west. All the authorities agree that the expedition sailed directly westward, and that the storm did not occur until after Cape San Antonio had been passed, which leaves Mr Prescott among other errors in that of driving a fleet to the westward, in a storm, when it has already sailed thither by the will of its commander, in fair weather.

bold and brave, and the women well-formed and modest, with head and breast covered. Most wonderful of all, however, were some great towers, built of stone and lime, with steps leading to the top; and chapels covered with wood and straw, within which were found arranged, in artistic order, many idols apparently representing women, and that led the Spaniards to name the place De Las Mugeres.[6] Proceeding northward, they came to a larger point, of island or mainland; and presently they descried, two leagues from the shore, a large town, which was called El Gran Cairo.

While looking for an anchorage, on the morning of the 4th of March, five canoes approached the commander's vessel, and thirty men stepped fearlessly on board. The canoes were large, some of them capable of holding fifty persons; the men were intelligent, and wore a sleeveless cloak and apron of cotton.[7] The Spaniards gave them bacon and bread to eat, and to each a necklace of green glass beads. After closely scrutinizing the ship and its belongings, the natives put off for the shore. Early next day appeared the cacique with many men in twelve canoes, making signs of friendship, and crying, *Conex cotoch!* that is to say, Come to our houses; whence the place was called Punta de Catoche,[8] which name it bears to-day.

[6] Following Gomara and Torquemada, Galvano mentions the name of no other place in this voyage than that of Punta de las Dueñas, which he places in latitude 20°. He further remarks, *Descobrimentos*, 131, 'He gẽte milhor atauiada que ha em neuhũa outra terra, & cruzes em q' os Indios adorauam, & os punham sobre seus defuntos quando faleciam, donde parecia que em algum tẽpo se sentio aly a fe de Christo.' The anonymous author of *De Rebus Gestis* and all the best authorities recognize this as the first discovery. 'Sicque non ad Guanaxos, quos petebant, appulerunt, sed ad Mulierum promontorium.' Fernando Colon places on his map, 1527, *y: de mujeres;* Diego de Ribero, 1529, *d' mugeres*, the next name north being *amazonas.* Vaz Dourado, 1571, lays down three islands which he calls *p:. de mayreles;* Hood, 1592, *Y. de mueres;* Laet, 1633, *Yas de mucheres;* Ogilby, 1671, *yas desconocida;* Dampier, 1699, *I. mugeras;* Jefferys, 1776, *Ia de Mujeres*, or *Woman's I.* It was this name that led certain of the chroniclers to speak of islands off the coast of Yucatan inhabited by Amazons. 'Sirvió de asilo en nuestros dias al célebre pirata Lafitte.' *Boletin de la Sociedad Mex. de Geog.*, iii. 224.

[7] For a description of these people see *Bancroft's Native Races*, i. 645–747.

[8] See *Landa, Rel. de Yuc.*, 6. '*Domum* Cotoche sonat: indicabant enim domus et oppidum haud longè abesse.' *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in

Thus invited, Córdoba, with several of his officers, and twenty-five soldiers armed with cross-bows and firelocks, accompanied the natives to the shore, where the cacique with earnest invitations to visit his town managed to lead them into ambush. The natives fought with flint-edged wooden swords, lances, bows, and slings, and were protected by armors of quilted cotton and shields, their faces being painted and their heads plumed. They charged the enemy bravely, amidst shouts and noise of instruments; several of the Spaniards were wounded, two fatally. At length the natives gave way before the sharp and sulphurous enginery of their exceedingly strange visitants, leaving fifteen of their number dead upon the ground. Two youths were taken prisoners, who were afterward baptized and named Julian and Melchor, and profitably employed by the Spaniards as interpreters. Near the battle-ground stood three more of those curious stone temples, one of which was entered by Father Gonzalez during the fight, and the earthen and wooden idols and ornaments and plates of inferior gold found there were carried away to the ship.

Embarking, and proceeding westward, the Spaniards arrived a fortnight later at Campeche,[9] where their amazement was increased on beholding the number and beauty of the edifices, while the blood

Icazbalceta, Col. Doc., i. 339. 'Conez cotoche, q̄ quiere dezir, Andad aca a mis casas.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xvii. 'Cotohe, cotohe,' that is to say, 'a house.' *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 6. 'Cotoche, q̄ quiere dezir casa.' *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 61. '*Con escotoch, con escotoch*, y quiere dezir, andad acá á mis casas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 2. This, the north-eastern point of Yucatan, is on Fernando Colon's map, 1527, *gotoche;* on the map of Diego de Ribero, 1529, *p: d'cotoche;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *C:. de quoteche;* Pilestrina, *c:. de sampalq.* Hood places a little west of the cape a bay, *B. de conil;* the next name west is *Atalaia. Goldschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 358. Kohl, *Beiden ältesten karten*, 103, brings the expedition here the 1st of March. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 350, confounds Córdoba's and Grijalva's voyages in this respect, that brings the former at once to Cozumel, when, as a matter of fact, Córdoba never saw that island.

[9] So called by the natives, but by the Spaniards named San Lázaro, because 'it was a Domingo de Lazaro' when they landed. Yet Ribero writes *chāpa*, while Vaz Dourado employs *llazaro*, and Hood, *Campechy;* Laet gives the name correctly; Ogilby and Jefferys call the place *S. Frco de Campeche.* 'Los Indios le dezīō Quimpech.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xvii.

and other evidences of human sacrifice discovered about the altars of the temples filled their souls with horror. And as they were viewing these monuments of a superior culture, the troops of armed natives increased, and the priests of the temples, producing a bundle of reeds, set fire to it, signifying to the visitors that unless they took their departure before the reeds were consumed every one of them would be killed. Remembering their wounds at Catoche, the Spaniards took the hint and departed.

They were soon caught in a storm and severely shaken; after which they began to look about for water, which had by this time become as precious to them as the Tyrian mures tincture, of which each shell-fish gave but a single drop. They accordingly came to anchor near a village called Potonchan, but owing to a sanguinary battle in which they were driven back, Córdoba named the place Bahía de Mala Pelea.[10] In this engagement the natives did not shrink from fighting hand to hand with the foe. Fifty-seven Spaniards were killed on the spot, two were carried off alive, and five died subsequently on shipboard. Those whom the natives could not kill they followed to the shore, in their disappointed rage, wading out into the sea after them, like the bloodthirsty Cyclops who pursued the Trojan Æneas and his crew. But one man escaped unharmed, and he of all the rest was selected for slaughter by the natives of Florida. Córdoba received twelve wounds; Bernal Diaz three. The survivors underwent much suffering before reaching Cuba, for the continued

[10] Now Champoton, applied to river and town. Ribero writes *camrō;* Hood, *Champoto;* Mercator, *Chapāton*, and town next north, *Maranga*. Potonchan, in the aboriginal tongue, signifies, 'Stinking Place.' Mercator has also the town of *Potōchan*, west of Tabasco River. *West-Indische Spieghel, Patōcham.* Laet, Ogilby, and Jefferys follow with *Champoton* in the usual variations. 'Y llegaron á otra provincia,' says Oviedo, i. 498, 'que los indios llaman *Aguanil*, y el prinçipal pueblo della se dice *Moscoba*, y el rey ó caçique de aquel señorío se llama Chiapoton;' and thus the author of *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, 'Nec diu navigaverant, cùm Mochocobocum perveniunt.' *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 340.

hostilities of the natives prevented their obtaining the needful supply of water.

There being no one else to curse except themselves, they cursed the pilot, Alaminos, for his discovery, and for still persisting in calling the country an island. Then they left Mala Pelea Bay and returned along the coast, north-eastwardly, for three days, when they entered an opening in the shore to which they gave the name of Estero de los Lagartos,[11] from the multitude of caimans found there. After burning one of the ships which had become unseaworthy, Córdoba crossed from this point to Florida, and thence proceeded to Cuba, where he died from his wounds, ten days after reaching his home at Santi Espíritu.

Diego Velazquez was much interested in the details of this discovery. He closely questioned the two captives about their country, its gold, its great buildings, and the plants which grew there. When shown the yucca root they assured the governor that they were familiar with it, and that it was called by them *tale*, though in Cuba the ground in which the yucca grew bore that name. From these two words, according to Bernal Diaz, comes the name Yucatan; for while the governor was speaking to the Indians of *yucca* and *tale*, some Spaniards standing by exclaimed, "You see, sir, they call their country Yucatan."[12]

[11] Pinzon and Solis must have found alligators in their northward cruise, otherwise Peter Martyr could not honestly lay down on his map of *India beyond the Ganges*, in 1510, the *baya d' lagartos* north of *guanase*. Mariners must have given the coast a bad name, for directly north of the *R. de la* of Colon, the *R:. de lag̃ r̃ tos* of Ribero, the *R:. de lagarts* of Vaz Dourado, and the *R. de Lagartos* of Hood, are placed some reefs by all these chart-makers, and to which they give the name *Alacranes*, Scorpions. The next name west of Lagartos on Map No. x., *Munich Atlas*, is *costanisa*, and on No. xiii. *Ostanca*. Again next west, on both, is *Medanos*. On No. x., next to *costa nisa*, and on No. xiii., west of *Punta de las Arenas*, is the name *Ancones*. Ogilby gives here *B. de Conil*, and in the interior south, a town *Conil;* east of *R. de Lagartos* is also the town *Quyo*, and in large letters the name *Chuaca*.

[12] "Dezian los Españoles q̃ estavan hablād̃o con el Diego Velazquez, y con los Indios: Señor estos Indios dizen, que su tierra se llama Yucatā, y assi se, quedò cō este nóbre, que en propria lengua no se dize assi." *Hist. Verdad.*, 5. Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 60, states that after naming Catoche, a little farther on the Spaniards met some natives, of whom they asked the name of the town near by. Tecteta, was the reply, which means, 'I do not understand.' The Spaniards,

The people of this coast seemed to have heard of the Spaniards, for at several places they shouted 'Castilians!' and asked the strangers by signs if they did not come from toward the rising sun. Yet, neither the glimpse caught of Yucatan by Pinzon and Solis in 1506 while in search of a strait north of Guanaja Island where Columbus had been, nor the piratical expedition of Córdoba, in 1517, can properly be called the discovery of Mexico.[13] Meanwhile Mexico can well afford to wait, being in no haste for European civilization, and the attendant boons which Europe seems so desirous of conferring.

accepting this as the answer to their question, called the country Yectetan, and soon Yucatan. Waldeck, *Voy. Pittoresque*, 25, derives the name from the native word *ouyouckutan*, 'listen to what they say.' The native name was Maya. See *Bancroft's Native Races*, v. 614–34. There are various other theories and renderings, among them the following: In answer to Córdoba's inquiry as to the name of their country, the natives exclaimed, '*uy u tan*, esto es: *oyes como habla?*' *Zamacois, Hist. Mej.*, ii. 228. 'Que preguntundo a estos Indios, si auia en su tierra aquellas rayzes que se llama Yuca.... Respondian Ilatli, por la tierra en que se plantan, y que de Yuca juntado con Ilatli, se dixo Yucatta, y de alli Yucatan.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xviii. Whencesoever the origin, it was clearly a mistake, as there never was an aboriginal designation for the whole country, nor, like the Japanese, have they names for their straits or bays. For some time Yucatan was supposed to be an island. Grijalva called the country *Isla de Santa María de Remedios*, though that term was employed by few. In early documents the two names are united; instance the instructions of Velazquez to Cortés, where the country is called *la Ysla de Yucatan Sta María de Remedios*. On Cortés' chart of the Gulf of Mexico, 1520, it is called *Yucatan*, and represented as an island. Colon, 1527, and Ribero, 1529, who write *Ivcatan;* Ptolemy, in *Munster*, 1530, *Iucatana;* Orontius, on his globe, 1531, *Iucatans; Munich Atlas*, no. iv., 1532–40, *cucatan;* Baptista Agnese, 1540–50, *iucatan;* Mercator, 1569, *Ivcatan;* Michael Lok, 1582, *Incoton;* Hondius, 1595, Laet, Ogilby, etc., *Yucatan*, which now assumes peninsular proportions.

[13] The term Mexico has widely different meanings under different conditions. At first it signified only the capital of the Nahua nation, and it was five hundred years before it overspread the territory now known by that name. Mexico City was founded in 1325, and was called *Mexico Tenochtitlan*. The latter appellation has been connected with *Tenuch*, the Aztec leader at this time, and with the sign of a nopal on a stone, called in Aztec, respectively *nochtli* and *tetl*, the final syllable representing locality, and the first, *te*, divinity or superiority. The word Mexico, however, was then rarely used, Tenochtitlan being the common term employed; and this was retained by the Spaniards for some time after the conquest, even in imperial decrees, and in the official records of the city, though in the corrupt forms of *Temixtitan, Tenustitan*, etc. See *Libro de Cabildo*, 1524–9, MS. Torquemada, i. 293, states distinctly that even in his time the natives never employed any other designation for the ancient city than Tenochtitlan, which was also the name of the chief and fashionable ward. Solis, *Conq. Mex.*, i. 390, is of opinion that Mexico was the name of the ward, Tenochtitlan being applied to the whole city, in which case Mexico Tenochtitlan would signify the ward Mexico of the city Tenochtitlan. Gradually the

Spanish records began to add Mexico to Tenochtitlan, and in those of the first provincial council, held in 1555, we find written *Tenuxtitlan Mexico. Concilios Prov.*, i. and ii., MS. In the course of time the older and more intricate name disappeared, though the city arms always retained the symbolic nopal and stone. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, i. 168; iv. 205–70; *Soc. Mex. Geog.*

ARMS OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

Boletin, viii. 408–15; *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, ii. 157–9; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 146–7; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 2; *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, i. 92–3. See also *Molina, Vocabulario*. A number of derivations have been given to the word Mexico, as *mexitli*, navel of the maguey; *metl-ico*, place amidst the maguey; *meixco*, on the maguey border; *mecitli*, hare; *metztli*, moon; *amexica*, or *mexica*, you of the anointed ones. The signification spring, or fountain, has also been applied. But most writers have contented themselves by assuming it to be identical with the *mexi, mexitl*, or *mecitl*, appellation of the war god, Huitzilopochtli, to which has been added the *co*, an affix implying locality; hence Mexico would imply the place or settlement of *Mexica*, or *Mexicans*. This war god, Huitzilopochtli, as is well known, was the mythic leader and chief deity of the Aztecs, the dominant tribe of the Nahua nation. It was by this august personage, who was also called Mexitl, that, according to tradition, the name was given them in the twelfth century, and in these words: 'Inaxcan aocmoamotoca ynamaz te ca ye am mexica,' Henceforth bear ye not the name Azteca, but Mexica. With this command they received the distinguishing mark of a patch of gum and feathers to wear upon their forehead and ears. *Bancroft's Native Races*, ii. 559; iii. 295–6; v. 324–5 et passim. I can offer no stronger proof as to the way in which the name was regarded at the time of the conquest, and afterwards, than by placing side by side the maps of the sixteenth century and instituting a comparison. In *Apiano, Cosmographica*, 1575, is a map, supposed to be a copy of one drawn by Apianus in 1520, on which *Themisteton* is given apparently to a large lake in the middle of Mexico; Fernando Colon, in 1527, and Diego de Ribero, 1529, both give the word

ANCIENT ARMS OF THE CITY OF MEXICO, FROM A RARE PRINT.

Mexico in small letters, inland, as if applied to a town, although no town is designated; Ptolemy, in *Munster*, 1530, gives *Temistitan; Munich Atlas*, no. vi., supposed to have been drawn between 1532 and 1540, *Timitistan vel Mesicho;* Baptista Agnese, 1540–50, *Timitistan vel Mesico;* Ramusio, 1565, *Mexico; Mercator's Atlas*, 1569, *Mexico*, as a city, and *Tenuchitlan;* Michael Lok, 1582, *Mexico*, in Hondius, about 1595, in *Drake's World Encompassed*, the city is *Mexico*, and the gulf *Baia di Mexico;* Hondius, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, Laet, Ogilby, Dampier, *West-Indische Spieghel*, Jacob Colom, and other seventeenth-century authorities, give uniformly to the city, or to the city and province, but not to the country at large, the name as at present written.

CHAPTER II.

JUAN DE GRIJALVA EXPLORES THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE MEXICAN GULF.

1518.

VELAZQUEZ PLANS A NEW EXPEDITION—GIVES THE COMMAND TO HIS NEPHEW, JUAN DE GRIJALVA—WHO EMBARKS AT SANTIAGO AND STRIKES THE CONTINENT AT COZUMEL ISLAND—COASTS SOUTHWARD TO ASCENSION BAY—THEN TURNS AND DOUBLES CAPE CATOCHE—NAMING OF NEW SPAIN—FIGHT AT CHAMPOTON—ARRIVAL AT LAGUNA DE TÉRMINOS—ALAMINOS, THE PILOT, IS SATISFIED THAT YUCATAN IS AN ISLAND—THEY COAST WESTWARD AND DISCOVER THE RIVERS SAN PEDRO Y SAN PABLO AND TABASCO—NOTABLE INTERVIEW AT THIS PLACE BETWEEN THE EUROPEANS AND THE AMERICANS—THE CULHUA COUNTRY—THEY PASS LA RAMBLA, TONALÁ, THE RIO GOAZACOALCO, THE MOUNTAIN OF SAN MARTIN, THE RIVERS OF ALVARADO AND BANDERAS, AND COME TO THE ISLANDS OF SACRIFICIOS AND SAN JUAN DE ULUA.

As Diego Velazquez talked with Córdoba's men, and with the captives, Melchor and Julian, and examined the articles obtained from the natives, their superior kind and workmanship, and the gold and images taken from the temple at Catoche by Father Gonzalez, all grew significant of yet greater things beyond. The hardships attending the expedition were light to him who did not share them, and the late commander being now dead, the governor found himself free to act as best suited him.

He determined at once on a new expedition. There was a young man who seemed admirably fitted for the purpose, Juan de Grijalva, a gentleman of the governor's own town of Cuéllar, nephew of Velazquez, though some deny the fact; he was twenty-eight years of age, handsome, chivalrous, courteous,

and as honest as he was brave. He had been with the governor for some time, and the wonder was how so bad a master should have so good a man. There was no lack of volunteers, two hundred and forty[1] coming forward at once; among them several who afterward became famous. Two caravels were added to the two brought back by Córdoba, making in all, refitted and equipped, four vessels, the *San Sebastian*, the *Trinidad*, the *Santiago*, and the *Santa María de los Remedios*. The pilots and many of the men from the former expedition were engaged, and some natives of Cuba were taken as servants. Grijalva, as commander of the armada, directed one vessel, and Pedro de Alvarado, Alonso Dávila, and Francisco de Montejo,[2] were appointed captains of the others. Grijalva's instructions were not to settle, but only to discover and trade.[3] License was obtained from the Jeronimite Fathers, who stipulated that Francisco de Peñalosa should accompany the expedition as veedor. As priest, attended one Juan Diaz,[4] and Diego de Godoy went as notary.

[1] Solisand Herrera say 250; Gomara and Galvano, 200; Peter Martyr, 300, etc.

[2] Torquemada, i. 358, asserts that Montejo furnished his own vessel, and that Alonso Hernandez Puertocarrero, Alonso Dávila, Diego de Ordaz, and others, went at their own cost.

[3] As upon this point, that is to say, the orders and their fulfilment, turned the destiny, not only of Grijalva, but of the conquest, there has been much controversy over it. 'Si Iuan de Grijalua supiera conocer aquella buena vẽtura, y poblara alli como los de su compañia le rogauan, fuera otro Cortes, mas no era para el tanto bien, ni lleuaua comission de poblar.' *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 57–8. Partisans of Cortés regard Grijalva with disdain, while no one seems greatly to care for Velazquez. Bernal Diaz was of opinion that the matter of founding a colony was left to Grijalva's discretion; but Las Casas, who had much better opportunities for knowing, being intimate with the governor, and at special pains to ascertain the truth of the matter, states clearly that Grijalva's instructions were positive, that he should not settle but only trade. 'Bartolome de las Casas, autor de mucha fe, y que con particular cuydado lo quiso saber, y era gran amigo, y muy intimo de Diego Velazquez, dize que fue la instruccion que espressamente no poblasse, sino q̃ solamente rescatasse." *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. i. So hold Torquemada, Solis, and all careful writers on the subject.

[4] Or as he calls himself, 'capellano maggior' of the armada. Long before the soldier, Bernal Diaz, published his 'True History,' Juan Diaz had given to the world an account of the voyage, *Itinerario de la isola de Iuchatan*, following the *Itinerario de Ludovico de Varthema Bolognese nella Egitto*, etc., in a volume printed at Venice in 1520. Juan Diaz disputes the honor with Bartolomé de Olmedo of having first said mass in the city of Mexico.

Embarking from Santiago de Cuba the 8th of April, 1518, and leaving Cape San Antonio on Saturday,[5] the first of May, they fell to the south of their intended course, and on Monday sighted the island of Cozumel,[6] which they named Santa Cruz,[7] "because," says Galvano, "they came to it the third of May." After passing round the northern point on the sixth[8] in search of anchorage, the commander

[5] Here again Prescott falls into error in attempting to follow a manuscript copy of Juan Diaz, without due heed to the standard chroniclers. Mr Prescott writes, *Mex.*, i. 224, 'The fleet left the port of St Jago de Cuba, May 1, 1518,' and refers to the *Itinerario* of Juan Diaz in proof of his statement. But Juan Diaz makes no such statement. 'Sabbato il primo giorno del mese de Mazo,' he says, *Itinerario*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 281, 'de questo sopradito anno parti il dicto capitaneo de larmata de lisola Fernandina.' Saturday, the 1st day of May, the armada left the island of Fernandina, or Cuba. The writer does not intimate that they left the port of Santiago on that day, which, as a matter of fact, they did not, but the extreme western point of the island, Cape San Antonio. This Prescott might further have learned from Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. i., 'Despachado pues Iuan de Grijalua de todo punto, salio del puerto de Sãtiago de Cuba, a ocho de Abril deste año de 1518;' from Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 6, who states that all met and attended mass at Matanzas, the 5th of April, just prior to sailing; 'Y despues de auer oído Missa con gran deuocion, en cinco dias del mes de Abril de mil y quinientos y diez y ocho años dimos vela;' from Solis, *Conq. Mex.*, i. 25, 'tardaron finalmente en hacerse á la mar hasta los ocho de Abril; from Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, i. 241, 'He sailed from St Jago de Cuba on the 8th of April,' etc. Ternaux-Compans perpetrates two gross blunders in the first four lines of his translation of this *Itinerario* of Juan Diaz. First he writes March for May, 'equivocando,' as Icazbalceta says, 'la palabra *mazo* del original con *marzo*,' and, secondly, he brings the fleet to Cozumel Island on the 4th, when his author writes the 3d, which is enough, without the palpable absurdity of making Monday the 4th day of a month wherein the previous Saturday was the 1st. Oviedo states, i. 503, that 'salieron del puerto de la cibdad de Sanctiago á los veynte é çinco dias del mes de enero;' that they were at Matanzas the 12th of February, at Habana the 7th of April; that they left Matanzas finally the 20th of April, and San Antonio the 1st of May, in all which, except the last statement, he is somewhat confused.

[6] Like a good soldier, Bernal Diaz makes the time fit the occasion. 'A este pueblo,' he says, *Hist. Verdad.*, 7, 'pusimos por nombre Santa Cruz; porq quatro, ò cinco diaz antes de Santa Cruz le vimos.' The native name of the island was *Acusamil*—Landa, *Rel. de Yuc.*, 20, writes it *Cuzmil;* Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 10, *Cuzamil*—Swallow's Island, which was finally corrupted into the Cozumel of the Spaniards. Mercator, indeed, writes *Acusamil*, in 1569, although Colon, Ribero, and Hood had previously given *cocumel*, *cozumel*, and *Cosumel*, respectively. Vaz Dourado comes out, in 1571, with *quoqumell*, since which time the name has been generally written as at present.

[7] Some of the authorities apply the name Santa Cruz to a port; others to a town found there; but it was unquestionably the island to which they gave this name. 'A questa isola de Coçumel che ahora se adimanda Santa Croce.' *Diaz, Itinerario*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 287. 'Se le puso nombre á esta isla *Sancta Cruz*, á la qual los indios llaman *Coçumel*.' *Oviedo*, i. 504.

[8] This, according to Diaz; Oviedo says they landed on Wednesday, the 5th, and again on the 6th; and Bernal Diaz affirms that the landing took place on the south side of the island.

landed with a hundred men, and ascending a high tower took possession of the country; after which, mass was said. And Las Casas questions if it was quite right for Juan Diaz to hold this solemn service in a place where sacrifices were wont to be made to Satan; for even between the two great and formal exercises of the Spaniards, an old Indian priest with his attendants had entered and had blown incense before the idols, as if to rouse his gods to vindicate their might before these opposing worshippers. To

the point was given the name San Felipe y Santiago, and to a town standing near, that of San Juan ante Portam Latinam. Then they entered the town, and found there houses of stone, and paved streets, in the eyes of Juan Diaz not unlike the towns of Spanish construction. Meanwhile, a small party penetrated one or two leagues into the interior, and observed other towns and cultivated lands.

While crossing to the Yucatan coast the following day, they descried in the distance three towns, and, as they descended toward the south, a city "so large that Seville could not show to better advantage."

Next they came to a great opening in the shore, to which, after Alaminos had examined it in a boat, they gave the name of Bahía de la Ascension, from the day of discovery. Unable to find a pass in this direction round the supposed island of Yucatan, they turned back, passed Cozumel, and, rounding the peninsula, arrived at Campeche the 25th, rescuing on their way a woman from Jamaica.

Everywhere they beheld the same evidences of high culture seen by Córdoba, the tower-temples and crosses of the Mayas rising from gracefully outlined promontories, and glistening white from behind legended hills, leading them every moment to anticipate the discovery of some magnificent city, such as in our day has been revealed to an admiring posterity; for while the East buries her ancient cities in dust, the West none the less effectually hides hers in foliage. And of the monuments to the greatness of the past, and of the profitless millions here engendered, who shall speak? And why do men call nature considerate or kind? Does she not create only to destroy, and bestow blessings and cursings with the same merciless indifference? Surpassingly lovely, she is at once siren, nurse, and sanguinary beldam. This barren border of the peninsula rested under a canopy of clear or curtained sky, and glared in mingled gloom and brightness beside the fickle gulf; and from the irregular plains of the interior came the heated, perfumed air, telling here of treeless table-lands, of languid vegetation, and there of forests and evergreen groves. "It is like Spain," cried one. And so they called the country Nueva España,[9] which name, at first applied only to the

[9] It was the crosses, which the Spaniards here regarded of miraculous origin, more than any physical feature which after all gave the name to these shores. Cortés established it for all the region under Aztec sway, and under the viceroys it was applied to all the Spanish possessions north of Guatemala, including the undefined territories of California and New Mexico. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 6–7, and others, have even shown an inclination to embrace thereunder Central America, but for this there is not sufficient authority. See *Mé-*

peninsula of Yucatan, finally spread over the whole of the territory afterward known as Mexico.

At Campeche, or more probably at Champoton,[10] occurred a notable affray. The fleet anchored toward sunset, half a league from shore. The natives immediately put on a warlike front, bent on terrible intimidations, which they continued in the form of shouts and drum-beating during the entire night. So great was their necessity for water that the Spaniards did not wait for the morning, but amidst the arrows, stones, and spears of the natives, they landed the artillery and one hundred men before daybreak, another hundred quickly following. But for their cotton armor the invaders would have suffered severely during this operation. Having reached the shore, however, the guns were planted, and the natives

dina, Chron. de San Diego de Mex., 227; *Lopez Vaz*, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1432, and *Gottfriedt, Newe Welt*, 74; also Torquemada, from Herrera, and several standard authors. New Spain was for a long time divided into the three kingdoms of New Spain, New Galicia, and New Leon, each composed of several provinces. Under the administration of Galvez, this division gave way to intendencias, among them Mexico and a few provinces, and New Spain came to be limited in the north by the Provincias Internas, though including for a time at least the Californias. With the independence the name New Spain was replaced by Mexico, less because this term applied to the leading province and to the capital, than because the name was hallowed by association with the traditions of the people, whose blood as well as sympathies contained far more of the aboriginal element than of the imported. On Colon's map the name is given in capital letters, *Nova Spaña*. Under *Nveva España* Ribero writes *dixose asi por queay aquy muchas cosas que ay en españa ay ya mucho trigo q̃an lleuado de aca entanta cantidad q̃ lo pueden en cargar para otras partes ay aquy mucho oro de nacimiento*. Robert Thorne, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, carries *Hispania Noua* east and west through Central America, while Ramusio, *Viaggi*, iii. 455, places *La Nova Spagna* in large letters across the continent.

[10] It is remarkable, as I have often observed, how two eye-witnesses can sometimes tell such diametrically opposite stories; not only in regard to time and minor incidents, but to place and prominent events. In this instance Diaz the priest is no less positive and minute in placing the affair at Campeche, than is Diaz the soldier, at Champoton. The second-rate authoritics, following these two writers who were present, are divided, by far the greater number, Herrera among the rest, accepting the statement of Bernal Diaz. Oviedo, who was a resident of the Indies at the time, describes the battle as occurring at Campeche. Perhaps one reason why the soldier-scribe has more adherents than the priest, is because the existence of the narrative of the latter was not so well known. Las Casas affirms, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 425, that the pilot unintentionally passed Lázaro's port, or Campeche, and landed and fought at Champoton. 'Llegaron, pues, al dicho pueblo (que, como dije, creo que fué Champoton, y no el de Lázaro).'

charged and driven back with the loss of three Spaniards slain and sixty wounded, the commander-in-chief, ever foremost in the fight, being three times struck and losing two teeth. Two hundred were killed and wounded among the natives. The town was found deserted. Presently three ancient Americans appeared, who were kindly entreated, and despatched with presents to the fugitives, but they never returned. Two nights were spent ashore, the tower and sacred edifices adjacent being used as barracks.

Embarking, soon a large opening in the coast was discovered, and entered by Grijalva, the chaplain says, the last day of May. Puerto Deseado[11] the commander called his anchorage, being the desired spot in which might be repaired the leaky ships. The Spaniards thought themselves at first at the mouth of a river, but on further examination, it appeared to them more like a sea. Whereupon the pilot Alaminos, who, notwithstanding evidence to the contrary, notwithstanding three days' explorings, left this salt-sheet still landlocked, never ceased insisting that Yucatan was an island, and he now gravely assured his commander that the great opening opposite Amatique Bay and Golfo Dulce, or if that were too far, then opposite Chetumal or Ascension, confirmed his suppositions, and settled the matter in his mind that this was the termination of the islands; hence the names Boca de Términos, and Laguna de Términos,[12] which followed. The temples

[11] Puerto Escondido. On the maps of Colon and Hood it is placed as one of the eastern entrances of the Laguna de Términos, the former writing *p. deseado*, and the latter *P. desiado;* Gomara places the *Laguna de Términos* between Puerto Deseado and Rio Grijalva. On Ribero's map, north of Escondido, is *la ger*, Vaz Dourado marking in the same locality *p:. seq° amgratriste*, Dampier gives *Boca Eschondido*, and Jefferys, *Boca Escondida*.

[12] Velazquez had instructed his captain to sail round the island of Yucatan. Cortés, in 1519, ordered Escobar to survey this sheet, which was found to be a bay and shallow. Still the pilots and chart-makers wrote it down an island. It is worthy of remark that in the earliest drawings, like Colon's, in 1527, the maker appears undecided, but Ribero, two years later, boldly severs the peninsula from the continent with a strait. See *Goldschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast*, MS., i. 412–14. The earliest cartographers all write *terminos*, Ribero marking a small stream flowing into the lagoon, *R:. de x p̄ianos*. Here also

here seen were supposed by the Spaniards to be places where merchants and hunters made their sacrifices. A greyhound, eager in the pursuit of game, neglected to return in time and was left behind; when the Spaniards came with Cortés they found the animal well-fed and happy, but excessively glad to see them. Before departing, Grijalva again declared for Spain, "as if," growls Las Casas, "the thousand possessions already taken were not enough." Indeed, this fierce charging on a continent, so often repeated, hurling upon the inhabitants a new religion and a new king, was about as effective as Caligula's advance on Britain, when, preparatory to crossing, he drew up his troops in battle array, on the seaboard, and gave orders to collect shells, the spoils of conquered ocean.

Proceeding the 8th of June, and creeping stealthily along the coast,[13] dropping anchor at night and weighing it with the dawn, they came to a river which they called San Pedro y San Pablo, and then to a larger one, the native name of which was Tabasco,[14] after the cacique of the city, but which the Spaniards called Grijalva, in honor of their commander.

The face of nature here changed. The low, gray hills of the peninsula gave place to elevations of enlivening green, made lustrous by large and frequent

is the town and point of Jicalango. Ogilby calls the lagoon *Lago de Xicalango*, east of which is the name *Nra Sra de la Vitoria;* Dampier places south of *Laguna Termina* the town *Chukabul;* Jefferys writes in large letters, a little south of *Laguna de Xicalango* or *Terminos*, the words *Quehaches Indios Bravos.* Kohl thinks Puerto Escondido may be the Puerto Deseado of Grijalva mentioned by Gomara.

[13] Of 'la isola riccha chiamata Ualor,' as the chaplain calls it, *Diaz, Itinerario*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 295, 'descoprir una altra terra che se dice Mulua.' Alaminos believed New Spain to be another island distinct from Yucatan. The natives called it Coluá, says Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 428.

[14] On the chart of Cortés, 1520, it is called *R:. de Guzalua*, and placed west instead of east of Rio Santa Ana. Ribero writes, *R:. de grisalua;* Vaz Dourado, *Rº. de grigalua;* Hood, *R. de Grisalua; Mercator's Atlas*, 1574, has a town, *Tausco;* Ogilby, Dampier, and Jefferys employ the name *Tabasco.* Kohl ascribes the name of the river *San Pedro y San Pablo* to Grijalva. Colon has *R:. de s. pablo;* Ribero, *R. de s:. Pabo; Munich Atlas*, No. iv., *rio de s. p.;* Baptista Agnese, *rio de S. paulo;* Hood, *R. de S. Pablo;* Ogilby, *S. Paulo:* Dampier, *St. Peter, St. Paul*, etc. As there are plenty of streams in that vicinity Herrera gives one to Grijalva and still leaves the chieftain, Tabasco, his own.

streams. Boldly in the front stood the heights at present known as San Gabriel; beyond continued the flat, monotonous foreground of a gorgeous picture, as yet but dimly visible save in the ardent imaginings of the discoverers.

The two smaller vessels only could enter this river of Tabasco, which, though broad, was shallow-mouthed; and this they did very cautiously, advancing a short distance up the stream, and landing at a grove of palm-trees, half a league from the chief town. Upon the six thousand[15] natives who here threatened them, they made ready to fire; but by peaceful overtures the sylvan multitude were brought to hear of Spain's great king, of his mighty pretensions, and of the Spaniards' inordinate love of gold. The green beads the natives thought to be stone made of their chalchiuite, which they prized so highly, and for which they eagerly exchanged food. Having a lord of their own they knew not why these rovers should wish to impose upon them a new master; for the rest they were fully prepared, if necessary, to defend themselves. During this interview, at which the interpreters, Melchor and Julian, assisted, the word Culhua,[16] meaning Mexico, was often mentioned in answer to demands for gold, from

[15] It is Las Casas who testifies to 6,000; Bernal Diaz enumerates 50 canoes; Herrera speaks of three *Xiquipiles* of 8,000 men each, standing ready in that vicinity to oppose the Spaniards, waiting only for the word to be given.

[16] Not 'Culba, Culba, Mexico, Mexico,' as Bernal Diaz has it. The natives pronounced the word Culhua only; but this author, finding that Culhua referred to Mexico, puts the word Mexico into the mouth of Tabasco and his followers. Long before the Aztecs, a Toltec tribe called the Acolhuas, or Culhuas, had settled in the valley of Mexico. The name is more ancient than that of Toltec, and the Mexican civilization might perhaps as appropriately be called Culhua as Nahua. The name is interpreted 'crooked' from *coloa*, bend; also 'grandfather' from *colli*. Colhuacan might therefore signify Land of our Ancestors. Under Toltec dominion a tripartite confederacy had existed in the valley of Anáhuac, and when the Aztecs became the ruling nation, this alliance was reëstablished. It was composed of the Acolhua, Aztec, and Tepanec kingdoms, the Aztec king assuming the title Culhua Tecuhtli, chief of the Culhuas. It is evident that the Culhuas had become known throughout this region by their conquests, and by their culture, superior as it was to that of neighboring tribes. The upstart Aztecs were only too proud to identify themselves with so renowned a people. The name Culhua was retained among the surrounding tribes, and applied before Grijalva to the Mexican country, where gold was indeed abundant.

which the Spaniards inferred that toward the west they would find their hearts' desire. Then they returned to their ships.

In great state, unarmed, and without sign of fear, Tabasco next day visited Grijalva on board his vessel. He had already sent roasted fish, fowl, maize bread, and fruit, and now he brought gold and feather-work. Out of a chest borne by his attendants was taken a suit of armor, of wood overlaid with gold, which Tabasco placed upon Grijalva, and on his head a golden helmet, giving him likewise masks and breast-plates of gold and mosaic, and targets, collars, bracelets, and beads, all of beaten gold, three thousand pesos in value. With the generous grace and courtesy innate in him, Grijalva took off a crimson velvet coat and cap which he had on when Tabasco entered, also a pair of new red shoes, and in these brilliant habiliments arrayed the chieftain, to his infinite delight.

The Spaniards departed from Tabasco with further assurances of friendship, and two days later sighted the town of Ahualulco, which they named La Rambla, because the natives with tortoise-shell shields were observed hurrying hither and thither upon the shore. Afterward they discovered the river Tonalá, which was subsequently examined and named San Antonio;[17] then the Goazacoalco,[18] which they could not enter owing to unfavorable winds; and presently the great snowy mountains of New Spain, and a nearer range, to which they gave the name San Martin,[19] in justice

[17] 'Das grosse Fest des heiligen Antonius von Padua fällt auf den 13 Juni, und dies giebt uns also eine Gelegenheit eines der Daten der Reise des Grijalva, deren uns die Berichterstatter, wie immer, nur wenige geben, genau festzusetzen.' *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten*, 105. Cortés, in his chart of the Gulf of Mexico, 1520, calls it *Santo Anton;* Fernando Colon, 1527, *R. de la Balsa*, with the name *G. de s. anton* to the gulf; Ribero, 1529, *r: de Sāton;* Globe of Orontius, 1531, *C. S. ānto;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *rio de S. ana;* Hood, 1592, *R. de S. Antonio*, etc. For *Santa Ana* Dampier in 1699 lays down *St. Anns*, and Jefferys in 1776, *B. St. Ann.*

[18] Cortés calls it *Rio de totuqualquo;* Colon, *R. de gasacalcos;* Ribero, *R. de guasacalco;* Orontius, *R. de qualq°;* Vaz Dourado, *R.° de de guaqaqa;* Hood, *R. de Guaca;* Mercator, *Quacaqualco;* De Laet, Ogilby, *R. de Guazacoalco;* Jefferys, *R. Guazacalo;* Dampier, *R. Guazacoalco* or *Guashigwalp.*

[19] Colon gives it, *Sierras de San mrtí;* Vaz Dourado, *seras de S. martin;*

to the soldier who first saw it. Overcome by his ardor, Pedro de Alvarado pressed forward his faster-sailing ship, and entered before the others a river called by the natives Papaloapan, but named by his soldiers after the discoverer;[20] for which breach of discipline the captain received the censure of his commander. The next stream to which they came was called Rio de Banderas,[21] because the natives appeared in large numbers, carrying white flags on their lances.

With these white flags the natives beckoned the strangers to land; whereupon twenty soldiers were sent ashore under Francisco de Montejo, and a favorable reception being accorded them, the commander approached with his ships and landed. The utmost deference was paid the guests, for, as will hereafter more fully appear, the king of kings, Lord Montezuma, having in his capital intelligence of the strange visitors upon his eastern seaboard, ordered them to be reverentially entertained. In the cool shade was spread on mats an abundance of provisions, while fumes of burning incense consecrated the spot and made redolent the air. The governor of this province was present with two subordinate rulers, and learning what best the Spaniards loved, he sent out and gathered them gold trinkets to the value of fifteen thousand pesos. So valuable an acquisition impelled Grijalva to claim once more for Charles, one of the natives, subsequently christened Francisco, acting as interpreter. After a stay of six days the fleet sailed, passing a small island, white with sand, which

Hood, *Sierras de St. min;* Ogilby, *Sierras de S. Martin;* Dampier, *St. Martin's High Land*, and *St. Martin's Point.* This soldier, San Martin, was a native of Habana.

[20] Herrera makes the Indian name Papaloava; Bernal Diaz, Papalohuna, Cortés, 1520, and Orontius, 1531, give *R. d alvarado;* Colon, 1527, *R: del comendador aluarado;* Ribero, 1529, *R:. de Aluarado;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *Ro. de Alluorado*, etc. 'Die Karte von 1527 hat den *Rio del comendador Alvarado* etwas weiter westlich, jenseits des Rio de banderas, welches keineswegs mit den Berichten des Bernal Diaz übereinstimmt.' *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten*, 106.

[21] Some of the early maps place this stream incorrectly east of the Papaloapan; where Ribero writes *P. delgada*, first east from *R: de uanderàs*, Vaz Dourado writes *p:. de hiqada.*

Grijalva called Isla Blanca, and then the Isla Verde, gleaming green with foliage amidst the green waters, four leagues from the continent; coming presently to a third island, a league and a half from the mainland, which afforded good anchorage. This, according to Oviedo, was on the 18th of June. On landing the Spaniards found two stone temples, within which lay five human bodies, with bowels opened and limbs cut off; and all about were human heads on poles, while at the top of one of the edifices, ascended by stone steps, was the likeness of a lion in marble, with a hollow head, showing the tongue cut out, and opposite to it a stone idol and blood-fount. Here was evidently a sacrifice to some pagan deity; and touching it is to witness the horror with which these men of Spain regarded such shocking spectacles, while viewing complacently their own atrocious cruelties.

Crossing from Isla de Sacrificios, as they called this blood-bespattered place, the Spaniards landed on the adjoining mainland, and making for themselves shelter with boughs and sails began trading for gold; but the natives being timid and returns inconsiderable, Grijalva proceeded to another island, less than a league from the mainland and provided with water. Here was a harbor sheltered from the dread yet grateful north winds, which in winter rush in with passionate energy, driving away the dreadful summer vómito and tumbling huge surges on the strand, though now they formed but a wanton breeze by day, which slept on waves burnished by the radiant sun or silvered by the moon. Here they landed and erected huts upon the sand.[22] To the Spaniards all nature along this seaboard seemed dyed with the blood

[22] The Chaplain Diaz affirms that ten days were passed on the mainland, where Indians dressed in mantles brought them food, and where they melted their gold into bars; and that on the San Juan Island they appointed one of the natives cacique, christening him Ovando. 'El capitaneo li disse che non volevano se non oro et loro resposseno che lo portariano laltro giorno portorono oro fondido in verghe et lo capitaneo li disse che portasseno molto d quello.' *Itinerario*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 299.

of human sacrifices. And here, beside evidences of heathen abominations in the forms of a great temple, idols, priests, and the bodies of two recently sacrificed boys, they had gnats and mosquitoes to annoy them, all which led them to consider the terror of their voyage and the advisability of return. Of the Indian, Francisco, Grijalva asked the significance of the detestable rite of ripping open living human bodies and offering bloody hearts to hungry gods; and the heathen answered, because the people of Culhua, or Ulua, as he pronounced the name, would have it so. From this circumstance, together with the facts that the name of the commander was Juan, and that it was now about the time of the anniversary of the feast of John the Baptist, the island was named San Juan de Ulua,[28] while the continent in that vicinity was called Santa María de las Nieves.

[28] To distinguish it, Herrera says, from San Juan de Puerto Rico. On the chart of Cortés, 1520, the *B:. de Sant Juan* is laid down, but no other names are given except that of *Sacrificios Island*, which is placed some distance out and called *Ys della creficio*. On Orontius' globe, 1531, three islands are called *Insula Sacrifici*. Colon lays down *R: de s. Juhan; R. salado; R: de s. x pouas* (christobal); *villa rica*, and *yee: de sacreficios*. Ribero designates *R:. de s. Jua; R:. de cāpual; uilla rica*, and *y:.a de sacficios*. Vaz Dourado writes *R.o de Säo* (santo) *Joáo (Juan); llaueracrus* (la vera cruz), and *uilla riqua* (villa rica). Hood gives *R. de medelin; S. Jon delua; Laueracruz; San Jual; Villa Rica;* and marks the point south of Vera Cruz *P. de antonisardo*. Mercator gives *Villa Rica;* Ogilby, *S. Juan de Luz*, and north of it *Villarica*. On another of his maps we find *S. Juan de Lua; Pta de Ante Sardo, I. y Fuerca de la vera Cruz neuva, La Vera Cruz, R. Medelin*, and *Yas de Sacrificios*. See further *Cartography North Am.*, MS., i. 531. Las Casas confounds the islands Sacrificios and Ulua, calling them one. The Spaniards supposed the continent thereabout, far into the interior, was known to the natives as Culhua; hence we find Velazquez, in his instructions to Cortés, *Mendoza, Col. Doc.*, xii. 227, speaking of 'una tierra grande, que parte della se llama Ulúa, que puso por nombre Santa María de las Nieves.' See also *Oviedo*, i. 539.

CHAPTER III.

RETURN OF GRIJALVA. A NEW EXPEDITION ORGANIZED.

1518.

REFUSAL OF GRIJALVA TO SETTLE—ALVARADO SENT BACK TO CUBA—GRIJALVA CONTINUES HIS DISCOVERY—AFTER REACHING THE PROVINCE OF PÁNUCO HE TURNS BACK—TOUCHING AT THE RIO GOAZACOALCO, TONALÁ, THE LAGUNA DE TÉRMINOS, AND CHAMPOTON, THE EXPEDITION RETURNS TO CUBA—GRIJALVA TRADUCED AND DISCHARGED—A NEW EXPEDITION PLANNED—VELAZQUEZ SENDS TO SANTO DOMINGO AND SPAIN—CHARACTERS OF VELAZQUEZ AND GRIJALVA CONTRASTED—CANDIDATES FOR THE CAPTAINCY OF THE NEW EXPEDITION—THE ALCALDE OF SANTIAGO SUCCESSFUL—HIS STANDING AT THAT TIME.

AT various places during this expedition, notably where is now Vera Cruz, and at the River Tabasco, both in coming and returning, Grijalva's men begged permission to settle and subdue the country. In their desire to remain they pictured to themselves all the pleasures of the abandoned crew of Ulysses, in a land as happy as that of which Horace sang, where Ceres decked untilled fields with sheaves and Bacchus revelled under purple-clustered vines. And they were angry with their commander for not breaking the instructions which forbade his colonizing. Pedro de Alvarado was particularly chafed by the restraint, though he kept his temper until he obtained permission to return to Cuba with one of the vessels[1] which had become unseaworthy, so as to report to the governor the progress of the discovery, and obtain recruits and fresh supplies, with permission to found a colony. Beside some fifty sick persons, all the gold, cotton, and other articles obtained from the natives

[1] Herrera says it was the *San Sebastian;* Oviedo, the *Trinidad.*

thus far were placed in Alvarado's ship, which sailed the 24th of June. The remainder of the expedition continued its now north-westward course past Nautla,[2] which the Spaniards called Almería, and with the mountains of Tuxpan[3] in full view, advanced as far as Cabo Rojo, some say as far as the Rio de Pánuco.[4] The entrance to the large lagoon now known as the Bahía de Tanguijo, was mistaken for a river and named Rio de Canoas. On anchoring here the ships of the Spaniards were fiercely attacked by the occupants of twelve canoes,[5] which came out from a large city compared by the worthy chaplain to Seville in size and magnificence, in common with other towns along this seaboard; and as if this were not strange enough, the same authority goes on to

[2] Town and river given both by Cortés and Orontius. Colon writes *R: de almeria;* Ribero *almera;* Vaz Dourado, *allmeira;* Hood, *Almeria;* nos. vi. and vii., *Munich Atlas, rio de almeria,* and Mercator, *Almeria.* Ogilby places north of *Lhanos de Almeria* a large gulf labelled *R. de S Pº y S Paulo,* and south of it *Toluia,* and *Tore Branco.* Dampier lays down *Almeria I.* opposite *Tiepe* and *Haniago Isle* on the mainland. Laet gives *Naothlan ó Almeria,* and *Lhanos de Almeria.*

[3] 'Vimos las sierras de Tusta, y mas adelante de a hi á otros dos dias vimos otros sierras muy altas, q̄ agora se llamá las sierras de Tuspa;' so called, Bernal Diaz says, *Hist. Verdad.*, 10, from the towns lying at their base. The Rio de Tuxpan is supposed to be the *San Pedro y San Pablo* of early days. 'Da das Peter-und Pauls-Fest auf den 29 Juni.'

[4] Kohl thinks Grijalva did not pass Cabo Rojo, the *C:. roxo* of Vaz Dourado, and Hood, and I am inclined to agree with him. Bernal Diaz says, *Hist. Verdad,* 10, 'Y esto es ya en la Provincia de Panuco: é yendo por nuestra nauegaciō llegamos á vn rio grande, que le pusimos por nōbre Rio de Canoas.' The nomenclature of this stream is quite regular in the several times and places. Cortés gives *Rio Panuco loaton;* Colon, *R: panuco;* Ribero and Vaz Dourado, *panuco;* Orontius, *R. panico;* Hood, *Panuço;* Baptista Agnese, *panucho,* and *rio panucho;* no. vi. *Munich Atlas* the same; Ptolemy, 1530, in *Munster, Panuco;* Mercator, river and town *Panuco,* and next town south *Chila.* And so on with Hondius, Ogilby, Dampier, and the rest. See *Gobelschmidt's Cartog. Pac. Coast,* MS., i. 578. Upon the hypothesis that the San Pedro y San Pablo and the Tuxpan were two streams, the latter may have been the Rio de Canoas of Grijalva and the Pánuco discovered by Montejo and Alaminos the year following, as Kohl surmises, but not otherwise. Herrera says the expedition did not pass Cabo Rojo; Bernal Diaz speaks of a wide projecting cape, which does not exist beyond the Pánuco River. Yet both affirm that the province of Pánuco was reached, and we well know that little would be said to strangers of an aboriginal province by its inhabitants before its great town, or its great river, was approached. Hence the general impression that Grijalva on this occasion coasted as far as Tampico, and that the Pánuco was his Rio de Canoas. It is my opinion that the entrance to the Bahia de Tanguijo, mistaken for a river, was the Rio de Canoas of Grijalva, and that Cabo Rojo was his ultimate point of discovery.

[5] Some say sixteen.

relate a miracle which happened here because Grijalva refused the soldiers leave to sack the place; how a star, poised above the fleet after sunset, shot toward the town and hung over it invitingly, as if Jehovah signified his pleasure that the Christians should seize the city.[6]

After beating back the canoes the Spaniards proceeded, but found their course impeded by the currents off Cabo Rojo; from which circumstance, together with the hostility of the natives, the rapidity with which the season was advancing, and the condition of the ships, they determined to return. Turning toward the southward, therefore, they were carried past the River Goazacoalco by boisterous winds, and entered Tonalá to careen and repair a leaky vessel.[7] Again the men blasphemed and held the commander in derision because he would not settle. After several failures in starting they continued the voyage, encountered bad weather, touched at Deseado for water, engaged in a parting fight with the natives of Champoton, sailed again, and the fifth reached San Lázaro, where they were led into ambush while searching for water, and attacked. After helping themselves to maize they embarked, followed the shore past Rio de Lagartos, the Comi of the natives, whence they sailed for Cuba, and arrived at Matanzas about the first of November.[8]

[6] In questo giorno sul tardi vedessemo miracolo ben grande el qual fu che apparve una stella incima la nave dapoi el tramontar del sole et partisse sempre buttando razi fino che se pose sopra quel vilagio over populo grande et lasso uno razo ne laiere che duro piu de tre hore grande et anchora vedessimo altri signal ben chiari dove comprendessemo che dio volea per suo servitio populassemo la dicta terra. *Itinerario*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 302.

[7] Bernal Diaz claims to have planted here the first orange-seeds sown in New Spain. It was at the base of a temple, on whose summit he had enjoyed a refreshing sleep, above the clouds of mosquitoes, and through gratitude he sowed these seed, which he had brought from Cuba. He tells, likewise, of obtaining here by barter 4,000 pesos, which, with the 16,000 pesos Alvarado carried home, made 20,000 pesos secured during the voyage. Among the treasures were some copper hatchets, which the Spaniards took to be an inferior kind of gold. Las Casas gives a detailed description of the treasures obtained by this expedition, among which was an emerald worth 2,000 ducats, from the mainland opposite Isla de Sacrificios.

[8] This, following Oviedo, who in 1523 visited Velazquez, and was told

When Grijalva cast anchor in the bay of Matanzas his heart beat high with promise. He had returned successful from a brilliant discovery, in which had begun that pronounced mastery of life which is the dream of every chivalrous mind. There had been nothing in the least irrational in his policy, or fickle or factious in his conduct. He had used diligence and discretion, had been true to his companions, and faithful to his king and to his chief. Surely his uncle would praise him, his governor would reward him, and his king would intrust him with new commissions. So he deserved; so he had every reason to expect, and hence it was with pride and pleasure that he once more set foot on Isla Fernandina.

But, unfortunately, this most virtuous cavalier was now destined to reap the too common reward of honest service in the cause of a vicious master. Scarcely had Grijalva landed, when a letter from the governor was placed in his hand, ordering him to repair with his ships at once to Santiago, and at the same time to notify his soldiers that opportunity would be quickly given all who desired to embark in a fresh adventure to New Spain, and that meanwhile they might rest themselves at the governor's farms in that vicinity. Then, too, he first learned how Velazquez, ever fickle and distrustful as are all timid and unscrupulous men, becoming nervous concerning the fleet, had sent Cristóbal de Olid in a small vessel with seven soldiers to search and report; and that on reaching the coast of Yucatan a storm had obliged the explorer to part with his anchor and return to Cuba.[9] Before the return of Olid, Alvarado had

these things. Other authors give widely different accounts of Grijalva's return, most of them taking him at once from Tonalá to Matanzas, but allowing forty days for the voyage. Oviedo dates Grijalva's arrival at the River Goazacoalco July 9; at Deseado, August 17; at Champoton, September 1; San Lázaro, September 5, and Matanzas, October 8, which is too early, according to the date of Cortés' instructions.

[9] Oviedo says that Olid went to Cozumel and took possession of the island, thinking he had discovered it; then coasting north and westward to a port,

arrived with the gold and good tidings from the armada, which gave the governor unbounded joy. Grijalva had yet to learn, however, how Alvarado, not forgetting the censure bestowed on him for disobedience, had not failed to color the conduct of his commander to suit his own ends. Grijalva's repeated refusals to colonize were paraded as the gross mistakes of a stubborn and spiritless man; the coolness and bravery displayed at Champoton were made to appear as reckless imprudence; and as the governor thought of the danger to which his adventure had there been subjected, he became alarmed. "Had I lost all," he muttered, "it would have been a just penalty for sending such a fool." And now both Dávila and Montejo poured fresh poison into the ear of the governor respecting his nephew, in revenge for similar fancied injuries; so that when Grijalva reported himself to Velazquez at Santiago, he was told to go his way, since the governor had no further use for him.

Indeed, this line of action had been for some time determined on. Immediately upon the arrival of Alvarado, a new expedition had been planned, in which Grijalva was not to participate. The latter was hurt, almost to death. He had conferred a great benefit on this Tiberius of an uncle; but as affection is heightened by the conferring of benefits, so it is often lessened by the acceptance of them. Not long after, Juan de Salcedo was sent to Santo Domingo for permission to colonize New Spain, and Benito Martin, chaplain and man of business, was despatched to Spain[10] with a full account of the dis-

Laguna de Términos, and finding no traces of Grijalva, and having lost his anchors, he returned to Matanzas eight days before Grijalva; but in this statement he is sustained neither by his contemporaries nor by his own collateral statements. Velazquez' instructions to Cortés are dated the 23d of October, at which time neither Olid nor Grijalva had returned, since Cortés is told to search for them; both arrived, however, before he sailed.

[10] It was in May, 1519, according to Oviedo, that Benito Martin—some call him Martinez—sailed for Spain, Grijalva having arrived at Santiago late in the October previous. By reference to a Velazquez memorial, in iv. 233–4, *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, we find that before this, upon the strength of Cordoba's dis-

covery, and with gold for the bishop of Búrgos. Haste seemed necessary to Velazquez lest some one might anticipate and rob him of the honors and emoluments won through Grijalva's efforts. Nor were forgotten the Licentiate Zapata and the Secretary Conchillos; and so happily were distributed the Indian villages of Cuba among these conscientious men of Spain, that Velazquez gained all his requests, with the title of adelantado of Cuba added.

How different the quality of these two men, Velazquez and Grijalva, and both so widely different from the phœnix now about to rise from their ashes! The character of the governor was like a candle flame, hot without and hollow within. Almost as much as gold he loved glory, the brass and tinsel of it, but lacked both the ability and the courage to achieve noble distinction. As easily worked upon by designing men as Othello, there was in him none of the nobility of the Moor; and, possessing no great integrity himself, he was very ready to suspect treachery in others.

Grijalva, on the other hand, was the Lysander of New World discovery; of a modest though manly spirit, obedient to customs and superior authority, preferring honor and duty to self and pleasure, native to generous action, the very faults brought out by his enemies shine brilliant as virtues. He was as chivalrous as any Spaniard that ever drew steel on naked savage, as brave and talented as any. But he lacked

covery, the king, on the 13th of November, 1518, at Saragossa, made Velazquez adelantado of what he had discovered, or might discover. Thus far he claimed as having found, at his own cost, Cozumel and Yucatan, the Santa María de los Remedios of the Spaniards, which was not true. Indeed, these memorials of the descendants of conquerors are, as a rule, widely different from the facts; instance this one again, which gives Olid seventy men instead of seven. As a matter of course, the honor of the discovery is claimed wholly for the governor of Cuba, to the prejudice of others who ventured more than he. See *Carta del Ayunt. de Vera Cruz*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 418–9. Instance further a *Memorial del negocio de D. Antonio Velazquez de Basan*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, x. 80–6, in which Grijalva is given five ships and a year and a half, and Olid three ships and seventy men. In the *Instruccion que dió el adelantado Diego Velazquez á Hernan Cortés*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, xii. 226–46, the little boat of Olid has grown into a caravel with 80 or 90 men.

the unscrupulous positiveness inseparable here from permanent success. He was resolute in overcoming difficulties, and he was strong and shrewd enough in the prosecution of any high enterprise, particularly so long as fortune favored him; but he was no match for the subtle-minded of his own nation, who overwhelmed him in their show of learning, backed by imposing forms. All contemporary writers speak well of him; likewise all the chroniclers, except Gomara, who permits chivalry no place save in his pet and patron, Cortés. The soldier Bernal Diaz pronounces him a most worthy officer. The historians Oviedo and Herrera call him a comely man, thoroughly loyal, and never backward at fighting. Yet we are told that some censured him, while others cursed him outright for his conscientiousness, because he did not break orders and seize opportunity. So ready were they to engage in the fallacious argument that it was right to do wrong if good might come of it. To disobey Velazquez, they said, was to break no divine law; forgetting that the governor derived his authority from the king, and the king from the Almighty. Of a truth, when force alone is the standard of right, then honesty is not the best policy. For a time he carried himself with a brave front, conscious of his integrity, yet we may say he was laid low forever by the blow misfortune here gave him.[11] Meanwhile patience, good gov-

[11] Las Casas saw him at Santo Domingo in 1523. He was reduced to penury. Proceeding thence to Panamá, he was sent by Pedrarias to Nicaragua, where he was killed. So perished the best and morally bravest of cavaliers, while unscrupulous tricksters flourished. Prior to his departure from Cuba, however, and notwithstanding the vile treatment of the governor, at Velazquez' request, Grijalva wrote a narrative of his expedition, which was lost by Oviedo in its transmission to the king. It is embodied, however, in substance, in *Oviedo*, i. 502–37. One of the most original and complete accounts of Grijalva's expedition extant is that by the priest Juan Diaz, *Itinerario de Larmata del Re Catholico in India verso la Isola de Iuchathan del anno M. D. XVIII, alla qual fu Presidente & Capitan Generale Ioan de Grisalva; el qual e facto per el capellano maggior de dicta Armata a sua Alteza*, published in Italian, at Venice, in 1520, in French by Ternaux-Compans, in 1838, the former being copied and quoted in manuscript by Prescott. The issue at Venice was as the second part of the *Itinerario de Lvdovico de varthema Bolognese nello Egitto, nella Soria*, etc., and was there begun, *Qui comincia lo*

ernor! For soon enough will arise an agent capable of playing shrewd tricks to your ample contentment.

Itinerario de Lisola de Iuchatan nouamente ritrouata per il signor Gioan de Grisalue, etc. By far the best edition is that given with a Spanish translation by Icazbalceta, in his *Col. Doc.*, i. 281–308, printed in Mexico in 1858. Next is the account by Bernal Diaz, who, like the chaplain, accompanied the expedition, thus giving us narratives by eye-witnesses at once from ecclesiastical and secular stand-points. The statements of Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 56–8, and *Hist. Mex.*, 9–11, must be taken with allowance. Worse still are the memorials of the relatives of Velazquez to sovereign majesty, such as that found in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, x. 80–6, which are little better than tissues of misstatements and exaggerations. Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 24–40, gives a fair, full, and graphic statement of particulars. The *Instruccion que dió el adelantado Diego Velazquez á Hernan Cortés*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 226–51, also important, as furnishing original collateral light. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 16, 421–4, though full, is specially inaccurate and weak, not only in his facts, but in his deductions. Nor is Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. iii., any stronger. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 4–6, *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 341–6, and *Landa, Rel. de Yuc.*, 21, are mediocre; and *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib iii. cap. i. and ix., is quite full and very valuable. Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 8–16, gives a fair résumé, but a far better one is Torquemada's, i. 351–7. Prescott's account, *Mex.*, i. 224–9, is meagre and imperfect, though his deductions are much more sound than those of Robertson's *Hist. Am.*, i. 240–3. One of the most superficial of the modern narratives of this expedition is given by Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, ii. 236–52. Those by Morelet, *Voy. dans l'Am. Cent.*, i. 179–85, and Fancourt's *Hist. Yuc.*, 9–18, are valuable. A collection of extracts from several letters to Charles V., referring to Yucatan, and forming 'an account of a recently discovered island, describing its locality, the customs and habits of its inhabitants,' was printed at Nuremberg, by Frederick Peypus, in 1520, under title beginning *Ein auszug ettlicher sendbrieff dem aller durchleüchtigisten*. Carbajal Espinosa, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 51–65, ii. 21, and Ramirez, in his Mexican edition of Prescott, i. 132 and 135, beside narratives, give portraits of Velazquez, Córdoba, and Grijalva. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* 13–9, and *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 27–50, are most valuable from an aboriginal stand-point. Alaman, in his *Disert.*, i. 49–91, treats of both Córdoba's and Grijalva's voyages. Among the many allusions to these two expeditions of no special significance are those found in *Ogilby's Am.*, 76–8; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, v. 858; *Oviedo, Sommario*, in *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 182–9; *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, iii. 242–3; *Robertson's Visit Mex.*, i. 143; *Voy., Cur. and Ent.*, 471–9; *World Displayed*, i. 166–79; *Voy., A New Col.*, i. 189–98; *Sammlung aller Reisebesch.*, xiii. 254–64; *Laharpe, Abrégé*, ix. 219–31; *Kerr's Voy.*, ii. 70–1, and iii. 416–53; *Klemm, Allgemeine Culturgeschichte*, 219; *Cordua, Scheepe-Togt*, 3–18, and 35–89, in *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling, Montanus, Nieuwe Weereld*, 72–5; *Gottfried, Reysen*, iii.; *Folsom*, in *Cortés' Despatches*, 6–8; *Howitt's Hist. U. S.*, i. 8–9; *Lardner's Hist. Discov.*, ii. 43–4; *Span. Conq. in Am.*, ii. 3–9; *Vetancurt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii., 106–9; *Larenaudière, Mex. et Guat.*, 53–4; *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 81–2; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec*, i. 14–15; *Hassel, Mex. Guat.*, 6; *Holmes' An. Am.*, i. 35–7; *Galvano's Discov.*, 130–2; *Corrali, Descub. de la Am.*, ii. 7–19; *Dalton's Conq. Mex. and Peru*, 47–9; *Span. Emp. in Am.*, 27–8; *Snowden's Am.*, 77–9; *Raynal, Hist. Phil.*, iii. 246–7; *Descripcion de Am.*, MS., 112–13; *Gordon's Hist. Am.*, 112–13; *Malte-Brun, Yucatan*, 23–4; *Wilson's Conq. Mex.*, 291; *Castellanos, Varones ilustres de Indias*, 71; *Peter Martyr*, dec. iv., cap. i.–v., *Dufey, Résumé*, i. 97–103; *Mavor's Hist.*, xxiv. 65–6; *Gregory's Hist. Mex.*, 19–20; *Norman's Rambles*, 95; *Wilson's Mex. and Reg.*, 18; *Colton's Jour. Geog.*, No. vi. 84; *Newe Zeittung von Jucatan*, 1, etc.; *Monglave, Résumé*, 41–6; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, i. 463–4; *Cortesii, von dem Neuen Hisp.*, pt. ii. 2–5; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 16; *Armin, Alte*

Before the return of Grijalva, interest in the new expedition had already raised itself into a whirl of excitement; and as volunteers pressed forward, the captaincy became an apple of discord among aspirants. Chief among these were Vasco Porcallo a near relative of the count of Feria, Antonio Velazquez,[12] and Bernardino Velazquez, the last two kinsmen of the governor. Another was Baltasar Bermudez,[13] from Velazquez' own town, and his intimate friend. None of these suited. Then followed for the governor nights of troubled dreams and days of irritable indecision. It was a peculiar personage Velazquez wanted. He must be, in Mexico, courageous, wise, and prudent; in Cuba, obedient, teachable. He must be able to command men, to brave the proudest barbarian, and so fired by enthusiasm in the field as cheerfully to endure hardships and risk life; his work successfully accomplished, he must return humbly to Santiago, and lay his trophies at the feet of his master. Grijalva was most nearly such a man; but he lacked that subtle second sense which should tell him when it was the governor's pleasure to have his orders disobeyed. Porcallo was competent, but Velazquez was afraid of him. He was scarcely farther from the throne than himself; and in reporting any important conquest to the king would prove the greater of the two. The relatives present were worse, if anything, than Grijalva; besides, they had no means, and to this position the successful aspirant must bring money as well as courage and discretion. Bermudez might be eligible, but for his services, in braving the dangers, and bringing the results of the expedition to Velazquez, he had the

Mex., 77–8; *Touron, Hist. Gen. Am.*, iii. 58–78; *Bussierre, l'Empire Mex.*, 193–9; *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 161–2; *Cortés, Hist. Mex.*, 30–110; *Campe, Hist. Descub. Am.*, ii. 7–19; *Cortés, Aven. y Conq.*, 12–13; *Stephens' Incid. of Travel in Yuc.*, ii. 366–9; *Drake's Voy.*, 161–3; *Hart's Tabasco*, 4–5; *La Cruz*, v. 541–4; *Nouvelles An. des Voy.*, xcvii. 30–1, and clxiv. 101; and *Manzi, Conq. di Mess.*, 1–3.

[12] Called Borrego, says Torquemada, i. 361. Bernal Diaz gives Borrego as the second surname.

[13] Bernal Diaz says Augustin Bermudez.

temerity to demand three thousand ducats. The proposition was not for a moment to be entertained; the job must be accomplished for less money.

Watchful eyes saw the governor's dilemma, and artful tongues wagged opportunely. Near to him in their daily vocations were two men, both small in stature, but large of head, and broad in experience and sagacity. One was the governor's secretary, Andrés de Duero, and the other the royal contador, Amador de Láres. Both possessed rare attainments; they were skilled in every artifice, and could make their master see white or black; while Láres could not write, he had not failed to profit by a twenty-two years' career in Italy, during which time he rose to the honorable distinction of chief butler to the Gran Capitan, and he seldom found it difficult to move the unstable Velazquez to his purposes, although they were not always the purest and best.[14] Following the example of the governor, these two worthies were not averse to improving their fortunes by securing, at little risk or expense, an interest in the New Spain conquest; and so they gave heed when the alcalde of Santiago softly insinuated that he was the man for the emergency, and that if they would help him to the command they should share the profits.[15]

The alcalde of Santiago bore a fair reputation, considering the time and place; for comparatively few names in the New World were then wholly free from taint. In the prime of manhood, his age being thirty-three, of full medium stature, well proportioned and muscular, with full breast, broad shoulders, square full forehead, small straight spare compact body and well

[14] Las Casas regarded him as a schemer, and often warned Velazquez against 'Veintidos años de Italia.' *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 447. He calls him likewise 'Burgalés' and 'hombre astutisimo.'

[15] 'Que partirian,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 13, 'entre todos tres la ganancia del oro, y plata, y joyas, de la parte que le cupiesse á Cortés,' and also, growls Las Casas, *ubi supra*—knowledge of the facts as yet being but rumor—what Cortés could steal from the king and the governor was subject to division, beside what he would rob from the natives.

turned limbs, though somewhat bow-legged, he presented a pleasing rather than imposing front. His portraits show fine antique features, bearing a somewhat sad expression, which was increased by the grave tenderness of the dark oval eyes. The full though thin beard, cut short, counteracted to some extent the effect of the small ash-colored face, and served to cover a deep scar on the lower lip, the memento of a duel fought in behalf of a certain frail fair one.

He was an exceedingly popular alcalde; there was nothing staid or sombre in his method of administering justice. The law was less to him than expediency, and his standard of right was easily shifted, according to circumstances. In wit and vivacity he was a Mercutio. Astute of intellect, discreet, of a cheerful, even jovial disposition, with brilliant intuitions and effervescent animal spirits, he knew how to please, how to treat every man as best he liked to be treated. A cavalier of the Ojeda and Balboa type, he was superior to either. He would not, like the former, woo danger for the mere pleasure of it, nor, like the latter, tamely trust his forfeited head to any governor. Life was of value to him; yet adventure was the rhythm of it, and the greater the peril the greater the harmony secured. An hidalgo of respectable antecedents, whatever he might have been, or might be, he now played the part of magistrate to perfection. As a matter of course, he was in entire sympathy with the religious views of the day, as well as with the leading men among the clergy. Indeed the friars ever praised him, believing him to be a zealous and conscientious man; he made it a point that they should. The moral ideal of the Japanese is politeness. Politeness is virtue. They do not say that lying and stealing are wrong, but impolite. While the alcalde if pressed must confess himself an optimist, believing that whatever is, is best, yet in practice that best he would better, and

whatsoever his strength permitted, it was right for him to do. He was a sort of Mephistopheles, decked in manners and guided by knowledge. Besides the world, he knew books, and how to make somewhat of them. Earnestly devoted to the service of the church, many of his acts yet met with its most unqualified condemnation. Possessed of vehement aspirations, his ambition was of the aggressive kind; not like that of Velazquez, mercenary and timid. Like Tigellinus Sophonius, it was to his pleasing person and unscrupulous character that the alcalde owed his rise from poverty and obscurity; and now, like Phaethon, if for one day he might drive the governor's sun-chariot across the heavens, it would be his own fault if he were not a made man. This much at this time we may say of Hernan[16] Cortés, for such was the alcalde's name; which is more than he could say for himself, not knowing himself as we know him, and more than his associates could say of him. Hereafter as his character develops we shall become further acquainted with him. It is as difficult to detect the full-grown plant in a seed as in a stone, and yet the seed will become a great tree, while the stone remains a stone.

And so, with the aid of his loving friends Duero and Láres, whose deft advice worked successfully on the plastic mind of Velazquez, and because he possessed some money and many friends, as well as courage and wisdom, the alcalde of Santiago was proclaimed captain-general of the expedition.[17] And

[16] Hernan, Hernando, Fernan, Fernando, Ferdinando. The names are one. With no special preference, I employ the first, used by the best writers. Among the early authorities, Solis, the Spanish translator of *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, and many others, write Hernan; Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, Fernan; Bernal Diaz and Oviedo, Hernando; Gomara, Fernando. In accordance with the Spanish usage of adding the mother's surname, he is sometimes, though rarely, called Cortés y Pizarro. For portrait and signature I refer the reader to *Alaman, Disert.*, i. app. i. 15–16; portrait as an old man; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 6–8; *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 1; *Id.*, (ed. Mex., 1846, iii. 210–11); *Armin Alte Mex.*, 82, plate from the painting in the Concepcion Hospital at Mexico; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, i. 466.

[17] In making out the commission Duero stretched every point in favor of his friend, naming him captain-general of lands discovered and to be dis-

now, while the heathen wail let the Spaniards rejoice. Yes. Noble Castilian! cry aloud! for gold shall fill the coffers of your king as they were never filled before, and great shall be the glory of your kingdom; and if the sight of the blood your captains shall draw from the hapless savages, even more freely than gold is drawn, does not spoil your appetite for the game, then whet your swords for the grand pacification.

covered, as well as of the fleet. *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 47; for the greater the share of Cortés, the greater Duero's share. Gomara says, *Hist. Mex.*, 12, 'Hablo a Fernâdo Cortés para q̄ armassean ambos a medias, porq̄ tenia dos mil Castellanos de oro,' etc.; but 2000 castellanos alone would not purchase a half interest in this undertaking. Las Casas, loc. cit., states that Velazquez, for reasons that will appear in the next chapter, was very cautious in intercourse with Cortés until his scruples were overcome by advisers.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HERO OF THE CONQUEST.

BIRTHPLACE OF HERNAN CORTÉS—HIS COMING COMPENSATORY FOR THE DEVIL-SENT LUTHER—PARENTAGE—HERNAN A SICKLY CHILD—SAINT PETER HIS PATRON—HE IS SENT TO SALAMANCA—RETURNS HOME—THINKS OF CÓRDOBA AND ITALY—AND OF OVANDO AND THE INDIES—CHOOSES THE LATTER—NARROW ESCAPE DURING A LOVE INTRIGUE—OVANDO SAILS WITHOUT HIM—CORTÉS GOES TO VALENCIA—IS THERE ILL—RETURNS HOME—FINALLY SAILS FOR THE INDIES—HIS RECEPTION AT SANTO DOMINGO—HE FIGHTS INDIANS UNDER VELAZQUEZ, AND IS GIVEN AN ENCOMIENDA—GOES TO CUBA WITH VELAZQUEZ—MAKES LOVE TO CATALINA SUAREZ—BUT DECLINES TO MARRY—VELAZQUEZ INSISTS—CORTÉS REBELS—SEIZURES, IMPRISONMENTS, ESCAPES, AND RECONCILIATION.

LET us now look into the life of this Cuban magistrate, so suddenly raised to prominence.

Medellin, a small town of Estremadura, Spain, was the birthplace of Hernan Cortés, and 1485 the year in which he was born—miraculously born, as Mendieta and others believe, and perhaps by way of compensation for the appearing about this time of Martin Luther.[1] The shade of Montezuma, peradventure,

[1] Indeed, to make the miracle perfect in all its details, a little warping of the facts is perhaps allowable. So when the zealous chroniclers bring into the world the same year, the same day, even the self-same hour, these two great champions for the souls of men, we should not be too critical, though in truth there were two years difference in their ages. 'Y así, no carece de misterio que el mismo año que Lutero nació en Islebio,' that is to say Eisleben, 'villa de Sajonia, nació Hernando Cortés en Medellin, villa de España; aquel para turbar el mundo y meter debajo de la bandera del demonio a muchos de los fieles que de padres y abuelos y muchos tiempos atras eran católicos, y este para traer al gremio de la Iglesia infinita multitud de gentes que por años sin cuento habian estado debajo del poder de Satanás envueltos en vicios y ciegos con la idolatría.' *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 174–5. Pizarro y Orellana will not be outdone by any one in zeal or mendacity. 'Nació este Ilustre Varon el dia mismo que aquella bestia infernal, el Perfido Heresiarca Lutero, salió al mundo.' *Varones Ilvstres*, 66. Bernal Diaz is the first authority on the question of age. 'En el año que passamos con Cortés dende Cuba,' he writes

might deny that his was the advent of a new Messiah, though the deluded monarch, at the first, sorrowfully hailed him as such. The father, Martin Cortés y Monroy, was of that poor but prolific class who filled Spain toward the close of the Moorish wars, and who, although nothing in particular, were nevertheless permitted to call themselves hidalgos, sons of something. Some give him the title of escudero, others place him still higher in the scale of fighting men. The mother, Catalina Pizarro y Altamirano, likewise, with poverty, claimed noble blood.[2]

Hernan was a sickly child, and probably would have died had not his good nurse, María de Estévan,

Hist. Verdad., 238, 'a la Nueva España, fue el de quinientos y diez y nueue años, y entonces solia dezir estando en conversacion de todos nosotros los compañeros que con él passamos, que auia treynta y quatro años, y veynte y ocho que auian passado hasta que murio, que son sesenta y dos años.' While agreeing with Bernal Diaz in the date of Cortés' death, December 2, 1547, Gomara says he was then sixty-three. From his false premise Mendieta elaborates a comparison between Luther and Cortés, dwelling with pious pathos on the holocaust of human victims offered up at the consecration of the great Aztec temple at Mexico, which deed, he coolly states, was committed on the day Cortés was born. For the facts, see *Bancroft's Native Races*, v. 5, 439–40. Without taking the trouble to test Mendieta's statement, Torquemada, i. 340–1, carries the miraculous still further. Following the heaven-descended Cortés in his piratical raid on Mexico, he sees the hand of God in the finding of Aguilar, who, like Aaron, was to be the mouthpiece of his chief, in the alliances with native states, and in the great victories and hair-breadth escapes of the conqueror, fighting under the banner of the cross.

[2] According to the *Testimonio de Hidalguia de Cortés*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 238–9, the names of the mother's parents were Diego Altamirano and Leonor Sanchez Pizarro, which would reverse her surnames, and make the son a Cortés y Altamirano. But Gomara, *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, and other authorities, do not accept this form. This important document, however, the *Testimonio*, establishes the fact that both parents were hidalgos, 'gozando de los oficios que gozan los hijosdalgo en ... Medellin.' Some historians strain themselves to make Cortés the scion of a Roman family, or even of a king of Lombardy and Tuscany, whose descendants entered Spain during Gothic rule. Those who have tastes in that direction may consult *Siculus, Viris Illust.*, 141; *Anales de Aragon*, iii. xiv.; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 67. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11, who claimed acquaintance with the family, slurs their pretensions to high origin. 'Ambos hijosdalgo sin raça' is the qualification in *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 160. No doubt the parents of Cortés were respectable and amiable people, but to attempt to make of them other than they were is folly. 'Catharinia namque probitate, pudicitiâ et in conjugem amore, nulli ætatis suae feminae cessit.' *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 310–11. This document refers to Martin Cortés as 'levis armaturae equitum quinquaginta dux fuerit,' on which evidence Prescott makes the man a captain when he is only a lieutenant, which yet more clearly appears by Gomara, who states, *Hist. Mex.*, 4, that he was a 'teniente de vna compañia de Ginetes.'

secured in his behalf Saint Peter, thenceforth his patron.[3] With his mother's milk he drank courage[4] and intelligence, and he was schooled in the virtues and the vices of the day. In his youth he was headstrong, but chivalrous, and he revelled in his superiority over other boys. The brain-ferment, chronic throughout his life, set in at an early day. He was keenly sensitive to disgrace. As he developed somewhat of archness and duplicity, he was deemed best fitted for the profession of the law. At the age of fourteen, accordingly, with such preparation as the slender means of the father would allow, he was sent to Salamanca, whose university, though past the zenith of its fame, was still the leading seat of learning for conservative Spain. Two years of restraint and intellectual drudgery, during which time he lived with his father's brother-in-law, Nuñez de Valera, sufficed to send him home surfeited with learning, to the great disappointment of his family.[5] A frolicsome and somewhat turbulent disposition, more marked since his college career than previously, made his return all the more unwelcome. Not that his studies,

[3] The nurse was a 'vezina de Oliua,' and her method of choosing a patron was characteristic of the times. 'La deuocion fue echar en suertes los doze apostoles, y darle por auogado el postrero q̄ ssliesse, y salio san Pedro. En cuyo nõbre se dixeron ciertas missas y oraciones, con las quales plugo a Dios q̄ sanasse.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 4.

[4] And Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, 66–69, indulges in a lengthy dissertation upon the effect of mothers' milk on heroes. 'Criole a sus pechos Doña Catalina Pizarro su madre: y a la generosidad deste lacticinio atribuye Marineo e Siculo su gran valor, y virtud.'

[5] Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, 67, states that he was supported at college by Monroy and Rodriguez. It is possible that his proud spirit chafed under this dependence, or that he felt too deeply his position as a poor student among the wealthy youth there congregated; or that this aid was withdrawn owing to the turbulent character here developed by the young man. These views find support in *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 4: 'Boluiose a Medellin, harto o arrepentido de estudiar, o quiça falto de dineros.' While admitting the want both of money and inclination for study, Torquemada, i. 345, states that a quartan fever came on as he was preparing for the study of law, and was the chief cause of his leaving the college. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11, gives him the honors of a bachiller, and as having studied law, both of which statements are unlikely, considering his short course. 'Aprendiendo gramática' implies a course of study in Latin and Greek, as well as rhetoric, which it required three years to complete. *Plan de Estudios de la Universidad de Salamanca*, quoted by Folsom, in *Cortés' Despatches*, 10. According to Peralta, 'asento con un escribano, ... y aprendió á escrebir,' etc. in Valladolid. *Not. Hist.*, 56.

despite his aversion to them, had been wholly neglected; he could boast a smatter of Latin, which indeed proved of advantage afterward, giving him influence over many of those with whom he associated. He had also acquired some knowledge of rhetoric, as is manifest in his letters and occasional verses.[6] At present, however, his intellectual talents were employed only in scribbling rhymes in aid of amorous intrigues, which were now his chief pursuit. Hence when arms possessed his fancy the parents did not repine, but were only too glad for him to enter service, as he seemed inclined, under the Gran Capitan, who was just then alluring to his standard the chivalry of Spain by brilliant achievements in Italy. There was, however, the glitter of gold in the Indies, and the appointment of Nicolás de Ovando,[7] as governor, turned the youth's vacillating mind in that direction.

Cortés had concluded to accompany the new governor, when one night, just before the sailing of the fleet, an accident intervened. While engaged in one of his intrigues he had occasion to climb a courtyard wall to gain the lady's apartment. The wall crumbling beneath his weight threw him to the ground, and the noise brought to the door of an adjoining house a blustering Benedick, who, perceiving the situation of the gallant, and suspecting his own newly made wife, drew the sword with bloody intent. At the prayer of the suspected wife's mother, however, the husband suspended vengeance. Before the scapegrace recovered from a fever brought on by the bruises received in this fall, the fleet of Ovando had sailed.

[6] Verses which were tolerably good, and even procured him some fame. *Anales*, 220. 'Quando hablaua con Letrados, y hombres Latinos, respondia á lo que le dezian en Latin.' Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 238. The combined qualities of scholar and general have called up a not inappropriate comparison between Cortés and Cæsar. See *Helps' Span. Conq.*, and other authorities.

[7] Some claim him for a relative of Cortés. See *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 70; *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 45; *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 312.

After this, Cortés thought again of Italy, and went to Valencia to place himself under Córdoba, but once more illness overtook him, this time accompanied by destitution, and he returned to Medellin somewhat sobered.[8] Thus another year was idled away; but notwithstanding his follies, the youthful cavalier, who was now nineteen, displayed many fine qualities. As he approached manhood his health improved, and form and features became more pleasing. Though proud in his bearing, and of quick perceptions, and high-spirited in temper, he sought to school his tongue, and to practise discretion in the use of his sword. Native to him were generosity and amiability. The qualities of his heart were noble; the vices were those of his time and station. Yet he lacked the moral fibre which should be interwoven with the good impulses of every rich, sensitive nature, and this want could not be made up by repeating prayers and singing psalms, wherein Gomara describes him as efficient.

The pinching economy to which Cortés was reduced made his present frequent visions of the Indies appear only the brighter; and when, in 1504, a fleet of five ships was announced to sail for Española, he determined to delay no longer. With little else than his father's blessing he proceeded to Seville, and took passage with Alonso Quintero, master of one of the vessels, who fancied himself shrewder than other men, and shrewder than he was. Thinking to overreach his brother captains in whose company he sailed, and to secure at Española the first market for his merchandise, he stole forth one night from the Canary Isles, where the squadron had touched for supplies. A gale dismasted his vessel on reaching the open sea, and sent him back to port. The others agreed to await his repairs, which generosity Quintero repaid by seeking a second time to take advantage of them by going

[8] 'Anduvo se a la flor del berro, aun q̄ no sin trabajos y necessidades cerca de vn año.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 5. 'Squandered his means at Valencia with bad companions,' is the term used in *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos*, i. 161.

before, and his treachery was a second time punished by the winds, aided, indeed, by the pilot, who was at enmity with the captain, and who threw the ship from her course during the night so that the reckoning was lost. The usual sufferings are related; and, in answer to prayer, we are told of a miraculous interposition. On Good Friday, when all hope had been abandoned, there was seen poised above the ship a dove, which presently dropped down and rested on the mast.[9] However this might have been, we are credibly informed that the wind subsided and the ship proceeded on her voyage. Finally, on reaching his destination, Quintero found the other ships snugly riding at anchor, their cargoes having been profitably disposed of several days before.

The governor being absent, his secretary, Medina, received Cortés kindly, and pointed him the common highway to fortune. "Register yourself a citizen," he said. "Promise not to leave the island for five years, and you shall have lands and Indians; after the expiration of your time you may go where you choose." Cortés answered: "I want gold, not work; and neither in this island nor in any other place will I promise to remain so long." He thought better of it, however, and on the return of Ovando he presented himself, and was induced to settle. Not long after an Indian revolt called Diego Velazquez, lieutenant of Ovando, into the field, and Cortés hastened to join the expedition. The coolness and ability displayed in this short campaign won for him the admiration and esteem alike of chief and comrades.[10] His reward was an encomienda of Indians in the Daiguao country, together with the notaryship of the new town of Azua. For the next six years he was occupied in husbandry and

[9] Torquemada, i. 346, sees in the bird a messenger from God to conduct safely his chosen instrument for converting the natives of the New World. Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, 69–70, recognizes the Holy Ghost, who assumed this form, and comments on similar appearances elsewhere. How goodly a thing is faith!

[10] He assisted in the pacification of Higne, Bauruco, Daiguao, Iutagna, Jaraguá, and Amguayagua. *Cortés, Memorial*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 220.

in official pursuits, varied by military exploits and love intrigues which kept his sword from rusting and gave him wounds which he carried through life. An abscess under the right knee, a most lucky affliction, alone prevented his joining the ill-fated expedition of Nicuesa to Veragua.[11]

On assuming the direction of New World affairs as governor, in place of Ovando, Diego Colon in 1511 fitted out an expedition against Cuba, and gave the command to Velazquez, who appointed Cortés his adviser and executive officer,[12] a position which the latter gladly accepted, deprived as he was of his patron Ovando, and heartily tired of the monotony of Española. Still hidden beneath a careless exterior were the deeper qualities of his nature, and there were yet six other years, and more of ordinary business and pleasure, before the appearance of earnest thought or great self-reliance.[13] Meanwhile Spanish women were not numerous in the Indies, and rivalry for their favors was great. Cortés had escaped with light

[11] The author of *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii* directs this expedition to Cuba, after delaying it three months in the hope of securing the services of Cortés, in both of which statements he is in error. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 318–19.

[12] 'Socium et ministrum consiliorum omnium adsumit.' *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 320. So highly did Velazquez esteem the qualities of his friend, 'diu multùmque Cortesium rogat, ut secum eat: maria ac montes pollicetur, si operam ad id bellum polliceatur.' *Id.*, 319. Las Casas, who knew Cortés at a later time, makes him one of the two secretaries of Velazquez, the other being Andrés de Duero; and this would coincide with the above. Las Casas is too inconsistent to be very reliable. On the same page he refers to Cortés as a prudent, reticent man, and also as a prater not to be trusted with secrets; useful to Velazquez only for his knowledge of Latin. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 10–11. *Herrera*, dec. i., lib. ix., cap. viii., follows Las Casas. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 6, calls him 'oficial del tesorero Miguel de Passamõte, para tener cuẽta cõ los quintos y hazienda del rey, y aun el mesmo Diego Velazquez se lo rogo, por ser habil y diligente.' Gomara may have had his reasons for not connecting him too closely with his later enemy, but he admits on this and on the following page that Velazquez intrusted him with business affairs of his own, which he was afterward charged with having divulged. Among these duties was superintending the construction of a mint and hospital. The position of clerk to a treasurer would of course be inferior to that of secretary to the chief of the expedition; yet if the treasurer was as illiterate as Contador Láres, his clerk would rank rather as deputy.

[13] 'Era muy resabido y recatado,' says Las Casas, 'puesto que no mostraba saber tanto, ni ser de tanta habilidad como despues lo mostró en cosas árduas.'

punishment many gallantries, but he had not been settled long in Cuba before he found a more serious case upon his hands.

Among those who had settled in Cuba was a family from Granada, Suarez by name, consisting of a widow, her son Juan, and three daughters, remarkable for their beauty. They had come with the vireyna María de Toledo, and Gomara is so ungallant as to say that their object was to secure rich husbands.[14] Scores of hearts are laid at their feet, but the marriage obligation is evaded by the more promising men of the colony, for the Suarez family has a somewhat clouded reputation. In one of them Velazquez takes a tender interest; some say he marries her.[15] Cortés fancies another; Catalina is her name; he trifles with her affections, obtains her favors, promises her marriage, and then seeks to evade the issue. The brother petitions the virtuous governor, who cannot see the sister of his love thus wronged. Velazquez orders Cortés to marry Catalina. The cavalier refuses. Enmity arises between the two men, and without difficulty Cortés is persuaded by certain disaffected to join a cabal against the governor. Nocturnal meetings are held at the house of Cortés; and when it is determined to lay their fancied grievances before the authorities at Santo

[14] The deceased head of the family bore the name of Diego Suarez Pacheco, the mother that of María de Marcaida, also wrongly written Mercaida. The son, Juan Suarez, the partner of Cortés in the Cuban encomienda, afterward settled in Mexico. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 12–13. See also Proceso de Marcayda, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 333. Peralta, the son of Juan, gives the family a genealogy of high order. *Not. Hist.*, 57. 'Suarez.... gente pobre.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 13. 'Doña Catalina Suarez Pacheco (the daughter), doncella noble y recatada.' Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 46, and Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, 70, also write Suarez, Herrera and Gomara, Xuarez. The latter says three or four daughters, *Hist. Mex.*, 7, but it seems that there were four children in all. Those who write the more common form of Suarez are more explicit, and deserve at least equal credit with Gomara.

[15] Velazquez was married not long after his arrival in Cuba to the daughter of Contador Cuéllar. The bride died within the same week. *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. ix. cap. ix. 'Velazquez fauorecia la por amor de otra su hermana, q̄ tenia ruin fama, y aun el era demasiado mugeril.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 7. Delaporte, *Reisen*, x. 141–2, assumes that Cortés won the love of her whom Velazquez wished to possess; while Gordon, *Anc. Mex.*, ii. 32, supposes that the bride had been the object of Velazquez' gallantry; hence the trouble. Folsom, on the other hand, marries one of the Suarez sisters to Velazquez, and calls him the brother-in-law of Cortés. *Cortés, Despatches*, 9, 11–12.

Domingo, Cortés is chosen bearer of the complaints.[16] As he is about to embark on his perilous mission, to traverse in an open boat eighteen leagues of open ocean, the governor hears of it, seizes the envoy, and sends him in chains to the fortress. His partisans are likewise imprisoned, and active in preferring charges against them are Bermudez, the two Velazquez, Villegas, and Juan Suarez. Friends intercede and prevent immediate hanging.[17] Cortés resolves on escape. With some difficulty he extricates himself from his fetters, seizes the sword of the sleeping guard, forces the window, and dropping to the ground takes refuge in the church.[18] Velazquez, enraged at the escape, yet not daring to violate the privilege of sanctuary, resorts to artifice. Introducing some soldiers into the chapel through a small door in the rear, the blushing Catalina is stationed at a distance before the sacred edifice as a decoy. The lover sees her; the dear girl wishes to speak with him, but her maidenly modesty forbids her nearer approach. Cortés rushes forward to clasp her in his arms, only to be seized from behind, and placed under a strong guard in the hold of a vessel bound for Española, where, in company with the other conspirators, he is to undergo trial.[19]

[16] Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 7, insists that Velazquez had no motive for anger except the refusal of Cortés to marry. The meeting of conspirators at his house gave plausibility to the charges of his enemies. By others it is even stated that at these meetings Cortés defended the governor against the charges of the conspirators and overruled their plots. *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 325–6. The preponderance of evidence, however, is against this supposition.

[17] 'Estando para se embarcar en una canoa de indios con sus papeles, fué Diego Velazquez avisado y hózolo prender y quísola ahorcar.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11. He was cast in the fort prison, lest the army should proclaim him general. 'Timebat ne si quis,' etc. *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 325 and 326–7.

[18] In *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 326–7, it is related that Cortés broke the ropes holding him by means of a stick, and filed the padlock of the chains. Seizing a bludgeon he advanced on the sleeping jailer, resolved to break his head if he moved. But Cristóbal de Lagos either slept or pretended not to hear the noise as Cortés seized the sword and shield at his head. Swinging open a small window, Cortés slid down and hurried to the sanctuary, giving on the way a word of cheer and advice to the conspirators who were held within the prison.

[19] 'Cortés.... tuuo por cierto q̄ lo embiariã a santo Domingo o a España.'

Sympathy for Cortés increases with his misfortunes, and aid is furnished for a second escape. The shackles are removed, and exchanging clothes with an attendant, he mounts the upper deck,[20] strolls carelessly about watching his opportunity until he gains the skiff; then cutting loose the boat of another vessel near by, to prevent pursuit, he pulls lustily toward Baracoa. The boat becomes unmanageable, he plunges into the water, swims ashore, and once more gains the sanctuary.[21]

Cortés was sensible enough now to perceive that he had involved himself more deeply than a trifling love affair would justify, and that possibly he might best rid himself of the charming Catalina by marrying her. Once determined on this course, he called to him the brother, Juan Suarez, and informed him of his doleful resolve. Meanwhile the constant importunities of powerful friends, and the need of Cortés' services in an Indian outbreak, induced Velazquez to make overtures of reconciliation; but Cortés met him

Gomara, Hist. Mex., 7. There would have been no reasons for his fears on this score, if he possessed papers implicating Velazquez, as Gomara states. Another version is that the alcaldes imposed a heavy sentence on Cortés, after his capture, and that Velazquez, on being appealed to by Duero and others, was noble-minded enough to grant a pardon. He discharged him from his service, however, and had him placed on board a ship for Española. *Torquemada*, i. 348. Herrera says that Catalina lived near the church, and while Cortés was making love to her an alguacil named Juan Escudero, whom Cortés afterward hanged in Mexico, came up behind him and pinioned his arms, while the soldiers rushed to his assistance. Dec. i. lib. ix. cap. ix.; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 63, etc. *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11; *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta*, i. 327–8, give minutely the mode of capture.

[20] Broke the pump and crawled through, 'Organum pneumaticum,' etc. *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 329.

[21] The current of the Macaguanigua River did not allow him to enter it, and elsewhere the breakers would upset the boat. Stripping himself, he tied to his head certain documents against Velazquez, held by him as notary of the ayuntamiento and clerk of the treasurer, and thereupon swam ashore. He entered his house, consulted with Juan Suarez, and reëntered the temple, armed. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 7. *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta*, vi. 329–30, refers to a friend of Cortés chained in the same ship's hold, and states that Cortés rowed ashore. On the way to the house of Suarez he narrowly escapes a patrol. Having secured arms, he proceeds to cheer his captive partisans, and then enters the sanctuary. At dawn the captain of the vessel from which Cortés escaped comes also to the temple, to secure himself against Velazquez' wrath, no doubt, but is refused admission into the sacristy by his fellow-refugee, who suspects the man, and fears that the provisions may not outlast the siege. In *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. ix. cap. viii., Cortés drifts about on a log and is finally cast ashore.

in a haughty spirit, and surrounding the church with a guard he went his way to the wars. Notwithstanding the cavalier had made up his mind to drink the marriage-draught, he would none of the governor in it; or if he must, the reconciliation should be accomplished after his own fashion. No sooner had the governor departed than Cortés directed Juan Suarez, with lance and cross-bow, to await him at a certain place. Escaping the guard during the night, Cortés joined Suarez, and proceeded to the plantation where Velazquez was quartered. The governor, who was engaged in looking over some books of accounts, was not a little startled when Cortés knocked at the open door and entered. "Is it murder the man means with arms in his hands, and at this hour?" was his thought, as he gave the visitor a nervous welcome. "Command that no one come near me!" exclaimed Cortés, "else I will put this pike through him. And now, if my excellent and brave captain, Señor Velazquez, has aught against me, let him speak. I am here to answer." So sweet was the mutual forgiveness that followed, that in the morning the two gentlemen were found occupying the same bed.[22] Not long after Cortés

[22] So the story was current at the time, and I doubt not it contains some degree of truth, notwithstanding Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 11–12, scouts it as a pure fabrication. He knew both men; Velazquez as a proud chief, exacting the deepest reverence from those around him, and making them tremble at his frown; while Cortés was in those days so lowly and humble as to be glad to curry favor with the meanest servants of the governor. The good bishop is evidently prejudiced. In *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 332–4, the facts are a little elaborated and contradictory, as usual. Cortés escapes the guard round the church, and reaches the farm. 'Halloh, señores!' he shouts, 'Cortés is at the door, and salutes Señor Velazquez, his excellent and gallant captain.' Velazquez is astonished, yet pleased, at the arrival of one whom he always had regarded as a friend and beloved brother. He orders supper and bed to be prepared; but Cortés insists that none shall approach, or he will lance them. He demands to know what complaints there are against him. He abhors the suspicion of being a traitor, and will clear himself. 'Receive me,' he concludes, 'in your favor with the same good faith that I return to it.' 'Now I believe,' answers Velazquez, 'that you regard as highly my name and fame as your own loyalty.' They shake hands, and Cortés now enters the house to fully explain the misunderstanding. After supper they retire to one bed. In the morning the messenger, Diego Orellana, arrives to announce Cortés' flight, and finds them lying side by side. Cortés will not proceed with the expedition just then; but after arranging his affairs he joins, to the delight of the general, who follows his advice implicitly, as he had done

married Catalina, and jointly with his brother-in-law received an encomienda of Manicarao Indians. Like a brave cavalier he put the best face possible on the inevitable, and vowed he was as pleased with his bride as if she had been a duchess.[23] Velazquez stood godfather to a child born to them, and thenceforth addressed Cortés by the intimate term compadre,[24] investing him afterward with the staff of alcalde at Santiago de Cuba.[25] For a time, however, he remained at Baracoa, where the preceding events occurred, and beside mining he was one of the first upon the island to engage in stock raising. Thus by diligence and judicious investments he was enabled to rise from poverty, as well as from profligacy, and to stand ready to embrace the golden opportunity fortune was now about to offer him.

The soft white snow gently dropped upon the mountain top is forged by alternate thawings and freezings into hard, rasping glaciers.

in former campaigns. After their victorious return Cortés enjoys greater honors than ever. Peralta, who also gives the story at length, states that Cortés surprised Velazquez asleep. At the request of the governor he gave himself up to the jailer in order to be formally released. *Nat. Hist.*, 58–62. Still Peralta is a little confused.

[23] She was received by Cortés in Mexico, after the conquest, with great distinction; but died in about three months after her arrival.

[24] Las Casas, who, as usual, will have a fling at Cortés, writes: 'Tuvo Cortés un hijo ó hija, no sé si en su mujer, y suplicó á Diego Velazquez que tuviese por bien de se lo sacar de la pila en el baptismo y ser su compadre, lo que Diego Velazquez aceptó, por honralle.' *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 13. Among Cortés' children a natural daughter by a Cuban Indian is mentioned, *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 238, but it is not likely that Cortés would ask the governor to stand godfather to a natural child. The same writer makes Velazquez the groomsman or sponsor at the marriage. 'Fue su padrino, quando Cortés se velò con Doña Catalina;' *ib.*, 13; *Vetancovrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 109. Although compadre is not unfrequently used as a mere term of friendship, it is not likely to have been applied by a marriage padrino; hence the title of co-father indicates that it originated at the font.

[25] An office granted only to men of note and to leading conquistadores. *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 46. It conveyed the title of 'muy virtuoso señor,' the governor being called 'muy magnífico señor,' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 225, and permitted the holder to walk side by side with the governor. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xii. 'Auia sido dos vezes Alcalde en la Villa de Sãtiago de Boroco, adõde era vezino: porque en aquestas tierras se tiene por mucha honra.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 13. He does not refer to him as alcalde at Santiago de Cuba, where the fleet is fitting out, as he clearly states. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 4, mentions merely that he was here before the quarrel with Velazquez. Some writers assume that Santiago de Cuba is the same as Santiago de Baracoa, but Herrera, *loc. cit.*, and others, observe the distinction.

CHAPTER V.

SAILING OF THE EXPEDITION.

1518–1519.

THE QUALITY OF LEADER DESIRED—INSTRUCTIONS ISSUED TO HERNAN CORTÉS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—THE CHARACTER OF CORTÉS UNDERGOES A CHANGE—COST OF THE EXPEDITION—BY WHOM BORNE—PLACES ESTABLISHED FOR ENLISTMENT—THE BANNER—CORTÉS PUTS ON THE GREAT MAN—MORE OF HIS CHARACTER—THE SCENE AT SANTIAGO HARBOR—THE GOVERNOR'S JESTER—DARK SUSPICIONS OF VELAZQUEZ—DEPARTURE FROM SANTIAGO—CORTÉS AT TRINIDAD—FRESH RECRUITS—VERDUGO RECEIVES ORDERS TO DEPOSE CORTÉS—THE FLEET PROCEEDS TO SAN CRISTÓBAL, OR THE HABANA—REVIEW AT GUAGUANICO—SPEECH OF CORTÉS—ORGANIZATION INTO COMPANIES—DEPARTURE FROM CUBA.

WITH relations so lovingly established, and with a personal knowledge of the military genius of Cortés, and the strength and versatility of his character, it would seem that here would be the first instant choice of the governor for the command of the important expedition now in preparation. But the quality of the man required did not altogether hinge on merit. As we have seen, Velazquez required for his purpose an anomalous creation. He must be able but humble; able to command men, and able likewise to obey his chief; honest to Velazquez, but false, if necessary, to all the world else. It was not an Alexander or an Alcibiades that was wanted; not so much a man as a thing: "Piper, non homo," as Petronius Arbiter said; pungent as pepper, and not a human being.

Be this as it may, the sordid friendship of Láres and Duero prevailed with the governor, and on the 23d of October, 1518, his instructions to Hernan Cortés, commander-in-chief of the expedition, were drawn up

before the notary, Alonso de Escalante, in accordance with the permission granted by the authorities at Santo Domingo, which limited the enterprise to exploration; the privilege to colonize depending on royal favor for which Velazquez must sue in Spain.[1]

One would think that after these twenty-five years of experience there could be found no ecclesiastic or ruler so childish as to expect morality or humanity from the wolves of Spain let loose among the naked and defenceless of America. And yet we find the friars of Española, in pursuance of the devout and high-minded views expressed by Velazquez, subscribing to instructions which enjoin Cortés to observe a conduct befitting a Christian soldier, as if there were any reasonable hope of his doing so. He must prohibit blasphemy, licentiousness, and gambling among his men, and on no account molest the natives, but gently inform them of the glory of God, and of the Catholic king. Possession must be taken in Velazquez' name and the secrets of the country ascertained. Search must be made for Grijalva and Olid, and for the Christian captives supposed to be in Yucatan. We might again mark the double-dealing of the governor, who discharges Grijalva for not having settled contrary to his instructions, while charging the new commander not to seize the country, yet expecting him to do so.[2] The instructions

[1] 'Fray Luys de Figueroa, fray Alonso de santo Domingo, y fray Bernaldino Māçenedo, q̄ eran los gouernadores, dieron la licencia para Fernando Cortés como capitan y armador cō Diego Velazquez.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 12. The Fathers no doubt required to know the name of the commander. 'His litteris Cortesius confirmatus,' is the statement in *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 344, in reference to their permit. This authority intimates that Salcedo, at a later date probably, obtained license from the Fathers for warfare in Yucatan and for the settlement of the mainland, but this is not confirmed anywhere. *Id.*, 350.

[2] Evidently Velazquez desired his captains to disobey instructions and colonize. He could not officially authorize them to do so, not having as yet received permission from Spain. Neither Velazquez nor Cortés had any intention in this instance of confining this enterprise to trade, or protecting the natives, or imposing morality upon the men. It was well understood by all that licentiousness and plunder were to be the reward for perils to be undergone. 'Atque etiam quod Grijalvae prætentâ causa auxilii ferendi quod Alvaradus postulabat, ire licebat,' is the pointed observation in *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 343–4. Bernal Diaz,

consist of thirty clauses, and the document reflects no credit on the scrivener.[3]

Man and his character are subject to environment. Neither is finished until decay has well set in. Long before the receipt of his commission the adolescent Cortés was a creation of the past; even the adult Cortés was a different being before and after his appointment. His action now was the expression of new intuitions. Always under the influence of turbulent emotions, his ambition had suddenly become more aggressive. In pure impulses, in refined feelings, in noble instincts, he was essentially defective. He harbored no ideal of duty, such as we have seen in the mind of Grijalva. His code of ethics was neither broad nor catholic. And notwithstanding his great respect for religion, so great indeed as to excite suspicion that he cared very little for it; notwithstanding his outward piety, and his devotion to the church, the lighter immoralities fitted him with an ease and grace that hampered his movements not in the least. Yet for all this the alcalde of Santiago suddenly became a great man, not in name only, but actually; wellnigh revolutionizing the society of which he himself was the product. To him, and to others, his commission was a match applied to explosive material, letting loose the latent force. The leaders of the first gulf-shore expeditions, Córdoba, Grijalva, and Cortés, present themselves before us in relatively increasing proportions. Córdoba, the first, was least, though a

Hist. Verdad., 13, refers to promises of Indian repartimientos in the new regions as an inducement for volunteers. Cortés' statement at Vera Cruz, that he had no order to settle, means nothing in view of the motives then actuating him. Secret agreements between governors and lieutenants for defrauding the crown and promoting their own aims were only too common; and this is overlooked by those who trust merely to the instructions for arguments on this point.

[3] The full text of the instructions is to be found in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 225–46; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 385, 406; *Alaman, Disert*, i. App. ii. 1–27, with notes, reproduced in *Zamacios, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 791–815. The Muñoz copy, given in *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 434–9, preserved the original spelling in the preamble, but the clauses are abbreviated, though Prescott does not appear to be aware of it.

most gentlemanly and kind-hearted pirate. Grijalva, though second to Cortés in talents and fame, was far before him in honesty. During the preparations which quickly followed the appointment of Cortés, the inherent qualities of the man developed to a degree alarming alike to friends and enemies, and astonishing to himself. He found his nature a strong one, with magnetic attractions, and an affinity with danger. He found himself possessed of that higher courage of the mind which begets self-confidence, breeds the hero, and ends in the achievement of the uttermost. And genius was there; he began to feel it and to know it: the genius of ambition and egotism, whose central figure was himself, an all-prevailing sentiment, before which right, religion, humanity, and even life itself, must be subservient. His rapidly evolving will was becoming ponderous, overwhelming. Fame was becoming to him what ambition was to Columbus; only he possessed his idea instead of being possessed by it. Sufficiently educated for the purposes of statecraft, opportunity alone was needed to enable him to turn every weapon to the furtherance of his own designs. Without attempting to pry into the occult, he now began to see things with a large and liberal eye. Life was assuming tremendous realities, which bridled impulse; yet it was an ordeal he believed he could face. While in sophistry he found himself equal to Euripides, he began to put on bombast such as Æschylus could not have scorned, and to display an energy as sublime as that of Archilochus; yet all this time his good sense was supplemented by graceful courtesy. All who worship the bright wit and intellectual versatility that flatter ambition and yield unscrupulous success may henceforth bow the knee to Hernan Cortés.

No sooner was his commission sealed than Cortés set himself about the task of collecting his many requirements. His own few thousand pesos of ready money

were quickly spent; then he mortgaged his estates, and borrowed to the uttermost from his friends. Velazquez was free with everything except his substance; free with his advice and ostentation, free with the ships of others, and willing to sell to the expedition the products of his farm at exorbitant prices. Nevertheless the investment to the governor, as well as to Cortés, was large, the former furnishing some ships of his own and some money, the whole cost of vessels and outfit being about twenty thousand ducats.[4]

[4] The ownership of the expedition has been a moot question, some authors regarding it as pertaining chiefly to Velazquez, while others accord it wholly to Cortés and his friends. According to Gomara, after receiving the vessel brought by Alvarado, and another provided by Velazquez, Cortés, aided by his friends, bought two large and two small vessels before leaving Santiago; and at least two more were bought after this with bills forced upon the owners. The rest of the fleet appears to have been made up from the transport spoken of and from Grijalva's vessels. The latter is to be regarded as Velazquez' contribution, for in the testimony before the royal council in Spain, Montejo, the trusted friend of the commander, declares that on delivering them over to the governor he received the order to join Cortés, with the vessels, of course. His statements, and those of the captain Puertocarrero, confirmed by the letter of the ayuntamiento of Villa Rica to the emperor, agree that, from their own observations and the accounts given by others, Cortés must have contributed not only seven vessels, but expended over 5000 castellanos on the outfit, beside procuring goods and provisions, while Velazquez furnished only one third, chiefly in clothes, provisions, wines, and other effects, which he sold through an agent to the company, the witnesses included, at exorbitant prices. Montejo had heard that Velazquez contributed three vessels, but whether these were exclusive of Grijalva's fleet is not clear. He is also supposed to have lent Cortés 2000 castellanos, and to have given twelve or thirteen hundred loads of bread, and 300 tocinos, beside 1800 castellanos in goods, to be sold to the party at high prices. Every other supply was furnished by Cortés, who maintained the whole force without touching the ship's stores, while remaining in Cuba, no doubt. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 487–90. Puertocarrero adds that Cortés' liberality to men in advancing means and outfits was generally admitted. He himself had received a horse from the commander. He gives a list of the outrageously high prices charged by Velazquez for his supplies. *Id.*, 491–5. Another member of the expedition states that Cortés furnished seven vessels, and Velazquez three, two more belonging to the latter joining the fleet afterward. Cortés paid for all the outfit. Extract appended to *Carta del Ayunt. de V. Cruz*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 419–20: 'Casi las dos partes....á su (Cortés) costa, así en navios como en bastimentos de mar.' 'Todo el concierto de la dicha armada se hizo á voluntad de dicho Diego Velazquez, aunque ni puso ni gastó él mas de la tercia parte de ella....La mayor parte de la dicha tercia parte....fué emplear sus dineros en vinos y en ropas y en otras cosas de poco valor para nos lo vender acá (V. Cruz) en mucha mas cantidad de lo que á él le costó.' *Carta de la Justicia de Veracruz*, 10 de julio, 1519, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 8; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 37. Claiming to have no ready money of his own, Velazquez took for the expedition 1000 castellanos from the estate of Narvaez in his charge. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 12–13. 'Salió de la Isla de Cuba... con quince naviós suyos.'

Establishing places of enlistment throughout the island, Cortés roused to action his many friends, both in person and by letter. At principal settlements the expedition was proclaimed about the streets, in the king's name, by the beating of drums and the voice of the crier. One third of the proceeds of the adventure was promised the soldiers and subalterns,

Cortés, Memorial, 1542, in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 310. Peter Martyr assumes that Cuban colonists furnished the fleet with the governor's consent, and elected Cortés commander. Dec. iv. cap. vi. Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 61, considers that Velazquez held only a minor share in the expedition. Montejo stated in a general way that he spent all his fortune on joining the expedition. *Cen. Am.*, 1554–55, 127–30, in *Squier MS.* In *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii* it is asserted that Cortés expended 6000 pesos of his own, and 6000 ducats borrowed money, beside what Velazquez lent him; his expenditures being in all 15,000 pesos. Velazquez gave not one real, but merely sold goods at exorbitant figures, or made advances at a high interest, even the vessels provided by him being transferred to the commander under an expensive charter. 'Sunt preterea multi Hispani viri boni qui et nunc vivunt, et qui cùm ea classis de qua agimus, apparabatur, aderant. Hi in hujus causæ defensione, cujus apud Consilium Regium Indicum Cortesius est accusatus, testes jurati asserunt Velazquium nihil omnino ex propriâ facultate in Cortesii classem impendisse.' This would indicate that Montejo and Puertocarrero's testimony was confirmed by many others. The agent, Juan Diaz, who attended to the sale of the goods and the collection of the advances, fell in the retreat from Mexico, and his money was lost. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 345–9. This testimony by members of the expedition merits the foremost attention in the question, particularly since the fewer statements on the other side are based wholly on supposition. It is somewhat qualified, however, by the consideration that both Montejo and Puertocarrero were stanch friends of Cortés, and that the letter of the ayuntamiento was prepared in his presence. It must also be borne in mind that a goodly proportion of the share attributed to him consisted of vessels and effects obtained upon his credit as captain-general of the fleet, and also in a semi-piratical manner. The statements in *Cortés, Memorial*, and in *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, indicate, beside, a hardly warranted attempt to regard Velazquez' contribution chiefly as a loan to the commander or to the party, his vessels being spoken of as chartered. Another proportion belonged to wealthy volunteers. On the whole, however, it may be concluded that Cortés could lay claim to a larger share in the expedition than Velazquez; but the latter possessed the title of being not only the discoverer, through his captains, of the regions to be conquered, but the projector of the expedition. Oviedo, while believing that the fleet belonged with more right to the governor, feels no pity for the treatment he received, in view of his own conduct to Diego Colon. Complacently he cites the proverb: '*Matarás y matarte han: y matarán quien te matare.*' As you do unto others, so shall be done unto you. Oviedo asserts that he has seen testimony showing that Cortés and his men did not sail at their own expense, but from his own statement it appears that the instructions of Velazquez, wherein he speaks of the expedition as sent in his name, is the chief feature in this so-called testimony; i. 538–9. Las Casas naturally sides with Velazquez, and estimates that he expended over 20,000 castellanos; he had no need for, nor would he have stooped to a partnership, at least with a man like Cortés. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 448. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xi., copies this, and Torquemada, i. 359, reverses this figure in favor of Cortés.

two thirds going to the outfitters.[5] A banner of black taffeta was embroidered with the royal arms in gold, and blue and white flames surrounding a red cross, and round the border it bore the inscription, "Amici sequamur crucem, si nos habuerimus fidem in hoc signo vincemus." Friends, let us follow the cross, and if we have faith under this sign we shall conquer.[6]

Assuming a dress and bearing more fitting a military commander, Cortés threw open his doors, and by judiciously combining the frank joviality of a soldier with the liberal hospitality of a man of wealth, he rapidly drew to his adventure all the available men of the island. There were not lacking those to sneer at this assumption of preëminence, which flaunted it so bravely with plume and medal, with martial music and retinue, saying, here was a lord without lands.[7] But they little knew the strength and firmness of him who, having once put on the great man, would lay the livery down but with his life. This soldierly display, always taking to the Castilian fancy, could scarcely be called affectation, for the genius which commands success was present, and the firmness of resolve was covered with such pleasing affability as to render its presence scarcely suspected. With his

[5] *Testimonio de Puertocarrero*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 491. 'Mãdo dar pregones, y tocar susatambores, y trompetas en nombre de su Magestad, y en su Real nombre por Diego Velazquez para que qualesquier personas que quisiessen ir en su compañia à las tierras nuevamente descubiertas â los conquistar y doblar, les darian sus partes del oro plata, y joyas que se huviesse, y encomiendas de Indios despues de pacificada.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 13. Mark here the promise of encomiendas to the volunteers. The word 'doblar' doubtless meant to explore or to sail round the new islands. Bernal Diaz does not fail to observe that the royal license had not yet arrived to warrant these proclamations.

[6] See *Landa, Rel. de Yuc.*, 23; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 554; Fancourt, *Hist. Yuc.*, 27, leaves out the middle sentence; Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 15; Torquemada, i. 364, and others give only the Spanish translation. Prescott says the flag was of velvet, and attributes the sign to the *labarum* of Constantine, which, to say the least, is somewhat far-fetched. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 13, places the motto upon 'estandartes, y vanderas labradas de oro cõ las armas Reales, y una Cruz de cada parte, juntamente con las armas de nuestro Rey.'

[7] 'Se puso vn penacho de plumas con su medalla de oro.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 13. 'Tomo casa. Hizo Mesa. Y començo a yr con armas, y mucha compañia. De que muchos murmurauan, diziendo que tenia estado sin señorio.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 13.

fine soldierly qualities were financial and executive ability, and fair common sense, a rare combination in a Spanish cavalier. While loving adventure he did not altogether hate ideas. His world now spread itself before him, as divided into two unequal classes, those that use others, and those that are used by others, and he resolved himself forever into the former category. Like Diogenes, though enslaved at Crete, Cortés felt that if he could do one thing better than another it was to command men. Coupled with this egotism was the sensible intuition that the mastery of others begins with self-mastery. Indeed his command over himself, as well as over others, was most remarkable. "By my conscience!" was a favorite oath, which implies not brutal passion. At times a swelling vein in the forehead, and another in the throat, indicated rising anger, manifested also by a peculiarity of throwing off his cloak; but the voice would remain decorous, and the words seldom passed beyond a "Mal pese á vos!" May it bear heavily upon you. To the insolent soldier, whom we shall often find overstepping the bounds of prudence, he would merely say, "Be silent!" or "Go, in God's name, and be more careful if you would escape punishment." Equally composed in argument, he wielded his persuasive powers to their best advantage. Rio de Avenida, the Rushing River, was at one time a nickname, and later he affected long hair and lawsuits. At the gaming-table, to which he was greatly addicted, he won or lost with equal sang-froid, ever ready with a witticism to smooth the varying course of fortune. Though he did not hesitate as gay Lothario to invade the family of another, most unreasonably he was very jealous lest his own family should be invaded. While liberal to friend or mistress, and ready to sacrifice almost anything to gain an object, he was not always regarded as over-generous by his men, too many of whom were of that class, however, that nothing would satisfy. Although a fair eater, he drank but little,

and confined himself to simple diet. This moderation also extended to dress, which, before his elevation, was not only neat but tasteful in its rich simplicity, ornamented with few but choice jewels, and with little diversity. A love of pomp, however, developed with his rising fortunes, more particularly in the way of showy residences and a large retinue, which accorded well with the courtly manners native to the Spaniard claiming noble blood. Cervantes says that in the army even the niggardly become prodigal.

Cortés found the way of throwing into his cause not only himself, but others, in some respects as able as himself. His liberal measures and enthusiasm became infectious, and brought to enrolment wealthy volunteers, who furnished not only their own outfit, but helped to provide others.[8] Within a short time there joined over three hundred men, among them some high in the service and confidence of the governor—instance, Francisco de Morla his chamberlain, Martin Ramos de Láres a Basque, Pedro Escudero, Juan Ruano, Escobar, and Diego de Ordaz mayordomo of Velazquez, and instructed by him to watch proceedings and secretly report.

The harbor of Santiago at this time presented a busy scene. There were the hurrying to and fro of laborers and recruits, the clang of carpenters' hammers upon ships undergoing repairs, the collecting of goods, and the loading of vessels. Every day the landing was enlivened by the presence of the governor, often arm-in-arm with his most dutiful and compliant captain-general, surrounded by gayly dressed attendants and followed by half the town. On one of these visits of inspection, while engaged in friendly conversation respecting the progress of affairs, the Governor's jester, Francisquillo, who was present, as usual, per-

[8] Cortés himself was very liberal in advancing money or necessaries. *Puertocarrero*, loc. cit. This cavalier received a horse which Cortés bought at Trinidad with gold fringes taken from his mantle. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 14. 'Dio a muchos soldados... dineros con obligaciõ de man comun.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 12.

forming his antics before his master, cried out, "Ah, friend Diego!" Then to Cortés, "And how fares our brave captain, he of Medellin and Estremadura? Be careful, good master, or we shall soon have to beat the bush for this same Cortés." Velazquez laughed heartily, and turning to his companion exclaimed, "Compadre, do you hear this fool?" "What, señor?" replied Cortés, pretending preoccupation. "He says you will run away with our fleet," replied Velazquez. "Pay no attention to the knave, your worship; I am very sure these infamous pleasantries never emanated from his mad brain," rejoined Cortés, deeply chagrined. And ere the laugh died away on the lips of the governor his timid breast was chilled by fearful forebodings. What if it were true, thought Velazquez, and this fellow, whom I have lifted from his low estate, should declare for himself on reaching New Spain? Then he called to mind his late quarrel with Cortés, and the courage, energy, and determination displayed by the latter throughout. The governor trembled when he thought of it. About him were enough of the disappointed only too ready to fan these suspicions into a flame.[9]

I regret having to spoil a good story; but the truth is, the drama reported by Bartolomé Las Casas, and reiterated by Herrera and Prescott, was never performed. It tells how Cortés put to sea, Prescott asserts the very night after the jester's warning; and that in the morning, when the governor, early roused from his bed, rushed down to the landing with all the town at his heels, Cortés returned part way in an armed boat and bandied words with him. Beside being improbable, almost impossible, this version is

[9] *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 450–1; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xi. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 13, relates the incident as having occurred on the way to Sunday mass. The fool, whom he calls Cervantes, was walking in front of his master and Cortés, uttering nonsense in prose and rhyme; finally he said in a louder voice, 'By my faith, master Diego, a nice captain have you chosen: one who will run away with the fleet, I warrant, for he has courage and enterprise.' Duero, who walked close by, sought to check his tongue by striking at him and by shouting, 'Silence, fool! Don't be knavish as well,

not sustained by the best authorities.[10] The fact is, some time elapsed, after the suspicions of the governor had first been aroused, before the sailing of the fleet, during which interval Grijalva with his ships returned.

Gomara states that Velazquez sought to break with Cortés and send only Grijalva's vessels, with another commander; but to this Láres and Duero, whose advice was asked by the governor, made strong objection, saying that Cortés and his friends had spent too much money now to abandon the enterprise, which was very true; for like the appetite of Angaston which came with eating, the more Cortés tasted the sweets of popularity and power, the more stomach he had for the business. And the more the suspicions of the governor grew, the greater were the captain-general's assurances of devotion, and the firmer became the determination of Cortés and his followers to prosecute this adventure, in which they had staked their all.[11]

for we know that this pretended jest is not of thyself.' But the jester persisted in calling out, 'Hail to my master Diego and his valiant captain! I swear to thee, my master, that rather than see thee grievously regret this foolish step I would hie me with Cortés to those rich lands.' It was supposed that Velazquez' relatives had induced the man to make these remarks.

[10] Prescott states that Las Casas was on the island at the time. In this he is mistaken. On the other hand, Bernal Diaz was an eye-witness, and tells a very different story. But the tale of the soldier is not so striking as that of the priest, who writes from the statements of Velazquez' friends, colored by time and distance. The final words which passed between the governor and Cortés, according to Las Casas, in effect were these: 'Compadre, is this the way you are going? A nice manner, truly, of taking leave!' To which Cortés makes answer, 'Pardon me, sir; there are things which must be carried out before they are considered. I wait your worship's orders.' *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 451–2; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xii.

[11] *Testimonio de Montejo*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 437. 'No le pudo estoruar la yda porq̃ todos le siguian: los q̃ alli estauã, como los q̃ venian con Grijalua. Ca si lo tentara con rigor vuiera rebuelta en la ciudad, y aun muertes. Y como no era párte dissimulo.' Cortés even announced that he was going on his own account, and that the soldiers had nothing to do with Velazquez. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 13. But this is highly improbable. According to *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, Cortés spread insinuations against Velazquez' greed and selfishness, commented upon his own liberality and upon the rich prospects before them, and thus gained the voice of his followers, so that the former dared not attempt any overt acts. 'Loricâ ab eo tempore sub veste munitus, stipatusque armatis militibus, quos spe sibi fidos amicos fecerat.' *Icæbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 346–9; *Cortés, Memorial*, 1542, in *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 310. Las Casas repeats his condemnation of Gomara, as a man who

Warned by Láres and Duero of every plot, Cortés hurried preparations, sending friends to forage, and shipping stores with the utmost despatch, meanwhile giving secret orders for all to be ready to embark at a moment's notice. Finally, the hour having come, on the evening of the 17th of November, with a few trusty adherents, Cortés presented himself before the governor, and politely took his leave. It fell suddenly on Velazquez, in whose eyes all movements relating to the expedition had of late become the manœuvres of men conspired to overreach him. But having neither the excuse nor the ability to stop the expedition he let the officers depart.

By playing with the devil one soon learns to play the devil. From the governor's house Cortés hastened to the public meat depository, seized and added to his stores the town's next week's supply, and left the keeper, Fernando Alfonso, a gold chain, all he had remaining wherewith to make payment.[12] It was a dull, dry, gray November morning, the 18th, very early, after mass had been said, when the squadron, consisting of six vessels, sailed out of Santiago harbor amidst the vivas of the populace and the inward cursings of the governor.[13] But of little avail was Velazquez' remorse; for Cortés carried

wrote only what he was told by his master. He scouts the idea of the powerful Velazquez either needing Cortés' pecuniary aid or not being able to dispose of his fleet as he wished. A humble squire, indeed, to raise his voice against the great Velazquez, who could have taken his bread and life at any moment! *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 448–9..

[12] In his memorial to the emperor in 1542, Cortés relates this enforced transaction quite at length. Learning that his stock of the week had been seized, Hernan Dalonso seeks Cortés and complains, with tears in his eyes, whereupon he receives the gold chain, 'de unos abrojos.' *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 310–11; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 221.

[13] Bernal Diaz asserts that Duero and Láres were present at the parting, and that Velazquez and Cortés several times embraced each other and vowed eternal friendship. 'Habuit Cortesius cùm e Sancti Jacobi urbe et portu solvit, naves sex; aliâ, nam septem habuit, in portu, ut sarciretur reficereturque, relictâ.' *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 348. This authority believes that one of the reasons for Cortés' hurried departure was a fear that Grijalva's vessels might turn up; but they had already arrived, as we have seen. The seventh vessel, a caravel, joined Cortés at Trinidad, with nine horses and eighty volunteers, under Francisco de Salcedo. *Id.*, 354. 'Partio se de Santiago Barucoa....en seys nauios.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 13.

no Æolian wind-bags to drive him back from his destination.

Despatching one of the vessels to Jamaica[14] for provisions, Cortés touched at Macaca for further supplies, and thence steered for Trinidad, where he was received with demonstrations of enthusiasm by the alcalde mayor, Francisco Verdugo brother-in-law of Velazquez, and by other hidalgos, who placed their houses at his disposal. Raising his standard before his quarters, he proclaimed the expedition and invited volunteers, as he had done at Santiago. Soon his force was augmented by over one hundred of Grijalva's men. Here also joined several captains and hidalgos, afterward famous in New Spain adventure. There were the five brothers Alvarado, Alonso de Ávila, Gonzalo Mejía afterward treasurer at Mexico, Cristóbal de Olid, Alonzo Hernandez Puertocarrero cousin of the count of Medellin, Gonzalo de Sandoval who became so great a friend of Cortés, Juan Velazquez de Leon a relative of the governor, and others.[15] From the plantations of Santi Espíritu and elsewhere came many. This Cortés beheld with proud satisfaction, and welcomed these important acquisitions with martial music and peals of artillery.

In seeking supplies Cortés paid little heed to rights of property, so long as he obtained what he needed; he was subsequently not a little proud of his success. "By my faith," he boasts in Spain in 1542, "but I did play the corsair genteelly." Among the arbitrary purchases was that of a vessel from Jamaica laden with provisions for the mines, for which the owner

[14] Pedro Juarez Gallinato de Porra was sent with a caravel under orders to take the cargo of supplies to Cabo Corrientes or Punta de Santanton, and there await the fleet. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 13. In *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, loc. cit., the captain is called Pedro Gonzalez de Trujillo. He brings 1500 tocinas (salt pork), and 2000 loads cassava. 'Mil cargas de pan cazavi, y dos mil tocinos y muchos fasoles y aves y otras cosas.' *Cortés, Memorial*, 1542, in *id., Escritos Sueltos*, 311.

[15] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 14, mentions several more names, with occasional remarks on wealth and standing. Puertocarrero is also written Puerto Carrero, and in the modern form of Portocarrero. *Torquemada* and *Oviedo*, passim.

might accept promissory notes or nothing.[16] Another vessel from the same place, on the same mission, Cortés sent Ordaz to seize and convey to Cape San Antonio, or perhaps to San Cristóbal where we afterward find him, there to await the fleet. This captain, it will be remembered, was the spy of Velazquez, and to him, therefore, rather than to another, was given this mission, to prevent his watching proceedings at Trinidad. The commander of the seized vessel was Juan Nuñez Sedeño, who was induced to join the expedition.[17] Meanwhile in the breast of Velazquez was stirred afresh the poison of jealousy by an astrologer, one Juan Millan, employed by the enemies of Cortés to work on the fears of the governor. The result was the arrival at Trinidad, in hot haste, of two messengers from the governor, with orders for Verdugo to detain the fleet, the command of which had been transferred to Vasco Porcallo. Moreover, all the retainers of Velazquez were called upon to aid in deposing Cortés. It was no difficult matter, however, for Cortés to persuade Verdugo of two things: first, that there were no grounds for Velazquez' fears, and secondly, if there were, force would now avail him nothing. So strong was Cortés in his position that he could easily lay the town in ashes should its authorities attempt to interfere in his purposes. Taking one of the messengers, Pedro Lasso, into his service, by the other Cortés wrote Velazquez,

[16] This appears to be the same vessel referred to by Gomara as Alonso Guillen's, bought at Trinidad, though nothing is of course said about the mode of payment. *Hist. Mex.*, 13. Prescott mistakes in making Sedeño the master of this vessel.

[17] Ordaz proceeded on his mission in the caravel *El Guerho*, and returned to Trinidad in the vessel of Sedeño, who received two thousand and more castellanos in gold fringes, the only treasure on hand. *Cortés, Memorial*, 1542, in *id., Escritos Sueltos*, 312. 'Quatro mil arrouas de pan, mil y quinientos toçinos y muchas gallinas.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 14. Bernal Diaz intimates that Sedeño came into port of his own accord, and was induced to sell ships and cargo. *Hist. Verdad.*, 14. He was reputed the richest man in the party. *Ib.; Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, ii. 455–6; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xii. 'De una hacienda de V. M. compró al mayordomo de ella quinientas é tantas cargas (pan)'. *Cortés, Memorial*, 1542, loc. cit. The *Probanza por Lejalde*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 411, contains interesting testimony as to what goods were obtained, and how.

in language most respectful, begging him to believe that he would always be true to his God, his king, and his dear friend and governor. In like notes the robin and the screech-owl muffle their voices when danger is near, so as to conceal the distance, and make themselves seem far away. Thus passed twelve days, according to Bernal Diaz, at Trinidad, when one of the vessels was despatched to the north side of the island for supplies, and the fleet departed for San Cristóbal, then Habana,[18] while Pedro de Alvarado, with fifty soldiers and all the horses, proceeded thither overland, adding to their number at the plantations on the way.

One night during the voyage to San Cristóbal, the flag-ship was separated from the other vessels and stranded on a reef near Isla de Pinos. With skill and promptness Cortés transferred the contents in small boats to the shore, set free the lightened vessel, and, reloading, joined his captains at San Cristóbal. This accident delayed him seven days, during which time there was no small stir among his men at San Cristóbal as to who should command the fleet in case its captain-general failed to appear. Conspicuous among these questioners was Ordaz, who claimed precedence as Velazquez' representative. But the arrival of the commander put an end to the controversy and spread unbounded joy throughout the armada. Landing, he accepted the hospitality of Pedro Barba, lieutenant of Velazquez. Among those who joined him here were Francisco Montejo, the future conqueror of Yucatan, and Diego de Soto, who in Mexico became the mayordomo of Cortés. Again the commander rid himself of Ordaz by sending him with a vessel to the plantations near Cape San Antonio, there to await

[18] The Habana was then situated on the south side of the island, not on the north side, where the appellation now obtains. Prescott and others fall into numerous blunders by supposing the Habana of to-day to be identical with the Habana of three hundred years ago, sending a whole fleet far out of its way for no other purpose than to collect provisions, which one vessel would accomplish as well.

the fleet. The artillery was landed and cleaned; the cross-bows were tested and the firelocks polished. Cotton armor was secured. More provisions being required, Quesada, the Episcopal tithe-collector, contributed his stock.

Warranted, as he thought, by his success and prospects, and well aware of the effect on the Spanish mind of some degree of ostentation and military display, Cortés put on the paraphernalia of still greater leadership, and appointed a chamberlain, a chief butler, and a mayordomo, in the persons of Rodrigo Rangel, Guzman, and Juan de Cáceres, which pomp he ever after maintained.[19] Gaspar de Garnica now arrived with letters from Velazquez to Barba, Ordaz, Leon, and others, ordering and entreating them to stop the fleet, arrest Cortés, and send him a prisoner to Santiago. It was of no avail, however. Soldiers, officers, even Barba himself, were enthusiastic for Cortés, who once more wrote the governor, in terms as courteous as they were costless, and shortly afterward, on the 10th of February, 1519, the fleet again set sail.[20] Guaguanico, on the north side of Cape

[19] 'Començó Cortés â poner casa, y â tratarse como señor: y el primer Maestresala q̃ tuvo, fue vn Guzmã que luego se muriò, ò mataron Indios.' A different man from the later mayordomo, Cristóbal de Guzman, who captured Quauhtemotzin during the siege of Mexico. 'Caceres....fue despues de ganado Mexico, hombre rico.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 15–16.

[20] Bernal Diaz says that Barba was one of the most devoted to Cortés. See, also, *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii., cap. xiii. Solis details at length a public gathering, in which the members of the expedition became highly excited over Velazquez' efforts to stop Cortés, and threatened to destroy the town. He adds that a rumor of Velazquez' coming in person to enforce his order created another excitement. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 63–6; Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 8, follows him; also Prescott. According to Las Casas, Velazquez sends a letter to Cortés, asking him to wait for an important communication, which he will bring in person or send by messenger. At the same time come letters for Ordaz and others, requesting them to seize the commander. Ordaz accordingly invites him to a banquet on board his vessel, with the intent of carrying him off to Santiago; but Cortés perceives the snare and retires under pretence of indisposition. The good bishop observes that he never knew Velazquez evince so little sagacity as on this occasion; nor did Ordaz behave any better. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 456–7. Gomara has the same account, but adds that the messenger from Velazquez came in a caravel, together with Alvarado, Olid, Ávila, Montejo, and others of Grijalva's party, who had just arrived from an interview with the governor. *Hist. Mex.*, 14. He is evidently mixed. Torquemada, who quotes both versions from Herrera and Gomara, places the occurrence at Trinidad, and considers that Cortés was capable of and right

San Antonio, was the place appointed for muster and apportionment.[21] Meanwhile Pedro Alvarado was sent forward with sixty soldiers in the *San Sebastian* to bring Ordaz to the rendezvous, but driven by a gale beyond his goal and near to Yucatan, he thought it useless to return, and so proceeded to Cozumel Island, where he arrived two days before the others. The expedition consisted of twelve vessels, the flag-ship or capitana of one hundred tons, three others of from sixty to eighty tons, and the rest small brigantines and open craft, including a transport commanded by Ginés Nortes. The soldiers numbered five hundred and eight, and the sailors one hundred and nine, including officers and pilots. The priests present were Juan Diaz and Bartolomé de Olmedo, of the Order of Mercy. Under Juan Benitez and Pedro de Guzman were thirty-two cross-bowmen; thirteen men only carried firelocks, the rest being armed with swords and spears. The artillery consisted of ten bronzed guns and four falconets, and was in charge of Francisco de Orozco, aided by Mesa Usagre, Arbenga, and others. About two hundred Cuban Indians, together with some native women and negro slaves, were brought for service, despite the prohibitory clause in the instructions. Sixteen horses receive the minute description and glowing encomium of the soldier Diaz, and play an important part in the coming campaign. The supplies included some five thousand tocinos, or pieces of salt pork, six thousand loads of maize and yucca, fowl, vegetables,

in foiling Velazquez. Bernal Diaz scouts Gomara's story, which is repeated in *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 355–6. Peralta claims that his father, Suarez, pursued and slew the Indian courier sent with orders for Luis de Medina, then with the fleet, to assume the command. He thereupon brought the papers to Cortés and warned him to sail away. *Nat. Hist.*, 62–4. Peralta evidently upholds all his father told him.

[21] So affirms Tapia, one of the party. *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 555; and this is the view of most writers. Bernal Diaz states that the review was held at Cozumel, which may also have been the case; but he was not present at San Antonio. A review must have been held before the fleet set out on its voyage, in order that captains might be appointed and receive apportionments of men and supplies. Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, ii. 292–3, assumes that, owing to Alvarado's absence, the muster was reserved for Cozumel.

groceries, and other provisions. For barter were beads, bells, mirrors, needles, ribbons, knives, hatchets, cotton goods, and other articles.[22]

The force was divided into eleven companies, each under a captain having control on sea and land. The names of the captains were Alonso Hernandez Puertocarrero, Alonso de Ávila, Diego de Ordaz, Francisco de Montejo, Francisco de Morla, Escobar, Juan de Escalante, Juan Velazquez de Leon, Cristóbal de Olid, Pedro de Alvarado, and Cortés, with Anton de Alaminos as chief pilot.[23]

From this list it will be seen that those but lately regarded as of the Velazquez party received their full share in the command. This cannot be attributed so much to the captain-general's sense of fairness, which forbade him to take advantage of interests voluntarily intrusted to his care, as to a studied policy whereby he hoped to win for his purposes certain men of in-

[22] 'Tomo [Cortés] fiada de Diego Sanz tendero, vna tieda de bohoneria en sieteciẽtos pesos de oro.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 12, 14–15. This was at Santiago. This author, who, together with Diaz, forms the main authority for the above list, mentions only eleven vessels, but does not include Alvarado's. He places the Spanish force at 550 men, but, by adding to this the sixty and odd men absent with Alvarado from the review, the number would agree with Bernal Diaz' figures. Thirteen vessels, two having joined at Habana as transports; 530 infantry; twenty-four horses; 5000 loads of maize and cassava; 2000 tocinos. *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 356. Twelve vessels and 500 men. *Carta del Ayunt, de V. Cruz*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 419–20. Fifteen vessels and 500 men, without any Indians or negroes, says Cortés, in his *Memorial*, 1542, not venturing to admit that he had disobeyed the royal order and his instructions in taking Cuban Indians. *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 310; *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 220. Seven navios, three bergantines. *Oviedo*, i. 539. Nine vessels, 550 Spaniards, two to three hundred Indians. *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 446, 457. Eleven vessels of thirty to one hundred tons, 663 Spaniards, including thirty men with firearms. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 54; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 19; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Ecles.*, pt. ii. 100–11; *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 26–7; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 296. Thirteen vessels, 560 persons, thirteen horses. *Tapia, Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 558; Prescott, *Mex.*, i. 262, follows both Bernal Diaz and Gomara, but without seeking to account for their differences, and thus allows himself to exceed every other authentic estimate for the number of the men.

[23] *Torquemada*, i. 364; Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 14, gives the same names, except that Francisco de Salcedo stands in the place of Alvarado. Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 66, mentions eleven, including Salcedo and Nortes; Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 453, names eight, as appointed by Velazquez. Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, ii. 287, leaves out Ávila, which is certainly a mistake, based on Bernal Diaz, who includes Ginés Nortes, the captain merely of a transport. Salcedo joined later, at Villa Rica.

fluence, whom it would, for that matter, have been dangerous to remove.

Before the review, Cortés addressed his soldiers in a speech as shrewd and stirring as that of Marcius at Corioli. Pointing to the thousands of unbaptized, he awakened their religious zeal; dwelling on the grandeur of the undertaking, he stimulated their ambition; referring to the vast wealth these lands contained, he excited their cupidity. Greater and richer lands than all the Spanish kingdoms, he called them, and inhabited by strange races, only awaiting submission to their invincible arms. Their whole fortune was invested in the fleet that carried them; but who would regret so trifling an expenditure when compared with the glorious results to follow? They were setting out upon a career of conquest in the name of their God, who had always befriended the Spanish nation; and in the name of their emperor, for whom they would achieve greater deeds than any ever performed. Riches lay spread before them; but like good and brave men they must look with him to the higher and nobler reward of glory. "Nevertheless," he archly added, "be true to me, as am I to you, and ere long I will load you with wealth such as you have never dreamed of. I will not say it is to be won without hardships; but who of you are afraid? We are few, but we are brave. Let us therefore on with the work so well begun, joyously and confidently to the end!"[24] There is no passion so artful as avarice in hiding itself under some virtue. Sometimes it is progress, sometimes patriotism, but its warmest cloak has ever been religion. There is a double profit to the devotee whose religion gratifies his avarice, and whose avarice is made a part of his religion.

On the morning of February 18th mass was said, the

[24] Such is in substance the speech prepared by Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 15–16, well suited for the enterprise, yet not exactly in accord with the pretended mission of peaceful trade and exploration. Torquemada, i. 364–5, gives it nearly in the same form, while Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 71–3, elaborates to suit himself.

campaign standard blessed, and Saint Peter invoked, whereupon the prows were pointed toward the islands of the west. All the vessels were to follow the flag-ship, whose light should be their guide by night; in case of separation they were to steer for Cape Catoche and thence proceed to Cozumel.[25]

[25] The date of departure is generally admitted to be February 18th, but in *Cortés, Memorial*, 1542, is written 'tardó en esto [fitting out] desde dieciocho dias del mes de Octubre . . . hasta dieciocho dias del mes de Enero, del año de diez y nueve que acabó de salir de la dicha Isla de Cuba, del cabo de Corrientes.' *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 313. This is wrong, however, for the fleet could not have left Santiago before the date of the instructions; yet it confirms the fact that three months were spent, after leaving Santiago, before the fleet finally left the island. Some of the authors indicate a portion of this time, showing that eight days were spent at Macáco and twelve at Trinidad, leaving seventy-two days for the brief passages along the south coast of Cuba and for the stay at San Cristóbal.

De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii, or, as the Spanish translator entitles it, *Vida de Hernan Cortés*, giving the fullest but also the most partial account of Cortés up to this time, is an anonymous manuscript in Latin, of eleven folio leaves, deposited in the Simancas archives, whence Muñoz obtained a copy, published by Icazbalceta in his *Coleccion de Documentos*, i. 309–57. It is in a clear hand, with corrections and marginals, evidently by the author. Several points indicate that it formed part of *De Orbe Novo*, a history of America, written apparently in a series of biographies, to judge from the reference made to a preceding part relating to Columbus, and to later parts on the conquest of Mexico. Muñoz expresses the opinion that the author may be Calvet de Estrella, chronicler of the Indies, mentioned by Nic. Antonio as the writer of the manuscripts *De Rebus Gestis Vaccæ Castri*, in the Colegio del Sacro Monte de Granada. This title induced him to name the present document *De Rebus Gestis Ferdinandi Cortesii*. The supposition is warranted by the style and by the evident date; for references indicate that it was written during the lifetime of several companions of Cortés. The fragment begins with the hero's birth and ends at his departure with the fleet from Cuba. Although the facts related conform, as a rule, to Gomara's version, a number of authorities have been consulted, some of them no longer extant, chiefly with a view to extol the character and career of the hero, and to elaborate incidents into tiresome prolixity.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VOYAGE.

1519.

SOMETHING OF THE CAPTAINS OF CORTÉS—ALVARADO—MONTEJO—ÁVILA—OLID—SANDOVAL—LEON—ORDAZ—MORLA—THE PASSAGE—THE FLEET STRUCK BY A SQUALL—ARRIVAL AT COZUMEL—ALVARADO CENSURED—SEARCH FOR THE CAPTIVE CHRISTIANS—ARRIVAL OF AGUILAR—HIS CHASTE ADVENTURES—THEY COME TO TABASCO RIVER—BATTLES THERE—CONQUEST OF THE NATIVES—PEACE MADE—TWENTY FEMALE SLAVES AMONG THE PRESENTS—THE FLEET PROCEEDS ALONG THE SHORE—PUERTOCARRERO'S WITTICISM—ARRIVAL AT SAN JUAN DE ULUA.

As the everlasting waves that bowl his ships along are discoursing to Cortés of his destiny, let us make the acquaintance of his captains, some of whom are to play parts in the Anáhuac amphitheatre secondary only to his own.

First, there was the fiery and impetuous Pedro de Alvarado, a hero of the Achilles or Sir Lancelot school, strong and symmetrical as a goddess-born; haughty, choleric, sometimes stanch and generous; passionate in his loves and hates, with the usual mixture of license, loyalty, and zeal for the church. He had not eyes to see, from where he stood in the warfare of his day, at once the decline of the fiercer barbarism and the dawn of a truer and gentler heroism. Already we have discovered flashes of temper and tendencies to treachery that display his character by too sulphurous a flame; but we shall find in him much to admire as conquistador and governor.

Alvarado was about the age of Cortés, Bajadoz being his native place. There his father, Diego de Alvarado, comendador de Lobon in the order of San-

tiago, and his mother, Sara de Contreras, struggled with poverty to maintain the reputation of a good family name. At the age of twenty-five Pedro came over to Santo Domingo, and prompted by vanity paraded himself in an old gown of his father's, whereon was sewn the red cross of Santiago. At first he wore this garment inside out, giving as a reason his reduced circumstances which made him ashamed to publicly own the rank of knight. On being reproved by the admiral, he boldly affixed the insignia to his other dresses, and thenceforth called and signed himself the Comendador Alvarado.[1] The title was never openly questioned in the Indies, where men had little time for inquiring into the affairs of others, and Alvarado failed not with his plausible tongue and crafty nature to use it for obtaining certain privileges and advancement.

When Grijalva prepared his expedition he was living as an encomendero, near Trinidad, in Cuba, with five brothers.[2] As captain under this chief he gave evidence of an enterprising nature, combined with an impatiency of restraint which ill fitted a subordinate. The want of principle already shown by his conduct at Santo Domingo was here made apparent in the attempt to injure his commander with Velazquez, in order to further his own ends. His now prominent position as a well-to-do gentleman, and the experience gathered under Grijalva, had made him a welcome member of the present expedition. He had also acquired the reputation of a good soldier and horseman, with a bravery bordering on recklessness, and was a great favorite with his men, among whom he also ranked as an able drill master. With an agile frame, he presented a most cheerful and pleasing countenance, fair, some called it, with a ten-

[1] 'Qustando....en la cibdad de Sto Domingo vibiendo con el Almirante.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, pp. xi. 61; *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 252.

[2] 'Todos hermanos, que fue el Capitan Pedro de Aluarado, y Gonçalo de Aluarado, y Jorge de Aluarado, y Gonçalo [Alonzc] y Gomez, è Juan de Alvarado el viejo, que era bastardo.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 14.

dency to ruddiness. Its attraction centred chiefly in the eyes, and afterward obtained for him among the Indians of Tlascala the appellation of *Tonatiuh*, the Sun.[3] His first glance thrown upon a combatant was the flash which was to be followed by the thunderbolt. Vanity prompted a careful attention to dress, but with a result approaching the showy rather than the elegant. His manner, no less winning than the face, made him a most agreeable companion, the more so as he was a liberal fellow, particularly with respect to women, and to pleasures generally. Beneath this smiling exterior, however, lay hidden an insatiable longing for power, and a blind worship of gold as the purchaser of pleasure, and under their influence he became at times so insensible to feelings of humanity as to place him outside the category of greatness.[4]

Another of Grijalva's captains here present was Francisco de Montejo, who came from Spain with Pedrarias Dávila in 1514. After enlisting men in Española, and aiding in the conquest of Cenú, he came to Cuba to wield the sword for Velazquez; but while ranking as a brave officer and a good horseman, he showed greater aptitude for business.

At the present time he was about thirty-five years of age, of medium stature, and with a bright face,

[3] See *Native Races*, iii. 109 and 183. 'Biondo.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 8. Elaborating this, Brasseur de Bourbourg says, 'Aux cheveux blonds et coloré de visage, ce qui lui fit donner par les Tlaxcaltèques le surnom de Tonatiuh.' *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 53. But the authority for calling him blonde is not mentioned. It may rest on mere tradition. A Mexican picture gives him dark beard and a yellow helmet or head-dress, the same colors being given to the beard and head-dress of figures representing the Spanish troops. Ramirez is rather inclined to doubt the authenticity of the portrait so frequently copied from Cortina's copper-plates, representing him as of dark complexion, with long, meagre, pointed face, very high forehead, stubbed hair, mustache, and imperial. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, pp. xi. xxii. 277–82, with plates. *Prescott's Mex.* (Mex. 1844), i. 458; *Id.* (*Gondra ed.*), iii. 220; '*Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 340, 686, with signature. A wood-cut in *Armin, Alte Mex.*, 222, presents a much younger man, with a round, handsome face, curled hair, and full, curled beard. This corresponds more to the description given in the text, but the authority is not indicated. Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, ii. 484, gives a full-length portrait corresponding to this.

[4] Helps, *Cortés*, ii. 163, compares him to Murat, Cortés being the Napoleon. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 15, 240, 245.

which indicated love for pleasure and generous liberality.[5]

Alonso de Ávila, the third of Grijalva's brave lieutenants, had also a pleasant face and liberal disposition, combined with good reasoning power, but was altogether too loud-spoken and argumentative, and had an overbearing manner that created many enemies. He was about thirty-three years of age. Cristóbal de Olid, a year his junior, was a well formed, strong-limbed man, with wide shoulders and a somewhat fair complexion. Despite the peculiarity of a groove in the lower lip, which gave it the appearance of being split, the face was most attractive, and the powerful voice helped to bear him out as a good talker. While lacking in sincerity and depth of thought, and being little fit for the council, he possessed qualities which, in connection with great bravery and determination, made him an admirable executive officer; but an ambition to command began to assert itself, and directed by evil influence it brought about his fall a few years later. Bernal Diaz calls him a very Hector in combat, and possessing, among other good qualities, that of being liberal; on the whole an excellent man, though unfit to be a leader.[6] The youngest of the captains, the most worshipful and the most lovable, was Gonzalo de Sandoval, an hidalgo of only twenty-two years, from Cortés' own town, the son of a fortress commandant, but with merely a rudimentary educa-

[5] *Montejo, Memorial al Emp.*, 1545, in *Cent. Amer.*, 1545–55, MS. 130. 'Fué uno de aquellos mílites que passaron á estas partes...mill é quinientos y catorçe, é aquel mesmo año...fuésse de la Tierra-Firma... é passóse á la isla de Cuba.' *Oviedo*, iii. 217.

[6] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, this series, i., 524–32. 'Era estremado varon, mas no era para mandar, sino para ser mãdado, y era de edad de treinta y seis años, natural de cerca de Baezaò Linares....Tenia otras buenas codiciones, de ser franco.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 177. 'Era vn Hector en el esfuerço, para combatir persona por persona.' *Id.*, 240. 'Natural que fue de Vbeda ò de Linares.' *Id.*, 241. 'Da Baeza nell' Andaluzia. Era membruto, ombroso, e doppio.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 8. 'D'une laideur extrême; sa duplicité et sa fourberie le rendaient un homme peu sur,' says Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 53, with his not unusual hasty elaboration. Portrait in *Prescott's Mex.* (Mex. 1844), i. 421; also in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 254.

tion. Brave, intrepid, and with a good head, he was equally determined in speech and in deportment, yet with a faultless obedience and loyalty that won the confidence and esteem of his chief. With a strict eye to discipline, he possessed also a kind, humane disposition, which gained the love and respect of his men, whose comfort he studied far more than his own. Plain in dress, and modest in manner and aspiration, he was free from the greed which tainted so many around him. A soldier in all qualities of the heart and mind, he was also physically fitted for one. In battle he was as wrathful and as beautiful as Apollo when he slew the Python. The robust frame, with its high chest and broad shoulders, supported a full face adorned with short, curly, nut-brown hair. The powerful voice, inclining at times to a lisp, was exhibited more in the issue of brief command than in conversation; for Don Gonzalo was as energetic to act as he was chary of words. The slightly bow-legged limbs indicated an early training for the saddle. Indeed, equestrian exercises were his delight, and his horse Motilla, a chestnut with a white foot and a star on the forehead, is described by Bernal Diaz as the finest he ever saw. Sandoval stands before us not only as an admirable man, but as an ideal officer, in his combined qualities of juvenile ardor and prudence, valor and humanity, modesty of disposition and purity of heart. Cortés spoke of him after his death with feelings of deepest regret, and represented him to the emperor as one of the finest soldiers in the world, fit to command armies.[1]

In Velazquez de Leon we find another admirable officer, who possesses many traits in common with Sandoval. He is described as about four years older than that chivalrous youth, with a well formed, powerful frame, fine chest and shoulders, full face, set in a

[1] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 240, 246; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 8; Portrait and signature in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 254, 686. Portrait in *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 485, and in *Armin, Alte Mex.*, 217.

somewhat curled and carefully tended beard. He was open with the hand, ready with the sword, and an expert horseman. He bore the reputation of having killed a prominent and rich man in a duel in Española, a deed which had obliged him to seek refuge in Cuba with his relation Velazquez.

The most devoted adherent of Velazquez, although not bound to him by ties of relationship, was his ancient mayordomo mayor, Diego de Ordaz,[8] a powerful man, of large stature, with full face, thin, dark beard, and stuttering speech. As a leader of foot-soldiers, for he did not ride, he gained the reputation of possessing great daring, as well as a good head; and among comrades he ranked as a liberal man and a conversationalist. Of the other captains, Francisco de Salcedo, reputed chief butler to the admiral of Castile, bore the sobriquet of 'Dandy' from his spruce manner;[9] and Francisco de Morla is spoken of as a valiant soldier and good horseman.[10]

On the way over the vessels were dispersed by a squall, but were gathered by the flag-ship, some at Catoche, and some at Port San Juan, on the north end of Cozumel Island, where they all finally congregated.[11] Quite early in the adventure Cortés was

[8] Also written Ordás. 'Natural de tierra de Campos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 246. Portrait in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 192.

[9] 'Saucedo, natural de Medina de Rioseco; y porque era muy pulído, le llamavamos, el galan.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 240. This captain joins later.

[10] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 240–7, gives a long list of notices of members of the expedition, many of whom will receive attention during the course of the narrative.

[11] San Juan, Ante Portam Latinam. See also *Carta de Ayunt. de Vera Cruz*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 9. Several authors, following Gomara, it seems, refer to one vessel as missing, but as this is identified with Escobar's, sent, according to Bernal Diaz, on a special exploring expedition to Laguna de Términos, the view of the latter author is probably more correct. It is not likely that a captain would have sailed so far beyond the rendezvous, and there waited for weeks the chance arrival of the fleet. In *Tapia, Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 557, are references yet more vague to a missing vessel. During the gale Morla's vessel was struck by a wave, which unshipped her rudder. His signal of distress caused the flag-ship to heave to till daybreak. The rudder was then discovered floating close by, and tying a rope to his body, Morla leaped into the sea to aid in replacing it. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 16; *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 458.

called on to spread before his unbridled associates the quality of discipline they might expect. It seems that Alvarado arrived at Cozumel Island two days before the fleet, and had begun to carry matters with rather a high hand for a subordinate. He had entered two towns, taken three persons captive, and seized some property of the natives. "Is this the way to win to our purpose barbarous peoples?" exclaimed the indignant Cortés. For failing to bring the vessel to the rendezvous at Cape San Antonio, Alvarado's pilot was placed in chains. A little later, seven sailors were flogged for theft and perjury. The captives were soothed with presents and liberated, the stolen articles restored, and with the aid of Melchor, the interpreter, the fears of the natives were assuaged.

In answer to his inquiries regarding the captive Christians, Cortés was informed that two days' journey in the interior of Yucatan bearded men had been seen by Cozumel traders, not long since, whereupon two vessels were despatched to Catoche under Ordaz, who was there to await, one week, the return of three Indian messengers, sent with presents to redeem the captives, and bearing a letter telling them where to find their countrymen.[12]

While waiting events, Cortés landed the horses to explore and forage, and employed the otherwise unoc-

[12] The letter, as given in *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 17, and *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 19, differs somewhat in tenor, and the former assigns eight days, the latter six, as the time Ordaz was to wait. Gomara writes further that the Indians were at first afraid to venture on such an errand into the interior, but the large reward overcame their fears, and they were carried to the cape in Escalante's vessel, escorted by Ordaz in two other craft manned by fifty men. Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 20, thinks there could be no danger for messengers. 'Escondieron [the letter] a vno entre los cabellos, que trahian largos y trenzados, rebueltos, a la cabeça: y embiò los dos nauios de menos porte.... con veynte ballesteros, y escopeteros.... y que el menor boluiesse a dar cuenta de lo que auian hecho.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. vi.; *Peter Martyr*, dec. iv. cap. vi. 'Envió un bergantin é cuatro bateles.... que esperarien cinco dias, é no mas.' *Tapia, Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 556. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 459, states that the cacique of Cozumel, eager to communicate freely with Cortés, sent messengers to the lord owning one of the captives, and asked him to sell or lend the man. Cortés at first proposed to rescue the captive with an armed force, but the cacique suggested a ransom as more effective. *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 76; *Landa, Rel. de Yuc.*, 24–6.

cupied men in military exercise. The islanders were highly entertained, and thought the animals giant deer and the ships water-houses. In return they gave the strangers cause for wonderment not unmixed with wrath; for this was a sacred island, in a heathen sense, and thither, from distant parts, resorted pilgrims with offerings for sanguinary shrines. And when one feast-day the priests of Baal, within their temple, arose before the people and called upon the gods of their fathers, the excited Spaniards could not contain themselves; Cortés stood forth and preached his religion to the indignant savages, but failing in the desired effect, the Spaniards rushed upon the idols, hurled them from their seats, and planted in their place the emblem of their faith.[13]

In due time Ordaz returned without the lost Christians, greatly to the disappointment of Cortés, who desired them particularly for interpreters. The fleet then set sail, but was obliged to return, owing to the leaky condition of Escalante's vessel. While engaged upon repairs one day, the Spaniards being encamped upon the shore, a canoe was seen approaching the harbor from the mainland. Andrés de Tapia and others hastened to the landing, where presently the boat arrived, and four tawny undressed figures stepped upon the shore. One was bearded, and his form a little bent, and as he advanced before the others there was eager questioning in the piercing glance he threw about him. Presently he cried out in ill-articulated speech, "Señores, sois cristianos?" On being assured that they were, he dropped upon

[13] Two carpenters, Alonso Yañez and Álvaro Lopez, claim the honor of having raised the first cross for the church in New Spain. To this the natives made no great objection, the cross having already with them a religious significance; and surely the sanctified effigy of the benign Mary was a more beautiful object to look upon than their idols. See *Native Races*, iii. 468–70. In one of the temples 'auia vna cruz de cal tan alta como diez palmos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 24. Las Casas objects to the compulsory mode of conversion used by Cortés and his holy company, and devotes a long paragraph to depicting the folly and evil thereof. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 460–2, 470. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 18, describes the idolatrous rite, and Prescott, *Mex.*, i. 269–71, speaks of Cortés as a reformer.

his knees, and with tears falling from uplifted eyes thanked God for his deliverance. Tapia saw it at a glance; this was one of the captives. Hastily stepping forward, he caught the uncouth object in his arms, raised him from the ground with a tender embrace, and conducted him to camp.[14] But for the beard it would have been difficult, from his outward appearance, to believe him a European. Naturally of a dark complexion, he was now bronzed by exposure, and entirely naked except for a breech-cloth and sandals. His crown was shorn, and the remaining hair braided and coiled upon the head.[15] In his hand he carried a net containing, among other things, a greasy prayer-book. On being presented to Cortés he seemed dazed, scarcely knowing whether to call himself savage or civilized. At best he could not all at once throw himself out of the former and into the latter category; for when his Indian companions squatted themselves before the captain-general, and with the right hand, moistened by the lips, touched the ground and then the region of the heart in token of reverence, impelled by habit he found himself doing the same. Cortés was touched. Lifting him up, he threw over the naked Spaniard his own yellow mantle,

[14] This is the substance of Tapia's own account. *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 556–7. Others differ somewhat in the number of Indians who arrive in the canoe, in the mode of addressing Tapia, and other points. According to Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 19, some soldiers out hunting report the approach of the canoe, whereupon Cortés sends Tapia to ascertain its object. Seven Indians of Cozumel land, and, on seeing the Spaniards advance, are about to flee in alarm, but one of them reassures the rest, and calls out, 'Dios, y Santa María, y Sevilla.' While he is embraced by Tapia, a soldier rushes to announce the news to Cortés. According to Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 20, it is meal-time and first Sunday in Lent when the news of a canoe with four Indians is brought. The fleet had been prevented by a storm from sailing on the previous day.

[15] This was a common form of Maya hair-dress. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 19, and some others describe him as shorn like a slave; but this man appears to have risen from that condition. He gives him an extra pair of sandals, hanging at the waist, a dilapidated mantle or cloth—called a net by Herrera—wherein is tied a thumbed prayer-book, and upon the shoulder he places an oar. This oar is brought into camp by almost every writer, regardless of the fact that it did not belong to him and could no longer be of use. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 20, gives him bow and arrows. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 461, remarks that in the prayer-book was kept an account of time, which marked this day as a Wednesday, while it really was Sunday.

lined with crimson. He asked his name, and the man said he was Gerónimo de Aguilar, ordained in minor orders, a native of Ecija, and relative of the Licenciado Marcos de Aguilar, known to Cortés in Española. He and Gonzalo Guerrero, a sailor and a native of Palos, were the sole survivors of the expedition which, nearly eight years before, had left Darien for Española, under Valdivia, whose shipwreck and horrible fate I have elsewhere detailed.[16]

If backward at the beginning in the use of his tongue, Aguilar talked well enough when started, giving his thrilling experiences in words which filled his listeners with amazement. On escaping from the lord of Maya, who had eaten Valdivia and the others with the same relish that the Cyclops ate the companions of Ulysses, the survivors threw themselves on the mercy of a neighboring cacique called Ahkin Xooc. He with his successor, Taxmar, enslaved them, and treated them so severely that all died but himself and the sailor, Guerrero. There is a law of relativity which applies to happiness and misery, no less than to mental and physical consciousness. By ways widely different these two men had saved themselves; the former by humility and chastity, the latter by boldness and sensuality. Securing services under Nachan Kan, cacique of Chetumal, the sailor adopted the dress and manners of the people, rapidly rose in favor, became the chief captain of his master, married a woman of rank, and began to rear a dusky race; so that when the messengers of Cortés arrived he declined to be ransomed.[17] Then blushing beneath his tawny skin the sanctified Aguilar went on to tell of his own temptations and triumphs, in which he had been as lonely as was Ethan Brand in hugging the unpardon-

[16] See *Hist. Cent. Am.*, i. 350, this series.

[17] Aguilar intimated another reason why Guerrero remained, that he had taken part in the fights against Córdoba and Grijalva at Potonchan, which is very doubtful. Then it is said that his face was tattooed and his lips turned down, and when Aguilar besought him to go the children clung to him, and the wife first begged, and then threatened, to make Aguilar desist. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 23; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 18–19; *Torquemada*, i. 370.

able sin. So sublime had been his patience and his piety under the drudgery at first put upon him, that he too rose in the estimation of his master, who was led to entrust him with more important matters. For in all things pertaining to flesh and spirit he acted with so much conscientiousness that Taxmar, a stranger to those who loved virtue for its own sake, suspected the motives that inspired his captives. To test his wonderful integrity, for he had noticed that Aguilar never raised his eyes to look upon a woman, Taxmar once sent him for fish to a distant station, giving him as sole companion a beautiful girl, who had been instructed to employ all her arts to cause the Christian to break his vow of continency. Care had been taken that there should be but one hammock between them, and at night she bantered him to occupy it with her; but stopping his ears to the voice of the siren, he threw himself upon the cold, chaste sands, and passed the night in peaceful dreams beneath the songs of heaven.[18]

Cortés smiled somewhat sceptically at this and like recitals, wherein the sentiments expressed would have done honor to Scipio Africanus; nevertheless, he was

[18] This is in substance the adventures of Aguilar, as related at length in *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. vii.–viii., followed by *Torquemada*, i. 370–72, and *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 24–9, and prettily, though hastily, elaborated in *Irving's Columbus*, iii. 290–301, and other modern writers. On reaching Catoche and finding Ordaz gone, he proceeded to Cozumel, in the hope of finding some of the Spaniards. 'Era Aguilar estudiante quando passò a las Indias, y hombre discreto, y por esto se puede creer qualquiera cosa del,' concludes Herrera, as if suspecting that the version may be questioned. Prudence is shown in the care with which he gradually accustomed himself to the change of food and habits on again joining the Spaniards. Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. vi., relates that Aguilar's mother became insane on hearing that her son had fallen among cannibals—who brought her the news it is hard to guess—and whenever she beheld flesh roasting, loud became the laments for his sad fate. This is repeated in *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 22; *Martinez, Hist. Nat. Nueva Esp.*, ii. xxiv. Herrera, who cannot avoid mixing in all the romance possible, makes him search for means to cross the strait. He finds at last a leaky canoe half buried in the sand, and in this frail skiff he and the Indian companion presented by his late master managed to gain the island. Others give him Cortés' messengers for companions. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 18, very reasonably permits him to hire a canoe with six rowers, for he has beads to pay for it, and canoes would not be wanting, since the island was a resort for pilgrims, particularly at this very time. Mendieta, *Hist. Eccles.*, 175–76, fails not to recognize, in the compulsory return of the fleet to Cozumel, and in the finding of Aguilar, the hand of God; and Torquemada, i. 370, eagerly elaborates the miraculous features in the appearance of this Aaron, who is to be the mouth-piece of his Moses.

exceedingly glad to secure this man, even though he had been a little less chaste and brave and cunning than he represented himself to be. He found him not only useful but willing, for this humble holy man was a great fighter, as he had said, and was very ready to lead the Spaniards against his late master, though pledged to peace and friendliness.

Early in March[19] the fleet again sailed, and after taking shelter from a gale behind Punta de las Mujeres for one or two days, passed round Catoche and along the Yucatan coast, hugging the shore to note its features, and sending forth a growl of revenge on passing Potonchan. Boca de Términos was now reached, whither Escobar had been sent in advance to explore, and within the entrance of a little harbor, to which a boat's crew was guided by blazings, a letter was found, hidden in a tree, from which circumstance the harbor was named Puerto Escondido. The letter reported a good harbor, surrounded by rich lands abounding in game; and soon after the fleet met the exploring vessel, and learned of the important acquisition to the expedition in Grijalva's lost dog.[20] Off Rio de Tabasco the fleet came to anchor, and the pilots knowing the bar to be low, only the smaller vessels entered the river. Remembering the friendly reception accorded Grijalva, the Spaniards were surprised to find the banks lined with hostile bands, forbidding them to land. Cortés therefore encamped at Punta de los Palmares, on an island about half a league up the river from the mouth, and

[19] Bernal Diaz says the 4th, which is rather close reckoning, according to his own account, for two days are required to reach Cozumel from Cape San Antonio, nine days are consumed by Ordaz in waiting for the captives, and four days for repairing Escalante's leaky vessel. This alone brings us from February 18th, the date of leaving Cape San Antonio, to March 5th, without counting a probable day or two for preparing, starting, and returning.

[20] A greyhound bitch, really of great service to the hunters. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 20, starts Escobar from Punta de las Mujeres. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, Pt. iii. 112. Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 29, while adopting on hearsay the more general supposition that a missing vessel is found here, follows Diaz in the account of the exploring vessel. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 25–6, and Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. xi., evidently attributes the name Escondido to the finding of the missing vessel.

not far from the capital of the Nonohualcas, a large town of adobe and stone buildings on the opposite mainland, protected by a heavy stockade.[21]

In answer to a demand for water, the natives thereabout pointed to the river; as for food, they would bring some on the morrow. Cortés did not like the appearance of things; and when, during the night, they began to remove their women and children from the town, he saw that his work must begin here. More men and arms were landed on the island, and Ávila was ordered to proceed to the mainland with one hundred men, gain the rear of the town, and attack at a given signal.[22] In the morning a few canoes arrived at the island with scanty provisions, all that could be obtained, the natives said; and further than this, the Spaniards must leave: if they attempted to penetrate the interior, they would be cut off to a man. Cortés answered that his duty to the great king he served required him to examine the country and barter for supplies. Entering the vessels, he ordered them to advance toward the town; and in the presence of the royal notary, Diego de Godoy, he made a final appeal for peace, as required by Spanish law, casting upon the natives the blame for the consequences of their refusal. The reply came in

[21] Mille quingentorum passuum, ait Alaminus nauclerus, et domorum quinque ac viginti millium....egregie lapidibus et calce fabrefectæ.' *Peter Martyr, De Insvlis*, 14. 'A poco mas de media legua que subian por el, (river) vieron vn gran pueblo con las casas de adoues y los tejados de paja, el qual estaua cercado de madera, con bien gruessa pared y almenas, y troneras para flechar.' Halls and temples are also referred to: 'Mas no tiene vegente y cinco mil casas.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 26–37. 'Punta de los Palmares [where Grijalva also camped], que estava del pueblo de Tabasco otro media legua.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 20. Montanus, *Nieuwe Weereld*, 77, follows Gomara and Martyr, in calling the pueblo Potonchan; so does Helps, *Span. Conq.*, ii. 260–4, who frequently reveals the superficiality of his researches. Brasseur de Bourbourg calls it Centla. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 58. The stockade defences are described in detail in *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 93–4.

[22] 'Mandò poner en cada vn batel tres tiros.' Ávila received one hundred soldiers, including ten cross-bowmen, and took a route leading across creeks and marshes to the rear of the pueblo. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 20. 'Señalo Cortés dos capitanes con cada cienticinquento Españoles. Que fueron Alonso di Auila, y Pedro de Aluarado.' A ford was found half a league above the camp. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 27; Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. vii., sends one hundred and fifty men by different routes. The testimony favors the supposition that Ávila forded the river.

the form of yells, mingled with the noise of conchs, trumpets, and drums, and a shower of arrows. The Spaniards drove their prows forward into the mud. The Indians crowded round in canoes to prevent their landing. A well directed volley at once cleared the way, and notified Ávila to attack. Panic-stricken at the strangeness and suddenness of it all, the natives fell back, but rallied at the call of their leaders, and poured a shower of arrows on the Spaniards as they threw themselves into the water to wade ashore, receiving them at the point of their lances as they reached the bank. Tabasco's men were powerful and brave. The charge of cowardice had been flung at them by their neighbors for having been friendly with the Spaniards on former occasions, and they were now determined to vindicate their character for courage. Once on solid ground the Spaniards rang their battle-cry of "Sus, Santiago, á ellos!" Up, Santiago, and at them! and drove the enemy within the stockade. A breach was quickly made, and the defenders chased some distance up the streets, where they made a stand, shouting "La, la, calachoni!" Strike at the chief! At this juncture Ávila appeared. The natives saw the day was lost to them, and they turned and fled. The Spaniards did not pursue very far, but halted in an open space, where three stately temples invited to pillage, though little was found worth taking, except some maize and fowl. During the action eighteen Indians were killed and fourteen Spaniards wounded.[23] In the formal taking of possession which followed, it was noticed by those present that mention of the name of Velazquez was significantly omitted.[24]

[23] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 20, estimates that twelve thousand warriors defended the town. He himself received a wound in the thigh. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 29, leaves only four hundred in charge of the place. Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. vii., allows the horses to share in the battle, and places the warriors at four thousand. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 474, exaggerates, of course, the Spanish excesses, but without giving definite statements.

[24] 'Intẽtaba hacer lo que despues hizo,' says Vetancvrt, *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 112, in reference to the later effected independence of Velazquez. The mode of taking possession is thus described: Advancing with drawn sword and shield to a large ceiba-tree in the court-yard, Cortés struck it three times, and

Next morning Alvarado and Francisco de Lugo, each with one hundred men, were sent by different ways to reconnoitre and forage, with orders to return before dark.[25] Melchor, on being called to accompany one of them, was missing. Presently his clothes were discovered hanging on a tree, indicating that he had gone over to the enemy. Lugo had advanced not more than a league when, near a town called Centla, he encountered a large body of warriors, who attacked him fiercely and drove him back toward the camp. Alvarado had meanwhile been turned by an estuary from his course and in the direction of Lugo. Hearing the noise of battle he hastens to the assistance of Lugo, only to be likewise driven back by the ever increasing hosts, and not until Cortés came to the rescue with two guns did the enemy retire.[26] The result, according to Bernal Diaz, was two of Lugo's men killed and eleven wounded, while fifteen Indians fell and three were captured.

Nor did the matter rest here. The captives told Cortés that Tabasco, concerned at the arrival of so large a fleet which augured hostile occupation, had aroused the province, the assembled chiefs being also urged by Melchor to manfully expel the invaders, as

announced that he took possession for the king, and would defend his right against all comers. The soldiers thereupon shouted their approval, declaring that they would sustain their captain in his challenge. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 21. Zamacois compares this form with others used elsewhere. *Hist. Méj.*, x. 988.

[25] The *Carta del Ayunt. de Vera Cruz*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 15, refers to a certain intercourse held with natives; on the third day the exploring parties start. This intercourse is spoken of by Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 30, as the visit of twenty leading men to promise food and presents, but really to spy. The Spaniards were encouraged to enter the interior to barter food. *Torquemada*, i. 374; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 21. Alvarado, Avila, and Sandoval are sent, each with eighty Spaniards and some Cuban carriers, to explore by three routes, and to get supplies for payment only. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 31; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. xi. Three parties sent out. *Tapia, Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 559. Four captains sent, with over two hundred men. *Carta Ayunt.*, loc. cit.

[26] Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 31, states that one of the captains took refuge in a building in Centla town, and was there joined by the other two. All three now retreat to camp, whither two fleet Cubans run for aid. Herrera, Torquemada, and Brasseur de Bourbourg follow him. Before Cortés set out, says Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 32, he had repelled an attack on his own camp.

the people of Potonchan had done. To depart now would leave a stain upon the generalship of Cortés in the eyes of both Spaniards and Indians such as was not to be thought of. There must be a battle fought and won. To this end all the horses, cross-bows, firelocks, and guns were brought on shore. Thirteen of the best horsemen[27] were selected to form a cavalry corps under the leadership of Cortés. The horses were provided with poitrels having bells attached, and the riders were to charge the thick of the enemy and strike at the face. Ordaz was made chief of infantry and artillery, the latter being in special charge of Mesa.[28] In order both to surprise the enemy and secure good ground for the cavalry, Cortés resolved to advance at once on Centla. It was annunciation day, the 25th of March, when the army left camp and stood before Centla, in the midst of broad maize and cocoa fields, intersected by irrigation ditches. The enemy were ready, their dark forms appearing in the distance under an agitated sea of glistening iztli. The cavalry now made a detour to gain their rear, while the infantry marched straight on.[29] Formidable as was in truth the Spanish army, the unsophisticated natives made light of it, and came gayly forward to the combat in five squadrons, of eight thousand warriors each,[30] as Bernal Diaz says, "all in flowing plumes, with faces painted in red, white, and black, sounding drums and trumpets, and flourishing lances

[27] 'Sénalo treze de acuallo,' who are named as Olid, Alvarado, Puertocarrero, Escalante, Montejo, Ávila, Velazquez de Leon, Morla, Láres the good horseman to distinguish him from another Láres, Gonzalo Dominguez, Moron of Bazamo, and Pedro Gonzalez of Trujillo, Cortés being the thirteenth. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 22; Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 106, says fifteen horses, but in the *Carta del Ayunt. de V. Cruz*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 16, the number decreases to ten.

[28] Gomara says the force mustered 500 men, 13 horses and 6 guns; Herrera, 400 men and 12 horses. The alférez was Antonio de Villaroel.

[29] This was a favorite movement of Cortés, and as such Tapia and the *Carta del Ayunt. de V. Cruz* accept it, while Bernal Diaz and most writers state that the swampy ground required a circuit.

[30] An estimate based probably upon the strength of the regular Aztec *Xiquipilli*, with which the conquerors were soon to become acquainted. See *Native Races*, ii. 425. Tapia even raises the number to six squadrons. *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 560.

and shields, two-handed swords, fire-hardened darts, and slings, and every man protected by an armor of quilted cotton." They would encircle these impudent interlopers, and did they not fall fainting beneath their brave yells and savage music, they would crush them like flies. And by way of beginning, they sent forth a cloud of arrows, stones, and charred darts, wounding many and killing one, a soldier named Saldaña. The Spaniards answered with their cross-bows and fire-locks, and mowed the packed masses with their cannon. The soft soil and ditches were less to the agile Indian than to the heavily accoutred Spaniard.

It adds nothing to the honor of Spanish arms to throw in at this juncture a miracle to terrify the already half-paralyzed Indians, who might otherwise prove too strong for their steel-clad assailants; but the records compel me. While in the dire embrace of heathen hordes, midst thrust and slash and crash of steel and stone, the enemy hewn down and driven back only to give place to thrice the number, behold, upon a gray-spotted steed, a heavenly horseman appeared, and from a slight eminence overlooking the bloody field he frowned confusion on the foe. The heathen warriors were stricken powerless, enabling the Spaniards to form anew; but when the horseman vanished, the Indians rallied. Thrice, with the same effect, the awful apparition came and went.[31] Then

[31] Cortés, on coming up and being told of this, shouted, 'Onward, companions! God is with us!' *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 559–60. Gomara, who fervently adopts the story, states that the rider was one of the apostles, in the person of Morla. 'Todos dixeron, que vieron por tres vezes al del cauallo rucio picado....y que era Santiago nuestro patron. Fernando Cortés mas queria que fuesse san Pedro, su especial auogado....aun tambien los Indios lo notaron....De los prisioneros que se tomarō se supo esto.' *Hist. Mex.*, 32–3. Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, 72–3, gives arguments to show that it could have been none other than Santiago, as the patron of Spaniards. After a struggle with his pious fears, Bernal Diaz ventures to observe that Gomara may be right, but 'I, unworthy sinner, was not graced to see either of those glorious apostles.' Testimony was taken about the battle, and had this occurred it would have been spoken of. 'I say that our victory was by the hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, for in that battle the Indians were so numerous that they could have buried us with handfuls of earth.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 22–3. Las Casas scouts the story as a fabrication of Cortés, written down by 'his servant Gomara,' in 'his false history.' *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 477.

there were horsemen indeed, more real to the Spaniards, but none the less spectral to the Indians. They had been detained by the marshes intervening; and now, with swords and helmets glittering, they rose in the enemy's rear, and midst clang of arms and shouts of Santiago y San Pedro, they threw themselves with terrible effect upon him. What could the Indians do? Those that were not trampled or cut to death turned and fled, and the Spaniards possessed the field. "And this was the first preaching of the gospel in New Spain, by Cortés," remarks the caustic Las Casas.[32]

The Spaniards drew up at a grove to return thanks for this great victory. A large number of the enemy were slain. Sixty of their own number were wounded, and two lay dead; eight horses had been scratched, and their wounds were cauterized and anointed with the fat of dead Indians.[33] On returning to camp two

[32] The bishop forgets the sermon before the idols cast down at Cozumel.

[33] Two Spaniards fell, and over 800 Indians lay dead, so said their countrymen. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 22-3. Over 70 Spaniards were wounded, and more than 300 Indians were slain in the pursuit alone. Over 100 men fell sick from heat and bad water, but all recovered. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 33. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. xi., allows no killed among the Spaniards, while over 1000 Indians are laid low. *Torquemada*, i, 375. Three Spaniards are killed and 60 wounded. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 113. The Ayuntamiento of Vera Cruz, in its letter to the Emperor, 10 July, 1519, for obvious reasons lowers the figures to twenty wounded Spaniards, of whom none died, and to 220 dead Indians, out of 40,000 engaged. *Cortés, Cartas*, 17. Finally comes Las Casas with the other extreme of 30,000 souls, said to have been cruelly slaughtered in this first great battle of Cortés. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 477. Quite a list of misdeeds are here raked up, or invented rather, against the Spaniards in the *West-Indische Spieghel*, Amsterdam, 1624, a curious little quarto, designed for Dutch traders in America, and dedicated to their West India Company. The author is called Athanasium Inga. '*Peruuen*, uyt Cusco gheboren, die dit alles, soo door onder vindinghe als door transpositie en overset tinghe sijnder Voor-Ouderen, hier te Lande ons overghedraghen heeft,' says Wachter, in the preface. The volume opens with a lengthy description of the Antilles, but the remaining text is wholly devoted to the Spanish colonies on the main, mingled without order, and interspersed with special chapters on navigation and coast routes for the benefit of traders. Beside the usual description of physical and political geography, with particular reference to natural resources and aboriginal customs, several voyages are described, mainly to point out sailing directions and the progress of discovery, while the conquest period is told with some minuteness, but garbled with the idea of exposing the avarice and cruelty of the hated Spaniards. This is also the object of nearly all the neatly engraved copper-plates. The map extends Hudson Bay very close to the Pacific coast, where a faintly outlined strait is visible some distance above California Island. The part relating to Mexico, includ-

of five captives, leading men, were sent with presents to the cacique to represent the danger of further hostility, and to propose a council of peace. Tabasco was very ready to lay down arms, and he sent a propitiatory offering of fowl, fried fish, and maize bread by messengers with blackened faces and dressed in rags. Cortés answered with a reprimand, "Tell your master, if he desires peace he must sue for it, and not send slaves." Tabasco hastened to comply, and sent immediately to Cortés an embassy of forty chiefs, richly clad and walking in stately procession, followed by a file of slaves bearing presents. Low bowing before the bearded assembly, and swinging before them the censer in token of reverence, the ambassador implored pardon, and proffered submission. "The blame is all your own," said Cortés, with severity. The Indians acquiesced, though it puzzled them to know for what they were to blame. Cortés further informed them that the great king, his master, had sent him to scatter blessings, if they were found deserving; if not, to let loose upon them the caged lightning and the thunder which he carried. Whereat the gun charged for the occasion was fired, and as the noise reverberated over the hills and the ball went crashing through the trees, the Indians fell prostrate with fear, and the noble Europeans were proud of their superiority.

Reassured against further punishment, the next trick played upon them was to tie a mare in the bushes in sight of a stallion which they paraded before their visitors; and when he neighed and reared and plunged to get to his mate, the natives were told that the great beast was angry because of the peace that was being made, and only further gifts would pacify him.

ing some brief references to Central America, occupies about one third of the volume, and treats chiefly of the Conquest. The book is remarkable for its black-letter text, with marginals in the same type, and for its title-page, with the figures of 'Montenchuma' and 'Atabaliba' surrounded by battle-scenes and Indian industrial operations.

CHAPTER VII.

WHAT MONTEZUMA THOUGHT OF IT.

HOME OF MEXICAN CIVILIZATION—THE BORDER LAND OF SAVAGISM—CONFIGURATION OF THE COUNTRY—THE NAHUAS AND THE MAYAS—TOLTECS, CHICHIMECS, AND AZTECS—THE VALLEY OF MEXICO—CIVIL POLITY OF THE AZTECS—KING AHUITZOTL—MONTEZUMA MADE EMPEROR—CHARACTER OF THE MAN—HIS CAREER—THE FIRST APPEARING OF THE SPANIARDS NOT UNKNOWN TO MONTEZUMA—THE QUETZALCOATL MYTH—DEPARTURE OF THE FAIR GOD—SIGNS AND OMENS CONCERNING HIS RETURN—THE COMING OF THE SPANIARDS MISTAKEN FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE PROPHECY—THE DOOR OPENED TO THE INVADER.

BEFORE entering upon the crusade which was so painfully to affect the destinies of this vast interior, let us cast a brief glance upon the country and its inhabitants, and particularly on that idiosyncrasy of the aboriginal mind which opened the door to the invaders. The first two subjects are fully treated in the first, second, and fifth volumes of my *Native Races of the Pacific States* to which I would refer the reader, being able here to give only an outline of what in detail is an exceedingly interesting phase of indigenous development.

This development awoke to consciousness in the forms of the Nahua and Maya civilizations, the former occupying the northern portion of that tropical table-land which rises to salubrious heights between latitudes 22° and 11°, and the latter the southern portions. Round the opaque lowland edges of this heaven-enlightened interior the mind of man seemed also dark and low, dwarfed by sandy sweeps, or overshadowed by redundant foliage; yet it was not altogether free from the influence of its neighbors, for the people of

the tierras calientes bordering this elevation were further removed from savagism than their more northern and southern brethren. The valley of Mexico, the Anáhuac of the Aztecs, was situated between the two principal ranges, the Pacific branch and the Atlantic branch of the Sierra Madre, under which name the great cordillera here presents itself, coming in from the north-west, flattening near the centre, and reuniting before reaching Tehuantepec. Eventually Anáhuac overspreads the whole plateau. Cross the continent on the nineteenth parallel and you will reach the greatest elevation and see the highest mountains in this vicinity. Indeed, from the plain of Puebla, whereabout lay the walled town of Tlascala, you may take in Popocatepetl, Iztaccihuatl, and Orizaba at one view. Within seventy leagues from Vera Cruz inland, through the temperate valley of Orizaba, you may pass from a region of palms to a region of pines. The plains of Tabasco, upon whose border we have already landed and fought our battle, form the north-eastern part of the broad isthmus valley of Tehuantepec. This is bordered on the south by the sierra connecting the elevation of Anáhuac with the table-land of Guatemala, whose western declivity breaks into parallel wooded ridges running due south-west. North of Anáhuac the surface settles into wide plains between short sierras, until monotonous quietude is attained in the prairies of Texas and New Mexico. Crossing the isthmus of Tehuantepec at a diminished altitude the cordillera rises again and stretches out into the broad and lofty ranges of Central America, where the Maya nations made their home.

Earliest among the Nahua nations to stand forth upon the mythic record are the Toltecs, whose first supremacy in Anáhuac is placed in the sixth century. Endowed by tradition with a culture surpassing that of their successors, the halo surrounding their name has been kept bright by monuments, such as the

pyramids of Teotihuacan and Cholula. For five centuries this people flourish, sustained by a confederation of kings whose capitals become in turn famous as seats of learning and of imperial splendor. Religious strife, developing gradually into civil war, with attendant famine and pestilence, opens the door to ruder tribes, and the Toltecs pass off the stage. Throwing off the Toltec veil so long shielding them, a number of tribes now rise into distinct political existence, and the stronger, in connection with somewhat ruder yet more energetic incomers, form the new ruling combination, the Chichimec empire. Of the leading power, denominated the Chichimec, nothing is known; but the permanency of Nahua language and civilization leads to the supposition that it is of the same race as its predecessors. In later times the name is also applied to the wild border tribes of the north. For several centuries Anáhuac becomes the scene of intrigues and struggles between the different branches of the combination for the balance of power, during which a number of towns figure as dominating centres, and a number of tribes rise to prominence under the traditional term of conquerors and immigrants. Among these are the Aztecs, the representative nation of the Nahua civilization at the coming of the Spaniards.

Upon opposite sides of the largest of a cluster of lakes which illuminate the oval valley of Mexico have stood, since the beginning of the fourteenth century, three cities, Tezcuco, Mexico, and Tlacopan, capitals of three confederate nations, the Acolhuas, the Aztecs, and the Tepanecs. To the first belonged the eastern portion of the valley, to the second the southern and western, and to the third a small portion of the north-west. Of this confederation, Tezcuco was for a time the most powerful; Tlacopan was least. While keeping to their respective limits within the valley, beyond its classic precincts the three powers made common cause against the barba-

rians. About the middle of the fifteenth century, under the warlike Montezuma I., Mexico attained the supremacy, and during the next sixty years extended her empire to the shores of either ocean. Within this circuit, however, were several nations which she never conquered; instance the Tlascaltecs, the Tarascos, and the Chiapanecs. Many there were —for example, the people of Tehuantepec, of northern Guatemala, and Soconusco, and the Miztecs and Zapotecs of Oajaca, whose conquest by the Aztecs was temporary—who either paid tribute for a time only, or who threw off the yoke the moment the invader's back was turned. The Matlaltzincas, west of the lakes, and the Huastecs and Totonacs of Vera Cruz, were subjugated but a few years prior to the appearing of the Spaniards. These coast-dwellers had not yet become reconciled to the rule of the interior lords, but hated them as inveterate foes; and herein lay one of the chief causes of success accompanying the Castilian arms. Indeed, Aztec supremacy was maintained in every quarter only by constant war; rebellion, as soon as checked in one quarter, breaking out in another. Further than this, the Aztecs, by their overbearing spirit, had become obnoxious to their allies; yet their aggressive policy was continued in full force by the predecessor of Montezuma II., Ahuitzotl, with whom war was an absorbing passion.

In the civil polity of the Aztecs were elements which, if given free play, would by elevating the people raise the nation yet higher in the scale of domination. This did not escape the observant neighbors, upon whom the prospect fell with chilling fear, a fear by no means mitigated by the ever increasing tendency of the Mexicans for the immolation of human beings. Nor were the Aztec nobles pleased to see political power slipping from their grasp and falling into the hands of the people, among whom the spirit of republicanism and equality was

regarded as having already gained too great ascendancy. The result was a struggle, not unlike that at the same time going on in Europe, between the nobility and the commonalty, the clergy taking sides with the former. And at the death of Ahuitzotl the higher class succeeded in raising to the throne a person of extreme aristocratic and religious tastes, though humble withal, as Coriolanus could not be, to catch the common herd; for when tidings of his election were brought him he was found sweeping the temple.

Montezuma, he was called, and surnamed Xocoyotzin, the younger, to distinguish him from the first Montezuma, known as Huehue, the elder. He was the son of Axayacatl and Xochicueitl, and nephew of the late king; and had reached only his thirty-fourth year when selected for the throne, in preference to an elder brother. The reasons alleged for this distinction were the possession of high qualities as a warrior, whose bravery had been tested on more than one field of battle; as an adviser, whose words, uttered in clear, dignified tones, had been heard in the council with respect; and as high priest, whose gravity and circumspection had won him favor among all classes. Upon occasions he could observe the taciturnity which so often attracts a reputation for wisdom; and, moreover, he possessed a fine figure and a majestic presence, such as admirably suited the monarch. He was proficient in astronomy, picture-writing, and in certain esoteric branches, for which he showed a natural bent; likewise he was well read in the history of his people, and familiar with all their traditions.

This second Montezuma was a born prince, and might have been a pattern for Niccolo Macchiavelli, with whom he was contemporary. For, like the Florentine's ideal, he was talented, learned, crafty, and unscrupulous. Had he studied in his own language that immaculate manual of political ethics, *The*

Prince, he could not have more faithfully followed its precepts. No sooner had he assumed the sceptre than, throwing off the mask by which he had deceived the plebeians, he dismissed every person of that class employed about the palace, and filled all vacancies, civil and military, from the ranks of the nobles. He applied himself with energy to war and diplomacy, in both of which he was eminently successful, and raised himself and his throne to the highest pinnacle of grandeur; whereupon he did not disdain the title of Emperor of the World. Notwithstanding his talents and accomplishments, he was exceedingly superstitious, surpassing in this respect many of his followers, and was dependent on diviners and astrologers, appealing also to the counsels of Nezahualpilli and other prominent personages. Men, whom he knew, he did not fear; but the gods, whom he did not know, he feared exceedingly. And because he practised human sacrifice to propitiate them he has been called cruel, but the actions of a blind devotee of religion must not be measured by a too critical standard. There was nothing cruel in the wish of Caligula, however hateful and vindictive it might be, that the Roman people had but one head, so that he might strike it off at a single blow; but when he tortured men and women for amusement while at his meals, that was the quintessence of cruelty. As for honor, integrity, and all those virtues which go to make a man, we must not expect them in princes or in politicians; yet we may safely say that in all the generous qualities of mind and heart the Aztec monarch was no whit behind contemporary European rulers.

From all which it is safe to say that Montezuma, though most magnificent and lordly among his lords, was not popular with the masses, and his position at this juncture was not of the safest. His extravagance exceeded all bounds; his continuous wars were expensive; and to meet the heavy draughts upon the treasury required excessive taxation. This was made to

weigh with special heaviness on the subjugated provinces, on which likewise was laid with peculiar aggravation the horrible burden of furnishing victims for human sacrifices. The successful resistance to his arms of several states enclosed by his conquests, or bordering on his domain, caused him no small unhappiness. There was the little republic of Tlascala, on the very border of the Mexican valley, which often he had tried to conquer, and failed. Then there was the Tarascan kingdom of Michoacan, on the western side, whose people boasted as high a culture as any of the lake region, which stood firm against all efforts of the confederation.

With nations beyond their border little intercourse existed, yet Aztec traders, likewise playing spies, were often as far south as Nicaragua, and along the coasts of Honduras and Yucatan. There is no doubt, therefore, that the presence in those parts of the Spaniards was known to Montezuma from the first. It might have been like a voice from behind the clouds, the reports of Columbus and Pinzon, but the appearing of Córdoba and Grijalva, who talked and drew blood, was something more tangible. The people of Tuito, on the west coast of Mexico, held that before the conquest a vessel was lost there, from which had landed more than forty persons, dressed like Spaniards, and whom the natives received kindly, but finally slew because they insisted on the worship of the cross.[1] A box thrown up by the waves, and containing peculiar clothing, gold rings, and a sword which no one could break, was said to have been in Montezuma's possession. Vague as were these appearings, there was something painfully portentous in them.

[1] When Francisco Cortés entered the town, shortly after the fall of Mexico, he was met by a body of Indians with their hair tonsured like priests, and with crosses in their hands, headed by the chief in flowing white gown and scapulary. This, they explained, had been the practice of the shipwrecked crew, who had held up the cross as a recourse from all danger. *Frejes, Hist. Conq.*, 63–4. This authority places implicit reliance in the story, and regards the strangers as a missionary party driven from the East Indies or China. *Jalisco, Mem. Hist.*, 30–2.

For the chief divinity of the Nahua nations was Quetzalcoatl, the gentle god, ruler of the air, controller of the sun and rain, and source of all prosperity. In the palmy days of the Toltecs he had been their king, the creator of their golden age, giving them metals, improved government, and products of spontaneous growth; after which he was their god, with his chief shrine at Cholula, where surrounding peoples, even those inimical to the city, maintained temples for his worship. From toward the rising sun Quetzalcoatl had come; and he was white, with large eyes, and long black hair, and copious beard. After a final rule of twenty years at Cholula he set out for the country whence he came, and on reaching the seaboard of Goazacoalco he sailed away on a craft of snakes. His last words were that one day bearded white men, brethren of his, perhaps he himself, would come by way of the sea in which the sun rises, and would enter in and rule the land;[2] and from that day, with a fidelity befitting Hebrews waiting the coming of their Messiah, the Mexican people watched for the fulfilment of this prophecy, which promised them a gentle rule, free from bloody sacrifices and oppression; but to their sovereign the thought gave rise to deep apprehension, for then his own reign must terminate.

Thus it was that the tidings of strange sails and bearded white men on their eastern border were received at the gay capital with mingled fear and joy. And marvel-mongers went about the streets talking of the good Quetzalcoatl and his pedigree, of the signs and wonders that had been seen, the prodigies, oracles, and occult divinations, as in ancient Athens the old families of Olympus, with their ape-gods and bull-gods of Memphis, and the dog-headed monster Anubis, were discussed; and as for Rome, Lucan has recorded

[2] See *Native Races*, iii. and v., 25–6, for the myths relating to Quetzalcoatl, and to their interpretation, in which occur the characters of the Messiah and the apostle Saint Thomas, with whom some pious chroniclers have identified him. The Saint Thomas idea is advocated in *Florencia, Hist. Prov. Comp. de Jesus*, 234.

no omens which the sages of Mexico could not now match. To what extent the Spanish chroniclers have assisted the natives in the manufacture of marvels I leave the reader to judge, simply recommending to his consideration the accompanying lengthy note; neither, however, fell into the madness of Canute, who chose the time the tide was rising, instead of when it was falling, to order the stay of waters.

It was not alone in Mexico, but in distant parts, and on the islands, that man and nature were thus annoyed by the supernatural. There were found predictions centuries old, by priests widely separated, and the poems of wise men, all pointing in the one direction. The destruction of towns was predicted by a philosopher; the famine of 1505 spoke more plainly than words; Popocatepetl, choked by consternation, failed to emit his smoke for twenty days, which, however, was a good omen; an eclipse and an earthquake near together and the drowning of eighteen hundred soldiers were decidedly unfavorable. Most terrible of all, however, were a three-headed comet in open day, a pyramidal light at night, and other portentous scenes, such as the furious uprising of the lake, the awakening of the dead, and visits to the spirit world.[3]

[3] The natives of Española are said to have received an oracle shortly before Columbus' arrival, announcing the coming of bearded men, with sharp, bright swords. *Villagvtierre, Hist. Conq. Itza.*, 33. The Yucatec records abound in predictions to the same effect, more or less clear. The most widely quoted is that of Chilam Balam, high-priest of Mani, and reputed a great prophet, who foretold that, ere many years, there would come from the direction of the rising sun a bearded white people, bearing aloft the cross which he displayed to his listeners. Their gods would flee before the new-comers, and leave them to rule the land; but no harm would fall on the peaceful who admitted the only true God. The priest had a cotton mantle woven, to be deposited in the temple at Mani, as a specimen of the tribute required by the new rulers, and he it was who erected the stone crosses found by the Spaniards, declaring them to be the true tree of the world. Cogolludo, *Hist. Yucathan*, 99–101, gives the prophecy at length, which is not quite so clear as the version which he afterward quotes from Herrera. The latter calls the priest Chilam Cambal, and says: 'Esta fue la causa que preguntauan a Francisco Hernandez de Cordoua, y a los suyos, si yuan de donde nacia el Sol.' Dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. i. Alaman enters into a profound argument on the above, and interprets Chilam Cambal to be the Chinese for Saint Thomas. In seeking to give a date he mistakes the meaning of a Yucatec age and places the prophecy back at the beginning of the Christian era. The opening lines of the prophecy read, 'at the end of the thirteenth age,' which should be interpreted 'at the end of

To us the most wonderful part of it is, not the wonders themselves, but that it should so happen, if indeed it did, that these fearful forebodings, running

two hundred and sixty years.' The name is also given as Chilam Balan and Chilan Balam, the latter part savoring of the Canaanite divinity. *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 245–6; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 203–4. A priest of Itzalan, named Patzin Yaxun Chan, is recorded as having urged his people to worship the true god, whose word would soon come to them; and the high-priest of the same place, Na Hau Pech, prophesied that within four ages—a Yucatec age equals twenty of our years—news would be brought of the supreme God, by men who must be received as guests and masters. Ah Ku Kil Chel, also a priest, spoke with sorrow of ills to come upon the people from the north and from the east. In the age following the date of his prediction no priest would be found to explain the will of their idols. Another temple guardian announced that in the last age idolatry would cease, and the world would be purified by fire. Happy he who repented! *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 97–101. Several prophecies therein quoted literally are reproduced in *Villagvtierre, Hist. Conq. Itza.*, 34–5, which also refers to Itzan predictions.

Among the Mexicans, says Mendieta, predictions were current some four generations before the conquest of the coming of bearded men dressed in raiments of different color, and with caskets on their heads. Then the idols would perish, leaving but one supreme God; war would cease, roads would be opened, intercourse established, and the husband would cherish but one wife. *Hist. Ecles.*, 180; *Torquemada*, i. 235–6. This smacks of an elaboration of the Quetzalcoatl promise. Nezahualcoyotl, the wise Tezcucan monarch, who died in 1472, left poems in which chroniclers have discovered vague allusions to a coming race. The reader may, perhaps, be equally fortunate if he examine the specimens of his poems given in *Native Races*, ii. 494–7. His son Nezahualpilli, equally celebrated as a just king and a philosopher, versed in the occult arts, revealed to Montezuma that, according to his astrologic investigations, their towns would within a few years be destroyed and their vassals decimated. This, he added, would soon be verified by celestial signs and other phenomena. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 254–7. The precursor of these harbingers of evil appears to have been the famine of 1505, which compelled many a parent to sell his children for the means to obtain food, while others lined the road-side with their famished bodies. The cessation of smoke from the volcano Popocatepetl, for twenty days, was a feature seized upon by the diviners as a sign of relief; and true enough, in the following year, the suffering people were cheered with an abundant harvest. Soon again their fears were roused by an eclipse and an earthquake, in the very inaugural year of the new cycle, 1507, and by the drowning of 1800 soldiers during the Miztec campaign. Almost every succeeding year confirmed their apprehensions by one or more signs or occurrences of an ominous nature. One of the most alarming was the appearance, in broad day, of a comet with three heads, which darted across the sky, eastward, with such speed that the tails seemed to scatter sparks. 'Salieron cometas del cielo de tres en tres.... parecian..... echando de sí brasas de fuego.... y llevaban grandes y largas colas.' *Mendieta, Hist. Ecles.*, 179. 'Cayó una cometa, parecian tres estrellas.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 4; *Native Races*, v. 466. After this, in 1507 or 1510, a pyramidal light, which scattered sparks on all sides, rose at midnight from the eastern horizon till its apex reached the zenith, where it faded at dawn. This continued for forty days, or for a year, according to some accounts. 'Diez años antes que viniesen los españoles....duró por espacio de un año cada noche.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 3. 'Ocho años antes de la venida de los españoles,....y esto se vió cuatro años.' *Id., Hist. Gen.*, ii. 271. It occurred in 1509, and lasted over forty days. *Codex Tell. Rem.*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, v. 154; vi. 144. The interpreter of the Codex enters into a lengthy

back for generations, should all converge toward the coming of the brethren of Quetzalcoatl at the very time the Spaniards appeared, and that the latter should

argument to prove it a volcanic eruption, one of his points being that the original picture-writing places the light as appearing behind, or from, the mountains east of the city. In 1510, *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 278, or year five, toxtli. *Codex Chimalpopoca*, MS.; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 139. Torquemada, who had no other authority for the preceding comet than Herrera, considered that by the comet was meant this light, i. 234. Humboldt suggests that the fiery pyramid may have been a zodiacal light. Astrologers announced that it portended wars, famine, pestilence, mortality among the lords, every imaginable ill, in fact, and causing one general cry of fear and lament. Montezuma himself was so troubled that he applied for advice to Nezahualpilli, although they had not been on speaking terms for some time. This royal astrologer showed his apprehensions by ordering all campaigns then upon his hands to be suspended, and announced to his confrère that the disasters in store would be brought upon the empire by a strange race. Montezuma expressed his disbelief, and proposed a game of *tlachtli* to decide the interpretation. As if resigned to the fate predicted for himself, and desirous of showing how little he appreciated wealth and power, Nezahualpilli is said to have staked on the result his kingdom against three turkey-cocks. The wager was not so hazardous, however, as it seemed, for the king of Tezcuco was a good player. After allowing Montezuma to win the first two points, and raising high his hopes, he stopped his exultation by scoring the rest for himself. Still doubtful, Montezuma called on an astrologer famous for his many true announcements, only to receive confirmation of Nezahualpilli's utterance, whereupon the irate monarch caused the house to be pulled down over the diviner, who perished in the ruins. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 278–9; *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 345–7. Clavigero, who connects the game with a comet, is quite earnest in asserting his belief in traditions and presages of the coming of Spaniards, as attested by native paintings and by witnesses of high standing. 'Se il Demonio pronosticava le futura calamità per ingannar qué 'miserabili Popoli, il pietosissimo Dio le annunziava per disporre i loro spiriti al Vangelo.' *Storia Mess.*, i. 288–9. According to Duran, the summoning of Nezahualpilli was due to a comet with an enormous tail, which burst upon the view of a temple-watcher as it rose in the east and settled above the city. Montezuma, who had been roused to witness the phenomenon, called on his sorcerers for an explanation, and on finding that they had seen nothing, had them punished for their sloth. The wise Tezcucan then came and presaged dire calamities, which would also afflict himself. He was resigned, and would retire to await death. This was to be the last interview between the two kings. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 274–85. Torquemada compares the comet to that which, according to Josephus, lib. vii. cap. xii., presaged the entry of Titus into Judea. When Nezahualpilli returned to his palace, a hare ran into the halls, pursued by eager domestics, but he bade them to leave it, saying that even so would a strange people enter into Anáhuac without resistance. *Torquemada*, i. 211–12, 214. Bernal Diaz speaks of a round sign in the eastern sky, of a reddish green, to which was attached a streak extending eastward. The consequent predictions of war and pestilence he finds fulfilled in the campaign of Cortés, and in the smallpox epidemic introduced by Narvaez. *Hist. Verdad.* (Paris ed. 1837), iv. 460–1. Among the accounts of celestial signs which may be based on the preceding is one by Camargo, describing a brightness observed in the east by the Tlascaltecs, three hours before dawn, accompanied by a whirlwind of dust from the summit of Mount Matlalcueje. Remesal refers probably to the same whirlwind under the guise of a white cloud, like a pillar, which often appeared in the east before sunrise, and afterward descended upon the cross erected in Tlascala by the Spaniards. The natives accepted this

be in so many respects as the good gods themselves were to have been. The prophecies of Isaiah are dim indeed and unfathomable as compared with these.

as an intimation that the new-comers were heaven's chosen people, and received the cross. *Hist. Chyapa*, 304; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 140. Gomara appears to connect this eastern light with a thick smoke and with the fiery pyramid, which were followed by a battle in the sky between bodies of armed men, attended with great slaughter. Some of the courtiers surrounding Montezuma while he observed this phenomenon, pointed out that the arms and dress of the victorious faction resembled those in the chest which had been washed up on the coast. He declared his conviction, however, that they must be relics of his divine ancestors, not of mortal beings who fell on a battle-field, as these forms appeared to do. He proposed, as a test, that they should break the divine sword. This they tried, but in vain, and remained mute with wonder at its flexibility and strength. *Hist. Mex.*, 214; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. ix. Mendieta places this sign in 1511. *Hist. Eccles.*, 179. The last celestial sign, as described by Mendieta, is a large, brilliant comet, which appeared the very year of the Spaniards' arrival, and remained immovable in the air for several days. *Hist. Eccles.*, 180. Before Nezahualpilli returned to his capital, after interpreting the fiery signs, he was feasted by Montezuma, and the two monarchs thereupon retired to the diviners' chamber to search into the legends of their forefathers for further light upon the omens. From this circumstance grew the story that the twain had made a journey to the ancient home of their race. Nezahualpilli, being a conjurer, took Montezuma through the air to the Seven Caves, where they conversed with the brethren of their ancestors. On learning that the first named was a descendant of the great Chichimecatl Xolotl, he was offered the government of this region, but declined, promising, however, to return at a later date. *Torquemada*, i. 212–13. Duran applies to the reign of Montezuma I. a similar story, which is more appropriate to the present subject. Eager to acquaint his ancestors with the glorious achievements of their progeny, and to learn something of the old home, this monarch sent a force of sixty sorcerers on a mission to Chicomoztoc, with numerous presents for Coatlicue, the mother of the divine Huitzilopochtli. Transforming themselves into animals, they reached the sacred region occupied by some Aztecs whom the god had left behind when he set out on his career of conquest. These venerable settlers were not a little surprised to behold in the effeminate and ephemeral specimens before them the descendants of that doughty leader and of his companions. On reaching the abode of the divine mother, the sorcerers found an old woman sorrowing over her lost son. The news of his glorious fate roused her interest, and she was induced to reveal several prophecies by her son, among them one concerning the coming of a strange people to wrest the land from the Mexicans. The messengers were dismissed with presents of food and clothing, and returned to their master with twenty of their number missing. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., i. 467–86. Additional facts may be found in *Native Races*, v. 422–4, etc. Another visit to the spirit world is attributed to Papantzin, sister of Montezuma II., who, shortly after his accession, had married the lord of Tlatelulco. He soon died, and after ruling for a few years she, in 1509, followed him to the grave. She was buried with great pomp in her garden, in a vault closed by a flag-stone. The next morning she was discovered sitting on the steps of the bath adjoining the vault. Her niece, a child of five or six years, was the first to notice her. Too young to understand what would frighten older heads, she fearlessly approached the resurrected woman, and was told to call Papantzin's mayordoma. This old dame, on receiving the summons, thought it a child's prank, and would not stir, but at last she yielded, and on seeing the form of her late mistress, swooned with fear. Others proved more courageous, and carried her into the house. Papantzin now enjoined

To what end are signs that cannot be interpreted until after the occurrence, as is generally the case, when their interpretation is not needed, sages do not say.

silence, and wished to call Montezuma, but no one daring to appear before the cruel and superstitious monarch, Nezahualpilli was summoned, and he brought the brother with him to her dwelling, together with several attendants. To them she related that, on being released from her earthly bonds, she had entered a boundless plain, upon a road which soon divided into several branches. On one side was a fiercely running stream, which she attempted to cross, but was motioned back by a youth of fine stature, dressed in a loose robe of dazzling whiteness. His face, bright as a star, was of fair complexion, the eyes grey, and the forehead marked with a cross. Taking her by the hand, he led her up the valley past heaps of dead men's bones, from many of which rose the sound of lament. She also observed a number of black persons, with horns and deer legs, building a house. As the sun rose, large vessels could be seen ascending the river, bearing white and bearded men in strange attire, with shining head-gear, and standard borne aloft. They were children of the sun. The youth, in pointing them out, said that God did not yet wish her to pass the river, which could never be recrossed, but to wait and bear testimony to the faith coming with these men, who were destined to wage great wars with her people and become their masters. The lamenting bones were her forefathers—'who had not received the faith,' is the uncharitable term used by Torquemada—suffering for their evil deeds, and the house building was to hold the bones of those slain in battle by the fair-faced crews. She must return to earth, await these men, and guide her people to baptism. On being restored to her senses from the death or trance, whatever her listeners chose to term it, she removed the stone from the vault and returned to her chamber. Many of those present sneered at the story as originating in the brain of a sick woman, but Montezuma was more deeply moved than he cared to show. He never again saw his sister, who lived a retired life till the arrival of the Spaniards. She then came forward, the first woman in Tlatelulco to receive baptism, and under the name of María Papantzin rendered good aid in the missionary cause. This account, says Torquemada, has been taken from old native paintings, translated and sent to Spain, and was regarded as strictly true among the natives, Papantzin being well known in the town. 'Esta Señora era del numero de los Predestinados,' i. 238–9. Ixtlilxochitl, strangely enough, does not refer to the resurrection. According to him, the mother of Ixtlilxochitl, king of Tezcuco, was the first woman baptized, and this under compulsion from her husband. She received the name of María. After her came Papantzin, now wife of this king, who was named Beatriz. Cortés stood godfather to both. Sahagun refers briefly to the resurrection of a woman of Tenochtitlan, who issued, four days after her death, from the garden vault where she had been deposited. Appearing before Montezuma, she announced that with him would cease the Mexican empire, for other people were coming to rule and settle. This woman lived twenty-one years after this, and bore another child. *Hist. Gen.*, ii. 270–1. At this rate she must have been alive when Sahagun arrived in the country; yet he fails to speak of her as a princess. Boturini applies the story to a sister of King Caltzontzin, of Michoacan, who died at the time the Spaniards were besieging Mexico, and rose within four days to warn her brother not to listen to the Mexican overtures for an alliance against the white invaders. The new-comers, she said, were destined by heaven to rule the land, and a testimony hereof would appear on the principal feast-day in the form of a youth, who, rising in the eastern sky, with a light in one hand and a sword in the other, would glide over the city and disappear in the west. This sign appearing, the king did as she bade him, rejected the Mexican advances, and received the Spaniards in peace. *Catálogo*, 27–8. Clavigero censures Boturini's work, in this

But in this instance the testimony is abundant and explicit that many of these prodigies were at the time received, not only by Montezuma and his people, but

connection, as full of fables, and this after solemnly observing that the Papantzin incident 'fu pubblico, e strepitoso, acaduto in presenza di due Re, e della Nobiltà Messicana. Trovossi altresì rappresentato in alcune dipinture di quelle Nazioni, e se ne mandò alla Corte di Spagna un attestato giuridico.' *Storia, Mess.*, i. 289–92. He places the baptism of Papantzin in 1524. *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 348–52; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 125–6. Torquemada gives the story of what occurred in the spirit land in her own words; so does Clavigero, though he differs slightly. See also his English translation by Cullen. As if in confirmation of her story, ominous signs became more numerous than ever. The big lake of Mexico began to boil and foam without apparent cause, the water rising high within the city and creating great damage. The date generally accepted for this occurrence is 1509, but Mendieta, *Hist. Eccles.*, 178, says 1499. The lake, like the sky, was connected with more than one mysterious occurrence. A troop of Huatuscan conjurers arrived shortly after this in the imperial city to exhibit tricks, in one of which they cut off their hands and feet, disclosing bleeding stumps, and then replaced the members. In order to test whether this was an illusion or not, the emperor ordered the severed members to be thrown into boiling water before they were returned to the performers. This unwarranted curiosity stirred the magicians to the very core, and before retiring they predicted that the lake would be tinged with blood, and that their avengers would soon appear in a strange people, the conquerors of the empire. Not long after, Montezuma noticed streaks of blood in the lake, mingled with a number of human heads and limbs. He called others to witness the sight, but none save himself could see it. Sending to the injured conjurers for an explanation, they replied that the vision denoted great and bloody battles to be waged in the city by the strange people. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. ix. About the same time some fishermen caught a grey bird, like a crane, with a round comb or diadem, resembling a mirror. On being brought before Montezuma, he was startled by seeing reflected in this mirror the heavenly bodies, although none appeared in the sky, for it was yet daylight. The next moment the stars had vanished, and in their place were seen beings, half man and half deer, who moved about in battle array. Diviners were called to give their explanation, but when they came the bird had disappeared. Torquemada appears to date this as early as 1505, i. 235. *Camargo, Hist. Tlasc.*, 139–40. Another great bird is referred to, with a human head, which soared above the lake uttering the prediction that speedily would come the new rulers of the empire. Other monsters were found in the shape of double-bodied and double-headed men, which dissolved in the air shortly after being brought to the sorcerers', or black hall, of Montezuma. A horrible animal was caught near Tecualoia. *Torquemada*, i. 214. During all the years of these signs could be heard, at frequent intervals, a female voice lamenting, 'Oh, my children, all is lost to us! My children, whither will you be taken?' *Id.*, 214, 233. A similar voice was heard before the fall of Jerusalem. *Josephus*, lib. vii. cap. xii.; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 180; *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 358; *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, i. 5. In 1510 the imperial city was startled, one clear, quiet night, by a fire, which, bursting from the heart of the timbers in the temple of Huitzilopochtli, burned all the fiercer under the efforts made to quench it. A precursor of this had been the fall of a stone column close to the temple, coming no one knew whence. 'El chapitel de un Cú de Vitzilopuchtli, que se llamaba Tlacoteca, se encendió.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 3–4. Shortly after, the temple of the fire god Xiuhtecutli, at Zocomolco, was stricken by lightning and burned. This occurred without the usual accompaniment of thunder, and with but a sprinkle of rain; many regarded it as done by a sunbeam, and consequently as particularly ominous. 'Los

by the neighboring nations, as the distinct announcement of the coming of the gods, who did in good truth appear at the proper time in the person of the Spaniards. And what should be their doom, those stupid and profane men of Potonchan and Tabasco, who had raised their hands against these heavenly messengers!

We are further assured that, prior to the arrival of any Spaniard, some of the subjected provinces assumed an air of independence, encouraged by the fear which these occurrences produced on the Aztecs, against whom they were regarded as especially directed. Cuetlachtlan sorcerers having in their divining-pits conjured up visions of Mexicans acting as abject carriers to armed bearded men astride giant deer, this people became in 1511 so insolent as to refuse the customary tribute, and even to murder the Aztec officials sent to collect it. And so involved was Montezuma in divers troubles that he was unable to resent the outrage.

The thought occurred to the Mexican monarch that perhaps the threatened evils might be averted by propitiating the gods with greater sacrifices. For this the several campaigns then waged or concluded promised an abundance of victims; and to make the holocaust still more imposing, it was resolved to consecrate at the same time a new sacrificial stone. After diligent search a suitable stone was found at Tenanitlan, near Coyohuacan. The sculptors having finished their work, and the priests theirs, with loud hosannas it was rolled along toward the imperial city. While crossing the Xolco canal the bridge broke, and the stone sank beneath the water, dragging down the high-priest and his attendants, "who went to hell quicker than the stone," comments the pious Torquemada.

Indios decian....el Sol ha quemado este Templo; porque ni hemos visto Relampago, ni hemos oido Trueno.' *Torquemada*, i. 214, 234. Believing, or pretending to believe, the city attacked by enemies, the Tlatelulcans rushed to arms, for which excess of zeal they were punished by a suspension of all their townsmen who held positions at court. *Native Races*, v. 461–67.

The stone, however, was recovered, and consecrated on the summit of the great temple, in 1512, with the blood of over twelve thousand captives.[4]

And now Montezuma almost wishes the calamities he fears were already upon him, so full of dread and dire oppression is he. Priests, chiefs of wards, and other officials, says Tezozomoc, are commanded to ascertain and impart all dreams and strange occurrences relating to a coming people or to the throne. Wise and politic as he is, he does not seem to know that this is only placing himself and his malady at the mercy of the masses. Who could not conjure up visions under such a summons? Some old men immediately come forward with a dream, wherein Huitzilopochtli's image is overthrown and his temple burned to the ground, leaving no vestige. Certain

[4] Torquemada assumes that the 12,210 victims comprised also those offered at the consecration of two new temples, Tlamatzinco and Quauhxicalli. See *Native Races*, v. 471. Tezozomoc relates that the laborers, after striving in vain to move the stone from its original site, heard it utter, in a muffled voice, 'Your efforts are in vain; I enter not into Mexico.' The incident finds a parallel in the vain effort of Tarquin to remove certain statues of the gods, to make room for Jupiter's temple, and in the firm adherence of Apollo's head to the ground, shortly before the death of the Roman ruler. But recovering from their alarm, they tried again, and now the stone moved almost of its own accord. Another halt is made, a second oracle delivered, and finally the stone reaches the bridge, where it disappears into the water. Amid the invocation of priests, divers descend in search, only to come back with the report that no vestige of it is to be found; but there is a fathomless pit extending toward Chalco. While diviners are cudgelling their brains for clues, in comes a messenger to announce that the stone, like the Penates of Æneas, had returned to its original site, arrayed in all the sacrificial ornaments. Observing in this occurrence the divine will, Montezuma let the stone remain, and recognizing at the same time a menace to himself, perhaps of speedy death, he ordered his statue to be at once sculptured by the side of his predecessors, on the rocky face of Chapultepec Hill. Tezozomoc describes the statue. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 204–7. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 313–27. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, i. 292–3. Among the troubles which after this fell upon the doomed people are mentioned: An earthquake in 1513. *Codex. Tel. Rem.*, in *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, v. 154. A locust plague. 'Vieronse gran cantidad de mariposas, y langostas, que passauan de buelo hàzia el Occidente.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. ix. A deluge in Tuzapan, and a fall of snow which overwhelmed the army en route for Amatlan. While crossing the mountains, rocks and trees came tumbling down upon them, killing a large number, while others froze to death. Ixtlilxochitl places this in 1514. Others say 1510. During the Soconusco campaign, see *Native Races*, v. 472, the ground opened near Mexico, and threw up water and fish. The Indians interpreted this to signify a victory, but the lord of Culhuacan intimated, with a shake of the head, that one force expelled another, whereat Montezuma's delight somewhat abated. 'Quando prendio Cortes a entrambos, se accordò (Montezuma) muy bien de aquellas palabras.' *Herrera*, ubi sup.

hags next appear with a dream of a furious stream, which has swept away the palace and temple, forcing the lords to flee the city.

This will not do. Away with such trumpery! And so the terrified monarch hurls the evil dreamers into prison, and leaves them there to die of starvation, while he orders on new ones in the persons of the priests and men of circumspection. But softly now. These wise ones deem it prudent not to dream at all, which course only adds suspicion to the hot anger of Montezuma. Next he calls on all astrologers, sorcerers, and diviners in the empire to dream, to cause others to dream, and to declare their dreams; to declare the secrets of the starry realms, and all things pertinent on and in this earth. Neither will these ply their avocation during such troublous times. Down with them, then, to the lowest depths! In prison, however, they do understand that the planets and terrestrial phenomena combine to foreshadow extraordinary occurrences, whether for good or evil the emperor will soon enough know. "Force them to tell; burn them else," are the next instructions. But the messengers find the prison, though guarded, empty. The unhappy monarch sends to their respective towns and demolishes their houses, but these agents of offended heaven are never seen again.[5]

[5] Meanwhile it came to pass that an eagle swooped down upon a peasant at work in a field not far from Mexico, and seizing him by the hair in full view of his neighbors, bore him out of sight. Landed high upon a mountain, the man found himself led by invisible hands through a dark cave into a hall of dazzling splendor, where Montezuma lay as if asleep. Less favored than Ganymede, he was permitted to see no other form, but voices around explained to him that this was a representation of the emperor intoxicated with pride and blinded by vanity. Tezozomoc writes that the eagle assumed the form of a lord and spoke; but a superior being can hardly be supposed to have assumed the office of carrying a low peasant. A lighted pipe with a rose was placed in his hand, with orders to burn a mark upon the monarch's leg, and then proceed to court and relate to him what had occurred, pointing out the blister in testimony. The gods were annoyed at his conduct and rule, which had evoked the ills soon to overthrow him. Let him amend and use well the short term still allotted to him. The next moment the peasant found himself borne through the air by the eagle, which enjoined upon him to obey the command received. The man did so, and Montezuma, recalling a dream to the same effect, looked and found a wound, which now began to burn painfully. Throwing the man into prison as an evil sorcerer, he sought his doctors for relief. 'Lo que vio el labrador, pudo ser que aconteciesse en vision imaginatiua

This, and more of yet wilder strain continued in the note, shows at least that prior to the coming of the

porque.... no es increyble que Dios por medio de vn Angel bueno ordenasse.... que aquel auiso se diesse.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. ix. Montezuma now resolved to seek a refuge where none of the threatened evils might reach him. The place selected was Cicalco, 'house of the rabbit,' painted by the myths as an abode of delight, abounding in every product, sown with flowers, and flowing with crystal waters, a place where death never entered. As a preliminary step four human victims were flayed and their spirits sent to Huemac, the ruler of that region, to prepare the way for the living messengers. These consisted of sorcerers, accompanied by dwarfs and hunchbacks to carry the flayed skins as presents. Two hunchbacks were sent with the skins of ten flayed men, says Duran. Entering the cave leading to Cicalco, they were guided by its guardian into the bowels of the earth, and presented themselves before the Aztec Pluto. With humble reverence they proffered the skins with the prayer of Montezuma for admission into that abode of delight and into his service. Unwilling to make an exception to the rule for admission through death's portals, Huemac sent the messengers back with presents, giving the evasive reply that their master should confide to him his sorrows and await relief. On receiving this report Montezuma angrily ordered the men to be cast into prison, and sent other messengers with fresh skins, repeating his request for admission, yet conforming in so far as to ask for an explanation of the many signs abroad. Huemac, again avoiding a direct answer, told them that Cicalco was quite a different place from what they supposed it to be. He and his comrades stayed not of their own accord, but were kept there by a superior power, steeped in abject toil and misery. This unsatisfactory report entailed upon the messengers the same punishment as before. Two Acolhuan chiefs were now entrusted with fresh skins and the request that Huemac should at least explain the signs which threatened the emperor, if he still refused him admission. Among these signs is mentioned a white cloud rising at midnight toward the sky. Propitiated by the higher rank or qualities of these messengers, or by the earnest perseverance of their master, Huemac explained that the sufferings and menaces were the result of his pride and cruelty. Let him amend, and as a preliminary task begin a fast of eighty days. This accomplished, Huemac would meet him at Tlachtonco, on the summit of Chapultepec. Montezuma was so delighted with this answer that he rewarded the chiefs most liberally, and made the necessary arrangements for the government of the empire during his seclusion. Going at the appointed time to Tlachtonco, a brilliant stone ordered him to make certain preparations and return in four days, when he would be conducted to Cicalco. This he did, after enjoining secrecy upon all who had assisted in the matter. Arrayed in a human skin adorned with precious stones, gold, and feathers, he seated himself upon a feathered throne, surrounded by his richly dressed dwarf and hunchback pages, and in this guise awaited Huemac. Soon a light in the distance, brilliant as the sun, announced the approach of the mysterious being, and hope leaped high in Montezuma's breast. It stopped, however, and the emperor was devoured by anxiety. Suddenly a human voice recalled him from his absorption. It was that of the guardian of Tzoncoztli temple, who related that Huemac, interdicted by supreme command from approaching the emperor, had commissioned him to recall his master to duty. His presence is needed in Mexico to direct public affairs and to infuse respect among the hostile nations, who would rise the moment his disappearance became known. What will his subjects think? He must obey the divine command, and remember that he is emperor of the world. Montezuma yielded reluctantly and reëntered his palace, taking to his side the faithful Tzoncoztli guardian, and charging all to keep the secret. *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 213–27; and in ***Kingsborough's Mex. Ant.***, v. **469**, et seq.; *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 328–45.

Spaniards the people of the Mexican valley, and their sovereign in particular, were profoundly moved with fearful forebodings of calamity of some kind. And whether these forebodings pointed to some strange arrival by sea or other marvel, certain it is that they opened the door of this rich realm to the invaders.

Ever intent on means to propitiate the gods, Montezuma in 1517 hit upon the idea of plating the temple of Huitzilopochtli with gold set with precious stones and feathers, and gave the order accordingly to Tzompantzin, the minister of finance. Now Tzompanztin was an old and faithful servant of the government, blunt withal, and nowise afraid to die. He was of the ancient chivalry, not wholly in sympathy with the present régime, and did not hesitate to expostulate with his sovereign, saying that the people would be ruined by the proposed tax. "Beside," he concluded, "Huitzilopochtli will not long be god, for those even now are coming who will take for themselves all these riches and lord it over us forever." That very night Tzompantzin and his son were politely escorted across the dark river.[6]

The following year, 1518, the temple of Coatlan was dedicated, with the usual sacrifices, the last recorded holocaust to consecrate a heathen temple. For already the white-winged vessels of Spain were at hand, having on board the messengers of a purer religion, even if it did not at once prove to be the gospel of peace to the poor Indian.

Pinotl, calpixque of Cuetlachtlan, was the first of Montezuma's captains, according to the native record, to make observations for the emperor of the dreaded visitants. Prompted no less by zeal in his master's service than by curiosity, Pinotl, with several attendants, armed with provisions and rich mantles for presents, had mingled with the crowd which boarded Grijalva's vessel, and had prostrated himself at the feet of the commander and his officers as before kings

[6] *Codex Chimalpopoca*, in *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 35–6.

or gods.[7] The beads and other trinkets given in return for their goods they received as priceless marks of favor from supernatural personages. When Pinotl explained as best he was able the majesty and wealth of his sovereign, Grijalva promised to return some day and visit him in his great city. Bearing with them paintings on *amatl*, or maguey paper, of the vessels with all their belongings, and of the soldiers and sailors with their arms, armor, dress, and attitude, down to their very swagger, and leaving orders that the strangers should be treated with every consideration, the chief men of the province set out by fast relays to report the awful tidings to the emperor.[8]

Entering the imperial presence they prostrated their bodies to the ground, which they kissed, declaring themselves worthy of death for having ventured unbidden before their lord, but their mission permitted no delay. "For oh! most dread sovereign," they exclaimed, "we have seen gods! All of us here present have seen their water-houses on our shores. We have talked with them, and eaten with them, and have handled them with our hands; we have given them gifts, and have received in return these priceless treasures." Then they showed the glass beads, a specimen too often approaching the value of the gifts received by the strong from the weak. Montezuma sat mute, scarcely heeding the messages sent him by Grijalva, concerned most of all that vassals should not witness his dismay. Here again was his phantasy before him, like the shade of dead Hector before

[7] 'Besaron todos las proas de las naos en señal de adoracion, pensaron que era el Dios *Quetzalcoatl* que volvia.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 5.

[8] According to Tezozomoc, an Indian, with ears, thumbs, and big toes cut off, arrived from Mictlancuauhtla with the report that he had seen a round mountain on the sea moving to and fro without approaching the shore. The informant was placed under guard, and a chief with an attendant sent to Pinotl to verify the statement, and to chide him for neglect to report. They soon returned to say that from a tree they had seen two such mountains or towers, from one of which a canoe had set out on a fishing trip. The men on board had white faces and hands, long, thick beard, long hair, raiments of varied and brilliant colors, and round head-covering. The mutilated Indian being now called to answer further questions, his prison cell was found vacant. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 232–4; *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 359–77.

Æneas, warning him against hopeless resistance to the preordained fall of Troy.

Bidding the men retire and keep secret what they had seen, Montezuma hastily summoned his privy council,[9] King Cacama of Tezcuco, his brother Cuitlahuatzin, lord of Itzapalapan, and laid before them the mystery. After sage consultations, attended by divinings and comparisons of signs, prophecies, and traditions, not unlike the means by which we of to-day likewise ascertain the unknowable, it was concluded that this commander was none other than the fair-hued god himself, who had returned to resume the throne, as he had said. Therefore resistance would be in vain; and the only proper course was to tender worthy reception and conciliate with gifts. The chiefs were sent back with orders for the governors of the coast districts[10] to report any arrival or strange occurrence. Following them was an embassy of five persons bearing rich presents, with instructions to bid the god welcome in the name of the emperor and of his court; yet they were to watch him closely. But the embassy was too late. Grijalva had gone.[11]

[9] *Torquemada*, i. 379, names ten members, while Veytia, *Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 378, says there were twelve.

[10] Particularly at Nauhtla, Toztla, Mictla, and Quauhtla. *Torquemada*, i. 379; Sahagun, *Hist. Conq.*, i. 6, calls the districts Cuextecatl, Naulitlantoztlan, and Mictlanquactla. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 49, writes more correctly Nauhtlan, Tochtlan, and Mictlan-Quauhtla.

[11] Torquemada, i. 379–80, expresses his disapproval of Gomara and Herrera for following only Spanish versions, and ignoring the Indian records acquired by himself and others, including Sahagun. The latter assumes that Montezuma has been apprised of Grijalva's departure before the embassy leaves, and this body is therefore not sent till Cortés arrives. *Hist. Conq.*, i. 7. This is not unlikely, for council had to be first held and the future course determined, and messengers were always on the way between the subject provinces and the capital, ready to convey news. But most writers, followed by the *Native Races*, take the view presented in the text. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. ix., who is very brief on Grijalva's visit, says, when it was learned that the Spaniards wanted gold, the governors on the coast were ordered to barter with it, and to find out what further object they had in coming. Ixtlilxochitl states that merchants from the coast fair brought the first news of Grijalva to Mexico. Veytia, *Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 377–8, is brief on the subject. Tezozomoc describes the necklace, bracelet, and other jewelry prepared as presents by four of the leading goldsmiths and lapidaries. With these the chief who had been to the coast to observe the floating towers is ordered to seek the white men. Pinotl must prepare food for them, and if they eat, they are surely Quetzalcoatl and his suite. 'But if they prefer human flesh,'

says Duran, in his version, 'and wish to eat you, let them do so; I promise to look to the future of your children and relatives.' *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 366–7. 'If you are convinced that it is Quetzalcoatl,' continued Montezuma, 'adorn his person with these jewels made for the purpose, and say that I beg him humbly to come and take possession of the throne which I hold for him.' *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 236–9. This author confounds Grijalva and Cortés, but allows the jewels and message to reach the latter. According to Duran, Montezuma tells the chief to ask the god for permission to finish his rule; after his death he is welcome to the throne. 'Que me dege morir, y que despues de yo muerto venga muy de norabuena, y tome su Reyno pues es suyo y lo dejó en guarda á mis antepasados,' ut supra. Acosta, *Hist. Ind.*, 508–14 refers briefly to this subject, and to the various omens and visions, some of which he regards as dreams imparted by angels. Meanwhile fresh messengers arrive to report that the white captain had spread the wings of his floating mountains and faded away in the east. They bring later drawings and gifts, including beads, shirts, a hat, some biscuits and wine. The monarch crunches the biscuits and admits them to be good, but the wine, with its penetrating sweetness, lulling the senses and calling up happy visions, this delights him, and specimens of both are deposited upon the altar of Quetzalcoatl at Tula. Finally, on seeing the glass necklace, he declares the giver to be indeed the Acatl Ynacuitl, the travelling god of the reed; and deeming himself unworthy of so brilliant an adornment, he consecrates it to the gods. The best painters are called to give a superior representation of the strange visitors from the rude drawings brought by the messengers, and from their description, while the old and wise men are asked for recollections and ideas which may throw light upon the subject. After much search a tradition is raked up, wherein a race is to come from the east mounted on serpents or masted mountains, and with them a white, bearded people, astride of big deers and eagles, who will land at Tzonapan, and obtain possession of all the land. They are also described as a one-legged people, with the face in the middle of the body, of white complexion and with long beard. In confirmation thereof is produced an old painting, which agrees with those depicting the late arrivals. Convinced of the identity, Montezuma orders the governors of the coast provinces to maintain a close watch for the return of the strangers, so that he may receive speedy notice. *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 241–50; *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 359–92.

This chapter presents but a faint picture of the state of affairs within the Mexican empire at the time of the arrival of Cortés. As I said at the outset, all this I have given in my *Native Races*, and can not of course repeat it here. Further authorities on omens and on the state of the Aztec empire, most of them, however, of no value, are *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 5–12; *Beltrami, Mexique*, ii. 137–9 and 142–3; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iii. 130–2; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 124–6; *Bos, Leben der See-Helden*, 4–5; *Hazart, Kirchen-Geschichte*, ii. 505–8; *Touron, Hist. Gen. Am.*, iii. 127–34; *Viagero Univ.*, xxvi. 192–237; *Larenaudière, Mex. et Guat.*, 73–5; *Lafond, Voy.*, i. 105–7; *Eggleston's Montezuma*, 11–17; *Sammlung aller Reisebesch.*, xiii. 289–91; *Russell's Hist. Am.*, i. 76–9; *Laharpe, Abrégé*, ix. 268–73; *Du Perrier, Gen. Hist. Voy.*, 332–6; *Burke's Europ. Set.*, i. 71; *Smollett's Voy.*, i. 214–19; *Chevalier, Mexique*, 7–22; *Mexique Études*, 9–10; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, ii. 17–18; *Bussierre, L'Emp. Mex.*, 119–30; *Mansi, Conq. di Mess.* 14–19; *Roure, Conquête du Mex.*, 211–20.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COMBATANTS SALUTE.

APRIL–MAY, 1519.

THE EMBASSY FROM THE SHORE—THE NEW INTERPRETER—MARINA—HER APPEARANCE AND QUALITY—HER ROMANTIC HISTORY—SHE CLEAVES TO THE SPANIARDS AND TO CORTÉS—AND BECOMES ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT CHARACTERS OF THE CONQUEST—THE SPANIARDS LAND AND FORM AN ENCAMPMENT—THE GOVERNOR COMES WITH PRESENTS—THE SPANIARDS ASTONISH THE NATIVES—WHO REPORT ALL TO MONTEZUMA—CORTÉS SENDS THE MONARCH PRESENTS—COUNCIL CALLED IN MEXICO—MONTEZUMA DETERMINES NOT TO RECEIVE THE STRANGERS—RECIPROCATES IN PRESENTS A HUNDREDFOLD—CORTÉS PERSISTS—MONTEZUMA DECLINES MORE FIRMLY—OLMEDO ATTEMPTS CONVERSION—TEUHTLILE, OFFENDED, WITHDRAWS HIS PEOPLE FROM THE CAMP OF THE SPANIARDS.

UNDER San Juan de Ulua the fleet of Cortés rests at anchor, lying lazily there, its fiery purpose clothed in peaceful white, like a snow-capped volcano basking in the sunlight. The ships had been watched from afar by expectant eyes; and now from the wondering multitude that lines the Chalchiuhcuecan[1] shore come two large canoes, whose occupants step to the deck of the flag-ship and reverentially ask for the Tlatoani. Their language is new to Aguilar; none of the company can understand it. What is to be done? Modestly speaks one of the female slaves, "These are Mexicans, sent by Cuitlalpitoc,[2] cacique of the

[1] See *Native Races*, iv. 434. Duran's native records call this the 'port' of Chalchuihqueyacan. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 389. The spelling by different authorities differs greatly. Clavigero, and Veytia, *Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 377, give April 21 as the date of arrival, while Bustamante, in *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. Mex. 1845), 135, makes it the 22d. Year Ce Acatl. *Ixtlilxochitl, Rel.*, 411. Sahagun, *Hist. Conq.*, i. 7., says 13 conejos.

[2] *Torquemada*, i. 387. Bernal Diaz writes Pitalpitoque, named by the

nearest town, to welcome the white chief and offer their devotion. They would likewise know whence he comes, and why."

Instantly all eyes are on the speaker, who under their continued gaze draws back, abashed at her own temerity, while the warm blood mantles beneath its clear olive confine, and the breath comes inconstant between parted lips. Cortés regards her as she stands there unconscious of the important service she has rendered him; for possessed she the power of Thetis, to assume any form she pleased, the fair interpreter could not at this juncture have appeared before the chief in any other aspect half so fascinating. Who is she? The one baptized Marina, at Tabasco; and who, being the greatest lady there, was given to Puertocarrero, the greatest gentleman present. Why had she been given to Puertocarrero? Why had not the chief chamberer himself taken her? Cortés had weightier matters on his mind. He was playing for empire, and would not now stop to divide the petty winnings with his men. By and by right royally will he reward the unsanctified within him for its abstinence. As for this girl, he seems now for the first time to see her.[3] Had Marina, the slave, been born in other lands, under different auspices, to what exalted sphere might not her personal loveliness and beauty of character have entitled her!

They say she was fair for an Indian; very beautiful she certainly is, and of that order of loveliness that captivates the understanding no less than the passions. The old as well as the young are ravished with her beauty, even as with Helen were the elders of Troy. She is about eighteen, and in form and features perfect; her long hair falling over smooth, round shoulders, and from large lustrous eyes radiating a

Spaniards Ovandillo. *Hist. Verdad.*, 25. Herrera, Pitalpitoc. Solis, followed by Robertson, Pilpatoe. Bernal Diaz and Gomara name Teuhtlile, the chief governor of the province, who lived farther in the interior, as the sender.

[3] According to Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 40, and Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. iv., this new interpreter is not discovered until four days later.

tender melancholy that overspreads the face and tones to harmony whatever falls beneath its influence. Sweet and frank in her disposition, she is nevertheless resolute enough upon occasion; yet in her ordinary mood there is a rare grace and femininity, in which she is as liquid and pellucid as a passage in Herodotus. There is no shame in her blush, nothing bordering on conscious inferiority in her bearing; nothing that these or any other beings may do unto her can lessen her self-respect. She scarcely knows she is a slave, the plaything of passion; she finds the world made so, men the stronger and wickeder, and she has but to acquiesce.[4]

Cortés is deeply interested. As if from heaven some bright being had been sent to his assistance, so comes to him Marina now. What is her history? Strangely romantic. She is the daughter of a cacique, born at Painala, eight leagues from Goazacoalco. While yet a child her father died; and upon a son, the fruit of a second marriage, the mother centred all her affections. To secure to him the succession and inheritance which rightly belonged to the daughter, Marina was given as a slave to some travelling merchants of Xicalanco, while a slave girl who had just died was passed off for Marina and buried with the usual stately ceremonies.[5] Arrived at Tabasco, Marina

[4] 'Entremetida, ó desembuelta,' slabbers that lecherous old soldier Bernal Diaz. To call women loose comes well from men who spend their lives in making them so. If, as has been stated, the women of her native district have borne a reputation not altogether enviable, whose fault is it? Not theirs, truly. That this girl was the mistress of men, under the circumstances, detracts not one iota from her good name in the minds of right-thinking persons; nay, it detracts nothing from her purity of mind, her honesty, or her innate morality. 'Reprehensible medio de asegurarla en su fidelidad,' says Solis, *Hist. Conq. Mex.*, i. 119, otherwise so ready to cover up the defects of his hero.

[5] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 24–5. According to Gomara she was born in Viluta, in the direction of Jalisco, the daughter of rich parents, related to the cacique. From them she was stolen by traders and sold in Xicalanco. *Hist. Mex.*, 40. The town and district may be a corruption of Huilotlan, in Xalatzinco, which Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, 287, gives as her native place, and this may be identical with the present Oluta or Holuta, near Acayucan, on the isthmus of Tehuantepec. Painala is no longer known. Fossey, who travelled through the region, states that tradition makes Xaltipan or Altipan her birthplace, and in support of this belief a mountain is pointed out, close to the

was sold to the cacique, and by him transferred to the Spaniards. With a mind elastic and quick to learn, to her native Mexican tongue she added at Tabasco a knowledge of the Maya, becoming afterward proficient in Spanish. And now no longer slave, save to the passion love, she is to queen it for a while as consort of the conqueror, becoming in the conquest second only in power and importance to Cortés himself, whom with her whole soul she loves, and to whom alone she clings after the departure presently of Puertocarrero for Spain. Accompanying the invaders as interpreter and adviser, she shares their hardships and rejoices in their successes. For is not the daring commander lord of her heart and person? Moreover, what claim upon her has a nation which drives her into solitude beyond its border, and for no crime? Therefore, if her newly found friends sicken, she nurses them; if they despair, she comforts them. Nevertheless she cannot forget her people, but freely exerts her influence in their behalf, saving many a life and many a town from destruction. Toward the end both races vie in showing her their admiration, gratitude, and respect; and although to the Indian the invaders become more and more objects of execration, yet he never mentions with aught but loving reverence the name Malintzin, or Malinche, as in his tongue is called Marina.[6]

town, bearing the name of Malinche. *Mexique*, 26–7; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.* (Bustamante ed.), i. 41; *Berendt*, in *Salazar, Méx. en* 1554, 178; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vi.; Sahagun, *Hist. Conq.* i. 15, mentions Teticpac, and Oviedo names Mexico as Marina's native place, iii. 259, while Saavdra undertakes to reconcile the different statements by supposing that her family came originally from Jalisco, west of Anáhuac, to Mexico city, and thence to Goazacoalco. Her high intelligence indicates that she was educated in the capital. *Dic. Univ.*, ix. 774.

[6] Mexicans being unable to pronounce the 'r,' Marina became Malina, to which the *tzin* was added in respect, equivalent to doña or lady. Malinche was a Spanish corruption, which was at times applied by the Indians to Cortés, as the lord and companion of Marina, and Juan Perez de Arteaga had also the appellation added to his name, from being so often with her. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 52. Another conjecture is that her original name was Malina, or Malinalli, signifying 'twisted thing,' the term for one of the Mexican days, applied in accordance with a native custom of giving children the name of their birthday. The name indeed is not uncommon, the lord of Tlachquiauhco,

To the embassy of Cuitlalpitoc Cortés makes friendly answer. He will explain his purposes to the cacique in person. Meanwhile the messengers are regaled with food; presents are given them, and gold is shown as

for instance, being called Malinal or Malinaltzin. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, ii. 31, 40. On finding her own name so similar to Marina, the Spanish priest gave her this at the font. The Indians usually acquired a surname after they grew up, and Tenepal is that found for Marina. *Siguenza y Gongora, Parayso Occid.*, 38; *Salazar y Olarte, Conq. Mex.*, 217; *Arróniz, Orizaba*, 171, 182. To Cortés she bore a son, who was recognized by his father and raised to the rank of a knight of Santiago. While on the way with Cortés to Honduras, in 1524, she was legally married to Captain Juan Jaramillo. This took place at Ostoticpac, near Orizaba, and excited no little comment. Some believe that the arrival of Cortés' wife was the cause of the marriage; but although this may have led to his separation from Marina, it could not have affected the marriage, since the wife was already dead. Cortés no doubt found her an incumbrance, and sought to be rid of it in a manner honorable to her at least. Gomara accuses him of having made Jaramillo drunk for the purpose. *Hist. Mex.*, 251; but this Bernal Diaz corrects. He knew one of the witnesses at the ceremony. *Hist. Verdad.*, 25. Jaramillo had achieved a certain prominence as commander of one of the brigantines which aided in the siege of Mexico, and in other affairs, and is said to have been an hidalgo. Ixtlilxochitl marries her to Aguilar, probably because this seemed a fit union. *Hist. Chich.*, 287. Camargo, *Hist. Tlax.*, 143. Shortly after her marriage the army halted at Goazacoalco, whither all the chiefs of the neighborhood were summoned to tender submission and to receive instruction in the faith. Among them was a young cacique with his mother, whose resemblance to Marina at once called the attention of all acquainted with the story, and led to her recognition as the heartless parent. The old dame feared for her life, but Marina reassured her with tender caresses, excusing her conduct as controlled by the deceased stepfather, and cheered her with a number of presents. She presented her husband, and referred with fond pride to the son she had given to Cortés. Both mother and half-brother accepted baptism, he receiving the name of Lázaro, and she that of Marta, an appropriate name for one who perhaps lived long enough to lament the ruin of her people and country, an indirect result of her unnatural treatment of Marina. Bernal Diaz, who witnessed all this, and became further acquainted with the family, declares Gomara wrong, and says: 'Conoci á su madre, y á su hermano,' concluding 'todo esto que digo, se lo oí muy certificadamente, y se lo jurò, amen.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 25; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 12–14; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 38. Returning to Mexico, she received lands there and in her native province, but took up her residence in the capital, where her husband held a prominent position through his wealth and offices, such as regidor and as the first alférez of the city. 'Recibieron pr Alferes de esta Ciudad a Juan Xaramillo.' 'Primer Alferes.' *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 216. Reference is made to lots and other grants made to him and his wife Doña Marina, on March 14, 1528, and other dates. *Id.* Both held repartimientos, one of which lay in Xilotepec. Marina appears to have been still living in Mexico city in 1550, impressing her memory upon the hearts of the grateful people, over whose welfare she even now watches. Invoked by them, her spirit is frequently encountered in its twilight flights on errands of mercy and consolation, issuing from the ancient groves of Chapultepec, where centres the recollection of Aztec glories. Ballads still perpetuate her virtues, and many a nature's monument bears proudly the beloved name of Malintzin. Tradition also transforms her into a naiad who daily rises from the pool of Chapultepec, singing divinely. *Rodriguez, Anáhuac*, 461. She appears to have had several children by Cortés. Peralta mentions five besides Martin, of whom two died while young. The three

something Spaniards delight in. Then they return to the shore, which appears not very inviting, with its broad reach of sand and sandy hillocks whirled up by the northers. Likewise vegetation hereabout is stunted, larger trees appearing only in the distance. The place had been recommended by Grijalva, however, as possessing good anchorage, and the people as being rich and hospitable.[7]

remaining were daughters, of whom two became nuns, and the third, Leonor, the wife of Martin de Tolosa. *Nat. Hist.*, 75. This is not wholly correct, however, for in the Libro de Gobierno del Virey Mendoza is a document, dated April, 1550, wherein the viceroy grants a petition from her in favor of her grandson, Don Alonso de Estrada, son of Luis de Saavedra, deceased, and encomendero of Tilantongo town. Alaman's notes, in *Prescott's Mex.* (Mex. 1844), ii. 268–9. In *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 123, ii. 70, 101, witnesses refer also to a daughter of the interpreter Marina, with whom Cortés is accused of having tampered, as he did with the mother. If so, this can hardly be Saavedra's wife, but a Tabascan child; yet Marina's master would not have presented a woman incumbered with a child when he sought to do honor to the Spaniards. Saavedra allows Marina to proceed to Spain with her husband, who procured for her a high position at court. Here she died, leaving several children, from whom descended some of the first families in Spain. *Dic. Univ.*, ix. 778. But this authority is too full of blunders to be relied upon. Ideal portraits are given in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 65, and *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 350.

[7] I have said, as the native record interpreted by Tezozomoc and Duran relates, that the fleet is sighted and reported long before it reaches San Juan de Ulua—from Tabasco, says Vetancvrt, *Teatro Mex.*, ii. 114. Montezuma, who had already begun to hope that the strangers would never return, becomes sad with apprehension; yet he orders special relays to be stationed on the route to the coast, in order to bring speedy news, commands his lieutenant to furnish the strangers with all they need, and sends Tlillancalqui, the messenger who met Grijalva, to ascertain their object. He is instructed to declare that Montezuma holds the throne as mere deputy at the disposal of the white god, for he supposes that it is Quetzalcoatl, as before. If the god intends to proceed to Mexico the roads will be cleaned, and the towns and stations prepared for his accommodation. Tlillancalqui delivers his message, together with a necklace of gold set with precious stones, and in his eagerness to please the strange beings he offers fowl and tortilla to horses as well as men. Cortés signifies his wish to go to Mexico, and asks that chiefs be sent to guide him. Tlillancalqui hurries back with the message, leaving orders to supply the Spaniards with all they desire. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 389–96; *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 250–3. According to the version by Sahagun and Torquemada, Montezuma sends the same messengers whom he despatched the year before to seek Grijalva, but who arrived too late. Their names are Yohualychan, the leader, Tepuztecatl, Tizahua, Huehuetecatl, and Hueycamecatleca. With them are sent the presents already prepared for Grijalva, and the sacerdotal vestments of Quetzalcoatl. On reaching the flag-ship they inquire for their king and god Quetzalcoatl. At first surprised, Cortés the next moment catches the clue. Seating himself on an improvised throne, surrounded by a large suite, he orders the messengers to appear. Being told that he is the personage whom they seek, they prostrate themselves, kissing the deck. The leader thereupon addresses him: 'Welcome, god and master; long have we, your servants and vassals, waited for you. Montezuma, your vassal and lieutenant,

Early on Good Friday Cortés landed, planted guns upon the hillock, and began the construction of a fortified camp, consisting of houses, huts, and sheds, high in the centre of which was placed a large cross. Informed of this, the cacique sent men to carry timber, plaster the walls, and put up awnings. Food was also provided, and feather-work and gold were presented Cortés, with the information that the governor would visit him presently. Meanwhile the natives flocked in to trade, so that on Saturday the place presented the appearance of a fair, rather than the encampment of an invading army.

On Easter Sunday, while preparations were made for mass, Cuitlalpitoc arrived with his chief, Teuhtlile, governor of the province, whose residence was at Cuetlachtlan, eight leagues away.[8] Attending them was a large retinue of nobles, and slaves[9] bearing presents. Cortés, with an escort, advanced to receive

sends us to salute you, and begs the acceptance of this small present and these precious ornaments, once used by you as our king and god.' They now array him in the vestments of Quetzalcoatl, adding also many ornaments pertaining to the gods Tezcatlipoca and Tlalocatecuhtli, as if to proclaim him the greatest of the gods. The most attractive pieces are a bejewelled and plume head-dress, and a necklace of precious stones. 'Is this all the gift of welcome that you bring?' asks Cortés. 'Lord and king, it is all that was given us for your Majesty,' was the reply. They are given food and accommodation for the night. In order to impress upon them the full extent of Spanish power, they are tied hands and feet while the horses are exhibited, the arms displayed, and the guns fired. They are then told that the white men have heard the fame of Mexican warriors, as able to overcome ten or even twenty times superior numbers, and desire a proof thereof by fighting them in equal force. Swords and shields are given them, but they decline, pleading their character as mere envoys. They are thereupon insulted as cowards, and told that the white men will descend upon their country, kill all who resist, take possession of the government, and secure better presents than those sent them. The messengers now hurry back to Mexico without informing any one on the way of what has occurred. *Torquemada*, i. 381–4; *Sahagun*, *Hist. Conq.*, i. 7–11; *Sigüenza y Góngora*, *El Fenix*, MS., 273–8.

[8] Teudilli, or Quitaluor, from Cotosta, is Gomara's corrupt form. *Hist. Mex.*, 39. Herrera calls Teuthlille the chief governor, and Pitalpitoe a chief. dec. ii. lib. v. cap. iv. Teutile, captain-general, and Pilpatoe, governor. *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 119. Teotlili arrives on Monday. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 286. 'Tendile, y Pitalpitoque eran Gouernadores de vnas Prouincias que se dizen, Cotastlan, Tustepeque, Guazpaltepeque, Tlataltetelo, y de otros pueblos que nueuamẽte teniã sojuzgados.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 26. He means, however, that Tendile is the chief governor. Pinotl had evidently left. Cuetlachtlan province appears to have extended from Rio Papaloapan, or Alvarado, to Rio de la Antigua.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl and Gomara place the number attending at over 4,000.

them, and after interchange of courtesies led the way to the altar, draped in native cotton fabrics, where Father Olmedo celebrated mass,[10] aided by Father Juan Diaz, Aguilar, and a trained choir. The service over, Cortés invited the chiefs to dinner, and there informed them that he was a captain of the greatest monarch the sun smiled on, Charles V. of Spain, who, hearing of Montezuma's fame, had sent him presents and a message, which must be delivered in person immediately.[11] How easy the way to him who knows it! Had Cortés but spoken the simple word, "I am Quetzalcoatl, come to resume my rule," he might possibly at one time have ridden midst hosannas to the capital, and seated himself without resistance on Montezuma's throne.

But the minion of an earthly monarch is quite a different being from the fair god in the eyes of the Aztec officers, who answer somewhat haughtily, "Be it known to you that our master is the inferior of none; and for the present let these gifts suffice." Saying which the signal is given; the slaves advance and deliver their burdens, consisting in part of food, cotton fabrics more than ten bales, brilliant feather-work, and a cacaxtli, or basket, filled with wrought gold set with rare stones and pearls. Cortés expressed thanks, and gave for Montezuma in return a carved and inlaid arm-chair, some engraved marcasite laid in musk-scented cotton, a bright red cap, a gold medal stamped with the figures of St George and the dragon, twisted strings of beads, and other articles; and would the emperor deign to wear the cap and occupy the chair when it became his pleasure to receive him? To the chiefs were also given some trifles. Teuhtlile promised to deliver to Montezuma the gifts and the

[10] Here Solis takes Bernal Diaz to task for asserting that mass had been already said on Friday. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 121. But the scholar is too severe upon the soldier, whose head is true enough, however may be his tongue.

[11] 'All Gomara's fictions,' sneers Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 484, who ignores Marina's ability to interpret, and thinks the interview was limited to the simplest expressions conveyed by signs.

message. Then pointing to the gilt helmet of a soldier, which resembled in form the head-dress of the idol Quetzalcoatl, he expressed a desire to show it to Montezuma. "Take it," said Cortés, "and bring it back filled with gold-dust, that we may show our emperor what kind of metal you have."[12]

Observing the native painters transcribing to amatl-paper the several novelties, and wishing to impress them further, Cortés mounted a horse, and ordered the troops to fall into line and the cannons to be charged. The infantry first passed in review to the sound of music with arms and banners displayed. Then came the cavalry with the best riders, led by Alvarado, dashing past in varied and swift evolutions. The graceful movements of the great animals, their rearing and prancing, and above all their speed; the flashing swords, the glittering armor, all seemed to these simple people like a scene from the supernatural. Their admiration was changed to terror, however, when the guns belched flames and smoke, and sent midst many thunderings the stone balls scudding along the beach or crashing among the trees. All, even their own fears, were faithfully depicted by the painters. On leaving, Teuhtlile gave orders to supply the Spaniards with every necessary, for which purpose two thousand of his people were detailed to attend them, particularly to bring wood, water, and food. For their accommodation another cluster of huts was erected, so that within these few days two towns arose on the sands of Chalchiuhcuecan. Cuitlalpitoc, who remained for a time to superintend the service, received from his guests the name of Ovandillo.[13]

[12] *Carta del Ayunt.*, ubi sup., 19. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 39–41, while he does not refer to a helmet, states that Cortés asked for gold, as a remedy for heart disease, from which he and his men were suffering.

[13] 'Dexo alli dos hombres principales, como capitanes, con hasta dos mil personas entre mugeres y hombres de scruicio, y fuese a Cotosta.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 41. He left over 1000 to wait upon the Spaniards, and over 1000 to carry supplies. *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 482; *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 287; Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 26, supposes that Teuhtlile went in person to Mexico, but not so Gomara and Ixtlilxochitl.

Montezuma was quickly in possession of all these facts; and when he saw the gifts, and read the picture writings, and learned how a woman, beautiful as the sun, talked to his people in their own language; more particularly when he compared the helmet with that worn by Huitzilopochtli, and was told that the terrible strangers insisted on an interview, apprehension filled his soul.[14] Cuitlahuatzin, his brother, and Cacama of Tezcuco, were summoned to aid in telling him what to do. The council was divided. There was the popular belief regarding Quetzalcoatl with its attendant prognostics; on the other hand these strangers did not behave like gods. They had human appetites, overthrew the idols, claimed allegiance to another power, and had proved themselves vulnerable at Potonchan. Yet could beings wholly terrestrial so live without women, mount gigantic deer, and tame the lightning? Cacama thought they should have a hearing. The national honor demanded it; beside, refusal implied fear. Cuitlahuatzin saw in the visitation only evil to the commonwealth, and urged expulsion. The gods should decide; and very foolish gods they would have been to vote admission to their destroyers. And now behold the fatal folly of Montezuma! Instead of vigorous action toward

[14] 'Y desque viò el casco, y el que tenia su Huichilobos, tuuo por cierto, que eramos del linage de los que les auian dicho sus antepassados, que vendrian á señorear aquesta tierra.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 26. This statement is followed by a cut at Gomara for giving unreliable information. *Camargo, Hist. Tlasc.*, 141. The native version of Sahagun and Torquemada describes how the messengers are sprinkled with fresh human blood, as customary with important bearers of news, before presenting themselves before Montezuma. They arouse his admiration by speaking of the wonders beheld, of the penetrating swords, the sulphurous smell of the thunder smoke, and of the intoxicating food; but when they relate how outrageously they have been treated and how the strangers threatened to conquer the country, then the emperor wept, and with him all the city. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 12–13; *Torquemada*, i. 385–6; *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, 515–18. Brasseur de Bourbourg incorporates all this native version in his narrative, and allows Teuhtlile to reach Mexico with his report a few days after these messengers, thus confirming their account. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 75–6. Duran writes that on hearing of Cortés' eagerness to obtain guides for Mexico, Montezuma began to grieve deeply over the prospect of having to resign and die. The envoy consoled him by representing the benignity of the white gods, but he nevertheless set about to arrange for the safety of his children. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 396–7; *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 253.

the end determined on, he adopted a middle course. He would decline the interview, yet not rudely drive the strangers hence, lest, peradventure, they might be gods and successfully oppose him. He would send them liberal gifts, and beseech them to depart, thus exposing at once his weakness and his wealth.[15]

A diplomate of the first nobility was accordingly despatched to the sea-shore. With him went Teuhtlile, returning after only a week's absence.[16] Numerous natives were in attendance, among them over a hundred slaves. Bowing low before Cortés, who had on this occasion put on greater pomp than usual, the envoy touched the earth with his hand, carrying it to his lips, and then he swung the copal censer.[17] Together with Teuhtlile he thereupon seated himself beside Cortés; and it was remarked how much alike they looked, the Spanish commander and the Aztec envoy, who, perhaps, had been selected for this reason, with the aid of the portraits made by the native painters, and as a mark of honor to the white captain. The soldiers not inappropriately called him the Mexican Cortés.[18]

The slaves were then directed to lay down the presents; among which were thirty bales of cotton fabrics, from gauzy curtains to heavy robes, white,

[15] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 287–8; *Camargo, Hist. Tlasc.*, 141–2; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. ix. Torquemada refers to the similar mistake of King Hezekiah of Judea, in exhibiting to the Assyrian envoys his wealth, and thus attracting invaders. i. 391, 404.

[16] This seems an incredibly short time in a country without horses, for Mexico lies over 200 miles by road from this part of the coast; but with numerous relays of runners and litter-bearers the distance would not take long to cover. 'Estas mensajerias fuerō en vn dia, y vna noche del real de Cortes a Mexico, que ay setenta leguas y mas.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 41.

[17] Torquemada., i. 389, assumes this to have been in token of divine adoration, but the ceremony was a quite common mark of respect for distinguished persons. See *Native Races*, ii. 284. 'Nos llamaron Teules.....ó dioses.' 'Hence when I say Teules, or Gods, it may be understood to mean us,' says Bernal Diaz with conscientious pride. *Hist. Verdad.*, 32. But the *teu* or *teo* prefix to names must be accepted in the same light as the incense burning, and in this case equivalent to 'hero.' See also *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 19. 'Demonios' is Oviedo's translation of teules, iii. 500.

[18] Some writers doubt the ability of native painters to have given a sufficiently accurate portrait; but with the aid of explanatory signs there was little difficulty.

colored, plain, and figured,[19] interwoven with feathers or embroidered with gold and silver thread; feathers and plumes of all colors, embroidered sandals, and marcasite mirrors. All these, however, were trifles beside the gold, the beautiful glittering gold which was now disclosed, and likewise the silver. First there was a disk of the yellow metal, representing the sun with its rays, as large as a carriage wheel, ten spans in diameter, ornamented in demi-relief and valued at thirty-eight hundred pesos de oro.[20] A companion disk of solid silver, of the same size, and equally ornamented, represented the moon.[21] Then there were thirty golden ducks, well fashioned; a number of other pieces in form of dogs, lions, monkeys, and other animals; ten collars, a necklace with over one hundred pendent stones called emeralds and rubies by the Spaniards; twelve arrows, a bow with cord stretched, two staves each five palms in length; fans, bracelets, and other pieces, all of fine gold, beside a number of silver. What could have delighted the Spaniards more? One thing only, and that was not wanting—the gilt helmet returned full of virgin gold, fine dust and coarse, with a plentiful mixture of nuggets of various sizes and shapes, all fresh from the placers. The value of this was three thousand

[19] Some of them were checkered, which to Peter Martyr is a sufficient proof that the Mexicans played chess, dec. v. cap. x.

[20] *Carta del Ayunt. de V. Cruz*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 29. 'Pessaba la de oro quatro mill y ochoçientos pessos... tenia nueve palmos y medio de anchura é treynta de çircunferençia,' says Oviedo, who inspected the presents at Seville, evidently with mathematical precision. iii. 259. 'Pesaua cien marcos, hecha como Sol, y con muchos follajes, y animales de relieue.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 42. Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. ix., describes the central figure as a king enthroned, surrounded with foliated ornaments. In the above *Carta del Ayunt.* a peso de oro and a castellano are shown to be equivalent, and a marco contains fifty castellanos. Writers differ widely in their calculations to reduce these coins to modern values, Prescott estimating the castellanos at $11.67 in United States money, and Ramirez, in a critical note thereupon, at $2.93. *Prescott's Mex.*, i. 321; also edition Mex. 1845, app. ii. 79–92. See note on coins in *Hist. Cent. Am.*, this series, i. 192–3. Clemencin, in *Mem. Real Acad. de Hist.*, vi. illust. 20, 525–45, enters fully into the subject.

[21] Weighing 48 marcos. *Carta del Ayunt.*, loc. cit. 'De cincuenta y tantos marcos, ternia de gordor como un toston de á 4 reales,' says Las Casas, who examined the gifts in Spain. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 485–6. 'Otra mayor rueda de plata.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 26. Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 16, 449, misunderstanding Diaz, places the value of this disk at 20,000 pesos or £5000.

pesos, and appreciation was attracted not so much by the amount as by the significance of the gift, as Bernal Diaz remarks, for it afforded a sure indication of the existence of rich mines in the country. "It was this gift which cost Montezuma his head,"[22] says Torquemada.

The words which followed fell on closed ears. These so greatly admired gifts are but a slight token of the high regard of the emperor, who would be pleased to form a friendship with his king; but he could not think of troubling Cortés to come to him through a hostile country; besides, he was ailing. Everything the visitors might wish to aid their departure would be instantly supplied. This and more. Poor, foolish monarch! As well might he ask the ravenous wolf to depart after giving it to lick a little blood from his scratched hand. For the gifts, a thousand thanks; but after so long a voyage, undertaken solely for the purpose, the Spanish captain dared not face his master without having seen the great Montezuma. As for the road, its difficulties or dangers were nothing. Would the chiefs present their monarch these further articles, and bring speedy answer?[23]

Meanwhile discussion was in order among the Spaniards, and speculation as to what should be done. Some advised immediate advance on Monte-

[22] *Monarq. Ind.*, i. 390. 'Valdria el oro y la plata que allí habia 20 ó 25,000 castellanos, pero la hermosura dellas y la hechura, mucho más.' *Las Casas*, ubi sup. 'Podia valer este presente veynte mil ducados, o pocos mas. El qual present tenian para dar a Grijalua.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 42. 'Q̃lo reparta cõ los Teules que cõsigo trae,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 27, intimating that another present was coming for the white emperor; but it was applied to the expedition treasury like nearly everything obtained by trade or seizure. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. v; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 115. Brasseur de Bourbourg estimates the gold disk alone at 357,380 francs. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 85. Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. ix., gives a detailed description of several of the presents.

[23] This time the presents for the chiefs were some embroidered shirts, silk sashes and other things, while to the emperor he sent a Florentine goblet, gilt and enamelled with figures, three Holland shirts, and some bead articles, not a very costly return for what he had received. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 27, and Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vi., enumerate the presents given to them. 'Teudilli.... le rogo mucho, q pues estaua mal aposentado en el cápo y arenales, se fuesse con el a vnos lugares seys o siete leguas de alli.' But Cortés declined to leave the camp. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 43.

zuma's capital; some, fearful of the nation's strength, as manifested by its arts and refinements, favored return to Cuba for reinforcements. Cortés let them talk, but said little. Traffic at first was freely permitted among the men,[24] and as the result was meagre Cortés did not think it worth while to require of them a division. To this irregularity certain of the Velazquez leaders objected, demanding at least that the royal fifth should be deducted; the commander therefore ordered gold to be received only by Gonzalo Mejía, as treasurer.[25]

Ten days elapsed before Teuhtlile returned, without the envoy,[26] but followed by a file of slaves bearing, among other things, as a present to the Spanish king, ten loads of rich feathers and robes, some gold figures valued at three thousand pesos, and four chalchiuite stones, each declared to be worth a load of gold, but of no value to Europeans.

Teuhtlile then stated that further messages to the emperor were useless, since the desired interview could not be granted. He hoped the Spaniards would content themselves with the promised supplies and depart in peace.

Turning to his companions, Cortés said: "Truly this must be a great lord, and rich; and, God willing, some day we will visit him." Just then the bell struck for Ave María, and instantly, with uncovered heads, the soldiers were kneeling round the cross. The priests, ever ready to preach their faith where an opportunity presented, were soon at work. His words, however, made a bad impression on the governor, as had also the evasive answer of Cortés to his

[24] 'Y aquel oro que rescatauamos dauamos á los hombres que traiamos de la mar, que iban á pescar, á trueco de su pescado.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 27. If so it was probably after the Indians deserted.

[25] Gomara refers to an order to stop all barter for gold, with a view to let it appear that the Spaniards cared not for the metal, and thus to induce the Indians to make no secret of the manner in which it was obtained. *Hist. Mex.*, 39. As if the natives had not already learned what we wanted, sneers Bernal Diaz.

[26] 'Que se dezia Quintalbor, no bolvió mas, porque auia adolecido en el camino.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 27.

message. He bade a cold farewell, and the next morning the Spaniards awoke to find the native encampment deserted, and even the supplies carried away. Precautions were now taken against probable attack, by sending on board the provisions and all cumbrous articles, leaving embarkation easy at any moment.[27]

[27] According to Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 45, Cortés told the governor that he would not leave without seeing Montezuma. Solis elaborates this as usual into a long speech, to which Teuhtlile replies with threats, and turning his back stalks out of the camp. *Conq. Mex.*, i. 153–5; *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. v. cap. vi.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MIGHTY PROJECT IS CONCEIVED.

MAY, 1519.

SERIOUS DILEMMA OF CORTÉS—AUTHORITY WITHOUT LAW—MONTEJO SENT NORTHWARD—RECOMMENDS ANOTHER ANCHORAGE—DISSENSIONS AT VERA CRUZ—PROMPT AND SHREWD ACTION OF CORTÉS—A MUNICIPALITY ORGANIZED—CORTÉS RESIGNS—AND IS CHOSEN LEADER BY THE MUNICIPALITY—VELAZQUEZ' CAPTAINS INTIMATE REBELLION—CORTÉS PROMPTLY ARRESTS SEVERAL OF THEM—THEN HE CONCILIATES THEM ALL—IMPORTANT EMBASSY FROM CEMPOALA—THE VEIL LIFTED—THE MARCH TO CEMPOALA—WHAT WAS DONE THERE—QUIAHUIZTLAN—THE COMING OF THE TRIBUTE GATHERERS—HOW THEY WERE TREATED—GRAND ALLIANCE.

AT this point in his career Hernan Cortés found himself less master of the situation than suited him. The color of his command was not sufficiently pronounced. He had no authority to settle; he had no authority to conquer; he might only discover and trade. He did not care for Velazquez; anything that pertained to Velazquez he was prepared to take. But Velazquez had no legal power to authorize him further. Cortés cared little for the authorities at Española; the king was his chief dependence; the king to whose favor his right arm and mother wit should pave the way. Some signal service, in the eyes of the monarch, might atone for slight irregularities; if he failed, the severest punishments were already come. But where was the service? Had Montezuma granted him an interview, he might make report of that, and find listeners. As it was, he could land and slay a few thousand natives, but his men would waste away and no benefits accrue. Nevertheless, if he could plant

himself somewhat more firmly on this soil than his commission seemed to justify, chance might offer opportunity, and the signal service find achievement. Such were the thoughts that just now filled his sagacious brain, but the way was by no means clear before him.

While the events narrated in the preceding chapter were in progress, Montejo, with two vessels, had been sent northward to seek a harbor less unwholesome than the present, where many of those wounded at Tabasco had died.[1] As second in command went Rodrigo Álvarez Chico, and as pilots, Alaminos, and Álvarez el Manquillo. On reaching the extreme point attained by Grijalva, the strong current prevented further advance, as in the former attempt.[2] They were obliged by a gale to throw overboard part of their cargo. Water failed, and in the attempt to land an artilleryman perished. Prayer was now their only recourse, and this not only changed the wind, but brought rain. After a fortnight of misadventures[3] they returned to San Juan de Ulua, and hastened bareheaded to the cross to offer thanks. More wholesome airs were not difficult to find, but good harbors were not abundant thereabout. The only favorable spot found by Montejo lay some ten leagues north of the camp, close to the native fortress of Quiahuiztlan.[4] A high rock affording shelter from

[1] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 27. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vi., and others refer to a similar number as being on the sick-list. Yellow fever, or vómito negro, now the scourge of this and adjoining regions, appears to have developed with the growth of European settlements, and Clavigero states that it was not known there before 1725. *Storia Mess.*, i. 117.

[2] 'Hasta el parage del rio grande de Pánuco.' *Herrera*, loc. cit. 'Llegaron al parage del rio grande, que es cerca de Panuco, adonde otra vez llegamo quãdo lo del Capitá Juan de Grijalua.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 27.

[3] 'Doze dias que gastaron en este peligroso viage.' *Herrera*, ubi sup. 'Boluiose al cabo de tres semanas.... le salian los de la costa, y se sacauã sangre, y se la ofrecia en pajuelos por amistad a deidad.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 45.

[4] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 289. Quiauitl, rain or shower. *Molina, Vocabulario.* Hence rainy place. Herrera calls it Chianhuitzlan, and this has been adopted by Clavigero and most other writers. Prescott, *Mex.*, i. 348, in a note holds up Clavigero as a standard for the spelling of Mexican names, but he forgets that the Italian form, as in the above case, would be misleading to English people.

north winds gave the place some resemblance to the Spanish harbor of Bernal, which name was accordingly applied to it. Extending inland were green fields fringed with fine timber, and supplied with creeks of good water.[5]

The fifty men comprising the expedition of Montejo had been picked from the adherents of Velazquez, in order that by weakening this faction Cortés might be allowed to develop his plans. For the army was slowly but surely drifting into division, as we have so often found in adventures of this kind, and the Velazquez party comprised all who desired immediately to return. In this clique were many wealthy and influential men who cared no more for Velazquez than for Cortés, but who had possessions in Cuba, and were becoming impatient to return to them. Nor was there much difficulty in giving form to discontent. There were grave suspicions afloat as to the loyalty of the commander; but these, which assuredly were more conspicuous in Cuba than here, were of little moment when they harmonized with the wishes of the men. What stupidity in forming camp amidst such malaria, and in so early making enemies of the people. It was evident, so they argued, that the commander intended to sacrifice the company to his ambition.

The action of Cortés here as elsewhere marks the great man, the man of genius, the born master of men, and rightfully places him beside the Cæsars and the Napoleons of the world. The commander wished to remain. All his fortune, all the fortunes of his friends were staked on this adventure, and he would rather die than return unsuccessful. Little hope there would be of his obtaining command again; he would

[5] 'Le llamarõ Vernal, por ser, como es, vn Cerro alto.' *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 115. This may have been the origin of the name for the Spanish port, after which Bernal Diaz says it was called. *Hist. Verdad.*, 27. He applies the name to a neighboring fort, spelling it in different ways, of which Solis, and consequently Robertson, have selected the most unlikely. Gomara applies Aquiahuiztlan to the harbor. *Hist. Mex.*, 49.

not return, neither would he just at present die. In desperate cases spirited counsels and spirited actions are usually safest.

Calling to him his most trusty followers, Puertocarrero, Alvarado and his brothers, Ávila, Olid, Escalante, and Francisco Lugo, he laid the situation fairly before them. Shortly after these captains were out among the men, holding forth to them privately on the wealth of the country, the ease and glory of conquest, and the prospect of repartimientos. Where was the benefit of returning to Cuba? Surely they might as well hold the country for themselves as to abandon it and let others step into their places. It would be much easier to increase the present force by adding to it than to raise a new army better appointed or larger than this. Nor did they forget the argument of religion, which, however hollow in practice, was weighty enough in theory. "Elect therefore to remain," they said in conclusion; "and choose the able and generous Cortés for your general and justicia mayor till the emperor decides in the matter."[6]

The opposition was by no means ignorant of these manœuvres, and Ordaz was commissioned to remonstrate with Cortés. He dwelt on the danger of present colonization, denounced any attempt to ignore Velazquez, and insisted on instant return. Suppressing the anger naturally arising from these insinuations, true as they were, Cortés disavowed any intention of exceeding the instructions of his commission. For himself he preferred to remain, as, among other reasons, the only means of reimbursing himself for his heavy expenditures. If, however, it

[6] Bernal Diaz relates with great satisfaction how earnestly the speaker pleaded for his vote, addressing him repeatedly as 'your worship.' One reason for their earnestness, he implies, was the superiority in number of the Velazquez party. 'Los deudos, y amigos del Diego Velazquez, que eran muchos mas que nosotros.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*. 28–9. He forms this estimate most likely on the proportion of leaders who from jealousy of Cortés, and for other reasons, were addicted to Velazquez; but their men were probably more in favor of the general than of the captains, to judge from the result. The sailors for obvious reasons may have added to the Velazquez number, if not to their strength.

was the will of the army to return, he would yield. A few hours later appeared an order to embark the following day for Cuba. This, as was intended, brought public feeling to a crisis. All saw their golden hopes suddenly dashed to the ground, their visions of honors and repartimientos dispelled; even the men so lately clamorous to return were not prepared to find their request so readily granted. Would it not be well to think further of the matter, and perhaps devise a plan to cover the emergency? After noisy discussion the soldiers appeared in force before the captain-general and demanded the revocation of the order. They had left Cuba with the declared understanding that a colony was to be planted, and now they were informed that Velazquez had given no authority to settle. And if he had not, were not the interests of God and the king paramount to the order of any governor? And did not this same Velazquez defame Grijalva for not disobeying instructions in this very regard? With no small satisfaction Cortés saw that he was safe; then urging calm deliberation he graciously promised delay,[7] which was employed first of all in impressing on their minds how indispensable he was to their success.

Finally before the assembled army the captain-general appeared and said: That he had invested his whole fortune in the fleet, and controlled it; yet he was willing to subordinate his individual interest to that of the whole. He had given the order to return because he understood such to be the will of the majority. As this was not the case, he would gladly remain; for God who had ever been with them was now disclosing such a field of wealth and glory as had never before been offered to Spaniard. Yet, if any wished to return, let them freely speak, and a vessel would be at their disposal. What magic power ruled, that, when the disaffected majority were thus given

[7] 'Se hazia mucho de rogar: y como dize el refran: Tu me lo ruegas, è yo me lo quiero.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 29.

their way, every mouth was dumb, and the commander remained more potent than ever?

A colony being thus decided on, the founding ceremony was performed by the quasi laying out of a town, the planting a pillory in the plaza, and a gallows at some distance outside,[8] though strictly speaking, the town was not properly located or laid out till afterward. Referring to the treasures here obtained, and to the day of landing, the new town was called Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz.[9] Cortés, as commander, appointed the municipal officers,[10] naming for alcaldes Puertocarrero and Montejo, a judicious selection, both for his own interests and as likely to meet general approval. And here again is displayed the subtle policy of Cortés, who to this important position nominates but one from among his own faction, Montejo being for Velazquez. Thus of an opponent he made an adherent, conciliating at the same time the entire Velazquez party.[11] The regidores were Alonso de Ávila, Pedro and Alonso de Alvarado, and Gonzalo de Sandoval; procurador general, Francisco Álvarez Chico; alguacil mayor, Juan de Escalante; escribano, Diego de Godoy. Beside these were appointed, in the interests of the military department, as capitan de entradas, Pedro de Alvarado; maestre de campo, Cristóbal de Olid; alférez, Corral; alguaciles de real, Ochoa and Romero; tesorero, Gonzalo Mejía; contador, Alonso de Ávila.[12]

[8] 'Se puso vna picota en la plaça, y fuera de la Uilla vna horca.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 29; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 116. This signifies that justice was installed, its officers being next appointed.

[9] See note 23, chap. ii., this volume.

[10] 'Nombrónos....por alcaldes y regidores,' say distinctly the appointed officers themselves, in their letter to the emperor. *Carta del Ayunt.*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 20. Bernal Diaz also indicates that Cortés made the appointments, although he at first says, 'hizimos Alcalde, y Regidores.' Yet it is probable that the authorities were confirmed formally as they were tacitly by the members of the expedition; for Cortés, as he acknowledges, had no real authority to form a settlement.

[11] *Testimonio de Montejo*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 489. 'Â este Montejo porque no estaua muy bien con Cortés, por metelle en los primeros, y principal, le mandò nombrar por Alcalde.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 29.

[12] *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vii; *Torquemada*, i. 587. Bernal Diaz skips the regidores. He thinks Villareal was not reappointed alférez because of

Nearly all these men were devoted to Cortés, and were therefore a powerful *point d'appui* for his project.

Thus far all was well. The men of Velazquez and the men of Cortés, Spaniards all, for the same God and the same king, had of their own volition determined here to plant a Spanish settlement, and had so planted it. By virtue of his office, and in the absence of any higher authority, the captain-general had chosen temporary officers for the new commonwealth. This was all. These men had elected to transform the army into a civil society, for temporary or permanent purposes as the case might be; and they had done so. But about their leader? What position did he occupy? A general without an army, *de facto* at the head of affairs, but by no legal right. Let him cut his own knot.

Hat in hand, before the new municipality, Cortés appeared and surrendered his commission. Authority, chief and absolute, was now vested alone in the ayuntamiento. Then with the modesty of Cincinnatus he retired.

It was then in order, on the part of the municipality, to choose a chief ruler and representative of royal authority. This could be done by the council alone, though in this instance, for obvious reasons, it would be better to secure the appointment by popular vote. Cortés felt safe enough either way. A glowing eulogy delivered by a fluent speaker was followed by such noisy demonstrations that the opposition found no opportunity to express their opinion.[13] The follow-

a difficulty with Cortés about a Cuban female. *Hist. Verdad.*, 29; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 116. Promotion and other causes gave speedy rise to changes among the officials; Avila, for instance, becoming alcalde mayor of New Spain, and Pedro de Alvarado alcalde of the town.

[13] 'Los q̄ para esto estauā auisados, sin dar lugar a que nadie tomasse la mano. A vozes respōdierō Cortes, Cortes.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vii. Bernal Diaz merely intimates that a 'packed' meeting was held, by stating that the men of Velazquez were furious on finding Cortés and the municipality elected, declaring, 'q̄ no era bien hecho sin ser sabidores dello todos los Capitanes, y soldados.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 29. This indicates also that many of the opponents must have been sent away from camp for the occasion, perhaps on board the vessels. Montejo had besides a number with him.

ing day a committee was sent to apprise Cortés of his election,[14] in the name of their Catholic Highnesses, to the offices of captain-general, and of justicia mayor of the town. On appearing before the council to take the oath, the alcalde addressed Cortés, giving as reason for the appointment his loyalty, his worth, and his talents. The commission which was then given granted him one fifth of all treasure acquired by trade or conquest, after deducting the royal fifth. This was in consideration chiefly for his services as leader.[15] *Exitus acta probat.* Las

[14] 'El qual como si nada supiera del caso, preguntò que era lo que mandauā.' Having signified his acceptance, 'Quisierò besarle las manos por ello, como cosa al bien de todos.' *Herrera*, ubi sup.

[15] Gomara says frankly, 'Cortes acepto el cargo de capitan general y justicia mayor, a pocos ruegos, porq̄ no desseaua otra cosa mas por entonces.' *Hist. Mex.*, 48. 'Y no tuvo vergüenza Gomara,' is Las Casas' comment on the admission. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 496. Bernal Diaz states that Cortés had made it a condition, when the army pleaded to remain in the country, that he should receive these offices: 'Y lo peor de todo que le otorgamos que le dariamos el quinto del oro.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 29. The letter of the ayuntamiento to the emperor sets forth that they had represented to Cortés the injustice of trading gold for the sole benefit of Velazquez and himself, and the necessity of securing the country and its wealth for the king by founding a colony, which would also benefit them all in the distribution of grants. They had accordingly urged him to stop barter as hitherto carried on, and to found a town. It is then related how he yielded his own interest in favor of king and community, and appointed them alcaldes and regidores. His authority having in consequence become null, they appointed him in the king's name justicia, alcalde mayor, and captain, as the ablest and most loyal man, and in consideration of his expenses and services so far. *Carta 10 Jul., 1519*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 19–21. Both Puertocarrero and Montejo confirm, in their testimony before the authorities in Spain, that Cortés yielded to the general desire in doing what he did. *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 489, 493–4. According to Gomara, Cortés makes a trip into the neighboring country, and, finding how rich it is, he proposes to settle, and to send the vessels to Cuba for more men wherewith to undertake the conquest. This was approved: Cortés accordingly appointed the municipality, and resigning the authority conferred by the Jeronimite Fathers and by Velazquez, as now useless, these officers in turn elected him as their captain-general and justicia mayor. The council proposed that, since the only provisions remaining belonged to Cortés, he should take from the vessels what he needed for himself and servants, and distribute the rest among the men at a just price, their joint credit being pledged for payment. The fleets and outfit were to be accepted by the company in the same way, the vessels to be used to carry provisions from the islands. Scorning the idea of trading his possessions, Cortés surrendered the fleet and effects for free distribution among his companions. Although liberal at all times with them, this act was prompted by a desire to gain good-will. *Hist. Mex.*, 46–8; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vii.; *Torquemada*, i. 395, 587. Las Casas terms the whole transaction, as related by Gomara and the ayuntamiento, a plot to defraud Velazquez of his property and honors. Comparing the conduct of Cortés with that of Velazquez against Colon, he finds the latter trifling and pardonable, while the former was a barefaced

Casas insists that, since Cortés had no authority to form a settlement, his appointment of an ayuntamiento was illegal, and consequently their election of him. No one supposed for a moment, least of all Cortés, that these proceedings were regular. They were but make-believe legal. But in following Gomara's version Las Casas failed to understand that the appointment was conferred by the popular majority in the name of the king, which though not strictly legal threw over all the color of law. Beside, with consummate skill Cortés made it appear that the expedition obliged him to act as he did; and if these manœuvres did not legalize the transaction, they were the means of weaving a strong bond between the men and their leader, such as King Charles and all his ordinance-makers never could have created. Cortés was no longer the chief of Velazquez' expedition, but the leader of the Vera Cruz militia, as the army might now be termed, and removable only by the power that placed him there, or by the emperor.[16]

Although opposition was now in vain, the adherents of Velazquez loudly denounced the whole affair, called it a conspiracy and a cheat, and refused to acknowledge Cortés as their leader. So abusive did they become that open rupture was imminent. The leaders of this faction were Velazquez de Leon, Ordaz, Escobar, Pedro Escudero, Morla, and the

robbery, resulting to Velazquez in loss of fortune, honors, and life. The captains were accomplices. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 453, 494–6. Peter Martyr gives the facts in brief without venturing an opinion. dec. v. cap. i.; *Zumárraga*, in *Ramirez, Doc.*, MS., 271–2. Cortés still held out the offer to furnish a vessel for those who preferred to return to Cuba. As for Velazquez' goods, they remained safely in charge of the authorized agent, who also recovered the advances made to members. See note 5, cap. v.

[16] As for the ayuntamiento, the passive recognition accorded to it, confirmed as it was by the popularly elected general, may be regarded as sufficient. Spanish municipal bodies possessed an extensive power conferred upon them during successive reigns, chiefly with a view to afford the sovereign a support against the assuming arrogance of the nobles. Their deliberations were respected; they could appoint members, regulate their expenses, and even raise troops under their own standard. As an instance of the consideration enjoyed by these troops, it is related that Isabella the Catholic, when reviewing the army besieging Moclin, gave a special salute of respect to the banner of Seville. *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 612; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 401–2.

priest Juan Diaz. Seeing the necessity of prompt action, Cortés seized the first two, with a few others, and sent them on shipboard in irons, while Alvarado went a-foraging with a hundred men, chiefly adherents of the disaffected leaders.[17] They found a fertile country, and several small towns. The inhabitants fled at their approach, leaving signs of recent human sacrifices in the temple. In one building, with pyramidal foundation several feet in height, were found a number of fine rooms, some filled with grain, beans, honey, and other provisions; others with cotton fabrics and feathers, adorned in instances with gold and silver. In obedience to strict orders nothing was touched save food. The report brought back of the beauty of the country, together with the ample supplies obtained, tended toward harmony; and while the soldiers were thus easily reconciled to the new order of things, Cortés with his usual tact won over nearly all his adversaries. Some he bribed, some he flattered; others were allured with hopes of preferment. Most remarkable was it that with such fire in his veins, he could so control it; for however treacherous Cortés knew them to be, seldom a sign escaped him that he suspected them. Even the imprisoned officers yielded to his persuasive power, aided as it was by irons, and soon were ranked among his devoted sustainers.[18]

And now came to pass an event such as the gods not unfrequently fling their favorites, which was materially to brighten the prospects of the Spaniards. While preparing their removal to a new harbor, and shortly after the Mexican withdrawal from inter-

[17] According to Gomara, Cortés enters the country with 400 men and all the horses, before the election had been mooted. He describes the towns visited. *Hist. Mex.*, 46–8. Bernal Diaz pronounces the number of men and the time of entry false. He also states that Montejo was bought over for 2000 pesos and more. *Hist. Ver lad.*, 30.

[18] According to Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 30, gold played an important role in effecting this change of allegiance, termed by Velazquez, in his Memorials to Spain, a witchery. Solis sees nothing but the dignified yet clever traits of his hero in all this.

course, Bernal Diaz brought in from his outpost five Indians, different in dress and features from any hitherto seen. Among other peculiarities were large gold rings, set with stones, in their perforated ears, nose, and lower lip. Two of them, who spoke Mexican, explained the purport of their visit. The deeds of the Spaniards having reached the ears of their master, the lord of Cempoala, in the Totonac country, they had been sent to see these valiant beings, and invite them to their city a few leagues distant.[19] Questionings revealed that the Totonacs were a subjected nation, languishing like others under the oppressive yoke of the Aztecs, and only too ready to welcome deliverance.

It must be remembered that Cortés and his companions were wholly in the dark as to the power and positions of the interior nations. Now for the first time a little light was shed on the subject. It appeared that the mighty monarch, with whom took place the late interchange of courtesies, had enemies who, if not as powerful as himself, were still strong, and in spirit, at least, unsubdued. Might not this adverse influence be utilized and joined to other adverse influences for the humbling of the great interior power? Possibly Montezuma might grant Cortés audience under circumstances yet to be. Thus the plan of the conquest was conceived. The messengers were dismissed with presents and the assurance of a speedy visit.[20]

According to Ixtlilxochitl, the first revelation of Aztec weakness was made by his ancestor and namesake, the king of northern Acolhuacan.[21] Fearing the power and treachery of Montezuma and his allies, and

[19] The soldiers called them Lopelucios, because their first inquiry was Lopelucio, 'chief,' whom they wished to see. They had not ventured to approach while the Mexicans were at the camp. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 28.

[20] According to Gomara, followed by Herrera, the Totonacs were about twenty in number, and came while Teuhtlile was absent on his second mission to Mexico, without bringing a direct invitation to the Spaniards. *Hist. Mex.*, 43–4.

[21] See *Native Races*, v. 475–7.

hating the Aztecs with a perfect hatred, this prince had hailed with joy the arrival of the Spaniards, and had gloated over the terror with which their presence would inspire the emperor. The prospect of gaining an ally who might aid his own ambitious plans for supremacy, and for Mexican humiliation, impelled him to send an embassy to Cortés with rich presents, and with instructions to explain to the strangers the prevailing disaffection, the ease with which the Aztecs might be overthrown, and the rare spoils that would accrue to the conquerors. The interview with Cortés is placed at about the same time as the Totonac visit, and Ixtlilxochitl is said to have received the most friendly assurances from Cortés.[22] Be that as it may, here was an incident which should crush all cavillings.

As well to examine the country as to inure the troops to whatever experience should be theirs on this strange shore, Cortés with about four hundred men and two light guns proceeded by land to Cempoala, while the fleet with the heavy camp material and the remainder of the expedition coasted farther northward to Quiahuiztlan.

Burning overhead was the sun; burning underfoot were the sands; while on the one side was the tantalizing sea, and on the other the tantalizing wood, both inviting by their cool refreshing airs. Behind

[22] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 288. This author is not very careful, however, and his desire to court the Spaniards has no doubt led him to antedate the event. Brasseur de Bourbourg accepts his story in full. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 87–8. A similar revelation is claimed to have been made by two Aztec chiefs, Vamapantzin and Atonaltzin, who came to the camp in the retinue of the first messengers from Mexico. Descendants of the early Aztec kings, and discontented with the present ruler, they promised Cortés to deliver certain native paintings foretelling the coming of white men, to reveal the whereabouts of the imperial treasures, and to plot an uprising among native states in aid of Spaniards. For these services they received extensive grants after the conquest, including that of Ajapusco town. The document recording this is a fragment which Zerecero parades in the opening part of his *Mem. Rev. Méx.*, 8–14, as a discovery by him in the Archivo General. It pretends to be a title to Ajapusco lands, and contains on the first pages a letter signed by Cortés at San Juan de Ulua, '20 March,' 1519, as 'Captain-general and governor of these New Spains.' Both the date and titles stamp the letter at least as more than suspicious.

the dark-fringed forests rose old Orizaba,[23] laughing at their distress beneath its cap of snow, and wondering why mortals so superior should choose the deadly *tierra caliente* country for their promenade, when gentle, genial Anáhuac lay so near. But presently the senses quickened to the aroma of vegetation; soft swards and cultivated fields spread before them their living green, and the moist, murmuring wood anon threw over them its grateful shade. If beside grave thoughts on the stupendous matters then under consideration, might find place such trifles of God's creation as birds of brilliant plumage and of sweet song, they were there in myriads to charm the eye and ear; game to fill the stomach, though not so satisfying as gold, always commanded attention, and was also plentiful.[24] Through all, dispensing life and beauty on every side, flowed the Rio de la Antigua, where a few years later rose old Vera Cruz.[25]

Crossing this stream with the aid of rafts and shaky canoes, the army quartered on the opposite bank, in one of the towns there, which was destitute alike of food and people, but which displayed the

[23] The natives called it Citlaltepetl, starry mountain, with reference probably to the sparks issuing from it. For height, etc., see *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 273. Brasseur de Bourbourg gives it the unlikely name of Ahuilizapan. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 99. The ending 'pan' implies a district or town, not a mountain. The description in *Carta del Ayunt.*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 22–3, expresses doubt whether the whiteness of the summit is due to snow or to clouds.

[24] Alvarado chased a deer, and succeeded in wounding it, but the next moment the dense underbrush saved it from pursuit. The *Carta del Ayunt.*, loc. cit., gives a list of birds and quadrupeds; and a descriptive account, founded greatly on fancy, however, is to be found in the curious *Erasmi Francisci Guineischer und Americanischer Blumen-Pusch*, Nürnberg, 1669, wherein the compiler presents under the title of a nosegay the 'perfume of the wonders of strange animals, of peculiar customs, and of the doings of the kings of Peru and Mexico.' The first of its two parts is devoted to the animal kingdom, with particular attention to the marvellous, wherein credulity finds free play, as may be seen also in the flying dragon of one of the crude engravings. In the second part, the aborigines, their history, condition, and customs, are treated of, chiefly under Peru and Mexico, chapter v. relating specially to the latter country. The narrative is quite superficial and fragmentary; the 'nosegay' being not only common but faded, even the style and type appearing antiquated for the date. Appended is *Hemmersam, Guineische und West-Indianische Reissbeschreibung*, with addition by Dietherr, relating to Africa and Brazil.

[25] 'A tres leguas andadas llego al rio que parte termino con tierras de Montecçuma.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 49; *Torquemada*, i. 395.

usual ghastly indications of recent human sacrifice. The next morning they followed the river westward, and soon after met a party of twelve Totonacs, who had been sent by the Cempoalan ruler with presents of food. By them the Spaniards were guided northward to a hamlet where a bountiful supper was provided.[26] While marching the next day, with scouts deployed as usual to guard against ambuscades, they emerged from a dense tropical forest into the midst of gardens and orchards, and by a sudden turn in the road the bright buildings of Cempoala stood forth to view.

Just then twenty nobles appeared and offered welcome. They were followed by slaves, and instantly the travel-worn army was revelling in fruits and flowers. What more beautiful reception could have been given? yet the Spaniards would have preferred a shower of gold. To Cortés were given bouquets; a garland, chiefly of roses, was flung around his neck, and a wreath placed upon his helmet. Species of pineapples and cherries, juicy zapotes, and aromatic anones were distributed to the men without stint. Almost the entire populace of the city, some twenty-five thousand,[27] staring their wonderment with open eyes and mouth, thronged either side of the way along which marched the army in battle array, headed by the cavalry. Never before had the Spaniards seen so beautiful an American city. Cortés called it Seville,

[26] Gomara, who ignores the previous night's camp, states that the detour up the river was made to avoid marshes. They saw only isolated huts, and fields, and also about twenty natives, who were chased and caught. By them they were guided to the hamlet. *Hist. Mex.*, 49. They met one hundred men bringing them food. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 289. Prescott allows the Spaniards to cross only a tributary of la Antigua, and yet gain Cempoala. *Mex.*, i. 339–40.

[27] Las Casas says 20,000 to 30,000. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 492. Torquemada varies in different places from 25,000 to 150,000. The inhabitants were moved by Conde de Monterey to a village in Jalapa district, and in Torquemada's time less than half a dozen remained. i. 397. 'Dista de Vera-Cruz quatro leguas, y las ruinas dan á entender la grandeza de la Ciudad; pero es distinto de otro Zempoal....que dista de este doze leguas.' *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 39. 'Assentada en vn llano entre dos rios.' A league and a half from the sea. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. viii.

a name which Spaniards frequently applied to any place that pleased them, as we have seen, while the soldiers, charmed with its floral wealth and beauty, termed it Villaviciosa, and declared it a terrestrial paradise. One of the cavalry scouts, on first beholding the freshly stuccoed walls gleaming in the sun, came galloping back with the intelligence that the houses were silver-plated. It was indeed an important place, holding a large daily market. A central plaza was inclosed by imposing temples and palaces, resting on pyramidal foundations, lined with apartments and surmounted by towers, and around clustered neat dwellings with whitened adobe walls embowered in foliage. Statelier edifices of masonry, some having several court-yards, rose here and there, while in every direction spread an extensive suburb of mud huts with the never failing palm-leaf roof. Yet even the humblest abodes were smothered in flowers.[28] The people also, as we might expect by their surroundings, were of a superior order, well formed, of intelligent aspect, clothed in neat white and colored cotton robes and mantles, the nobles being adorned with golden necklaces, bracelets, and nose and lip rings, set with pearls and precious stones.

When the troops reached the plaza, Chicomacatl,[29] lord of the province, stepped from the palace to receive his guests. He was supported by two nobles, and though enormously stout,[30] his features denoted high intelligence, and his manner refinement. He was more of a gentleman than many of the Spaniards, whose merriment over his corpulence Cortés was obliged to repress. After saluting and wafting incense before the commander of the strange company, Chicomacatl embraced Cortés and led him to his quarters

[28] 'Cempoal, que yo intitulé Sevilla.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 52. See *Native Races*, ii. 553–90; iv. 425–63, on Nahua architecture.

[29] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 294. Brasseur de Bourbourg, by a misconstruction of his authorities, calls him Tlacochcalcatl. *Codex Chimalpopoca*, in *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 93. See *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 16.

[30] 'Una gordura monstruosa.... Fue necesario que Cortés detuviesse la risa de los soldados.' *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 175.

in the spacious halls adjoining the temple, after which he retired for a time. There the men rested and refreshed themselves, guards being carefully posted, for Cortés would not trust his fate to strangers, and strict orders were given that no one should leave the building.[31]

It was not long before Chicomacatl returned in a litter with a richly attired suite, bringing presents of fine robes, and jewels worth about two thousand ducats. During the conversation that ensued, Cortés as usual extolled the greatness and power of his king, and spoke warmly of his mission to replace their bloody religion with a knowledge of the true God. Were there wrongs to redress, that is to say, when opportunity offered for the perpetration of a greater wrong by himself, no knight of La Mancha or Amadis of Gaul could be more valiant than he. In return the chief of Cempoala unbosomed himself, for the manner of Cortés was winning, and his speech inspired confidence whenever he chose to make it so. Then his fame, already wide-spread over the land, and the dim uncertainty as to his nature, whether more celestial or terrestrial, added weight to his words. So Chicomacatl poured forth from an overflowing heart a torrent of complaints against the tyranny of Montezuma. He drew for the Spaniards a historic outline of the Aztecs—how a people the youngest in the land had, at first by cunning and treachery, and finally by forced allies and preponderance of arms, built their power upon the ruin of older states. The Totonacs, whose records as an independent nation in this region extended over seven centuries, had succumbed only some twenty-five years before this.[32] And now Montezuma's collectors overran the provinces, gathering heavy tributes, seizing the beautiful maidens, and

[31] 'Se hizo el alojamento en el patio del Templo mayor.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. viii.

[32] For the reigns of their kings, see *Torquemada*, i. 278–80. Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 31, wrongly assumes the Totonacs to be a fierce people, different from Cempoalans.

conveying the men into slavery or to the sacrificial stone. Neither life, liberty, nor property could be enjoyed with any degree of safety.

Whereat Cortés of course was indignant. It was his special business to do all the tyrannizing in that region himself; his sword would give ample protection to his new allies, and bring abundant honor to his king and himself. Let but the people prove loyal to him, he concluded, and he surely would deliver them from the hated yoke; yet he did not mention the more fatal bondage into which he would place them. Chicomacatl eagerly assured Cortés of support from the Totonacs, numbering fifty thousand warriors, with numerous towns and fortresses.[33] Furthermore, there were many other states ready to join an insurrection which should prove strong enough to brave the terrible Montezuma.

Their visit over,[34] the Spaniards continued their march northward to join the fleet. Four hundred *tlamamas,* or carriers, attended, in courtesy to honored guests, to relieve the soldiers of their burdens. The following day they reached Quiahuiztlan, a fortified town about a league from the sea. This town was picturesquely placed on a rocky promontory bordering one of the many wild ravines thereabout, and of difficult access, commanding the plain and harbor at its base.[35] The army advanced cautiously,

[33] 'Toda aquella provincia de Cempoal y toda la sierra comarcana á la dicha villa, que serán hasta cinquenta mil hombres de guerra y cincuenta villas y fortalezas.' *Cortés, Cartas,* 53. 'Cien mil hõbres entre toda la liga.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.,* 57. 'En aquellas tierras de la lengua de Totonaque, que eran mas de trienta pueblos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.,* 31. The province appears to have extended from Rio de la Antigua to Huaxtecapan, in the north of Vera Cruz, and from the sea to Zacatlan, in Puebla. Patiño assumes Mixquhuacan to have been the capital, but this must be a mistake.

[34] Gomara relates that the army remained at Cempoala fifteen days, during which frequent visits were made by the lord, Cortés paying the first return visit on the third day, attended by fifty soldiers. He describes briefly the palace, and how Cortés, seated by the side of the lord, on icpalli stools, now won his confidence and adhesion. *Hist. Mex.,* 51–3; *Tapia, Rel.,* in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.,* ii. 561; *Herrera,* dec. ii. lib. v. cap. x. Bernal Diaz declares Gomara wrong, and insists that they proceeded on their way the following day. *Hist. Verdad.,* 31; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.,* iii. 26–7.

[35] For illustrated description of barranca ruins, see *Native Races,* iv. 439 et seq.

in battle array,[36] but the place was deserted. On reaching the plaza, however, some fifteen chiefs came forward with swinging censers, and apologized, saying that the people had fled, not knowing what the strange arrival portended, but reassured by the Cempoalans, they were already returning to serve them. The soldiers then took possession of a large building, where food was brought them. Presently the chief appeared; and close at his heels in hot haste came the lord of Cempoala, who announced that the Aztec collectors had entered his city.[37] While conferring with Cortés and the chiefs assembled, Chicomacatl was informed that the collectors, five[38] in number, had followed him to Quiahuiztlan, and were even then at the door. All the chiefs present turned pale, and hastened out to humble themselves before the officers, who responded with disdainful condescension. The officers were clad in embroidered robes, with a profusion of jewelry, and wore the hair gathered upon the crown. In the right hand they carried their insignia of office, a hooked carved stick, and in the left a bunch of roses, the ever welcome offering of the obsequious Totonac nobles who swelled their train. A suite of servitors followed, some with fans and dusters, for the comfort of their masters. Passing the Spanish quarter without deigning to salute the strangers, the emissaries of the mighty Montezuma entered another large building, and after refreshing themselves summoned the tributary chiefs, reprimanded them for having received the Spaniards without permission from Montezuma, and demanded twenty young persons for an atoning sacrifice. Well might the demoniacal

[36] Avila, who had command, was so strict as to lance Hernando Alonso de Villanueva for not keeping in line. Lamed in the arm, he received the nickname of el Manquillo. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 31. The riders were obliged to retain their seats, lest the Indians should suppose that the horses could be deterred by any obstacles. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 53.

[37] *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 117. Others suppose that he came merely to persuade the cacique to join Cortés. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 27.

[38] Four men. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 289. 'Twenty men,' says Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 54, who does not refer to the arrival of Cempoala's lord.

order cause to tremble every youth throughout the land; for whose turn should be next none could tell. Even the faces of the chiefs were blanched as they told Cortés, informing him also that it was already determined in Aztec circles to make slaves of the Spaniards, and after being used awhile for purposes of procreation, they were to be sacrificed.[39] Cortés laughed, and ordered the Totonacs to seize the insolent officials. What! lay violent hands on Montezuma's messengers? The very thought to them was appalling. Nevertheless they did it, for there was something in the tone of Cortés that made them obey, though they could not distinguish the meaning of his words. They laid hold on those tax-men of Montezuma, put collars on their necks, and tied their hands and feet to poles.[40] Their timidity thus broken, they became audacious, and demanded the sacrifice of the prisoners.[41] "By no means," Cortés said, and he himself assumed their custody.

Howsoever the cards fall to him, a skilful gamester plays each severally, nothing cavilling, at its worth. So Cortés now played these messengers, the method assuming form in his mind immediately he saw them. With him this whole Mexican business was one great game, a life game, though it should last but a day; and as the agencies and influences of it fell into his fingers, with the subtlety of the serpent he dealt them out, placing one here and another there, playing with equal readiness enemy against enemy, and multiplying friends by friends.

These so lately pride-puffed tribute-men, now low laid in the depths of despondency—how shall they be played? Well, let them be like him who fell amongst thieves, while the Spanish commander acts the good

[39] 'Monteçuma tenia pensamiẽnto,....de nos auer todos á las manos, para que hiziessemos generacion, y tambien para tener que sacrificar.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 28.

[40] 'Carcerati nelle loro gabbie,' is the way Clavigero puts it. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 28. One was even whipped for resisting.

[41] 'Porque no se les fuesse alguno dellos á dar mandado á Mexico,' is Bernal Diaz' reason for it. *Hist. Verdad.*, 32.

Samaritan. In pursuance of which plan, when all had retired for the night, he went stealthily to them, asked who they were, and why they were in that sad plight, pretending ignorance. And when they told him, this rare redresser was angry, hot with indignation that the noble representatives of so noble a monarch should be so treated. Whereupon he instantly released two of them, comforting the others with the assurance that their deliverance should quickly follow; for the emperor Montezuma he esteemed above all emperors, and he desired to serve him, as commanded by his king. Then he sent the twain down the coast in a boat, beyond the Totonac boundary.

Next morning, when told that two of the Aztec captives had broken their bonds and escaped, the Totonacs were more urgent than ever for the immolation of the others. But Cortés again said no, and arranged that they should be sent in chains on board one of his vessels, determined afterward to release them, for they were worth far more to his purpose alive than dead.

It is refreshing at this juncture to hear pious people censure Cortés for his duplicity, and to hear other pious people defend him on the ground of necessity, or otherwise. Such men might with equal reason wrangle over the method by which it was right and honorable for the tiger to spring and seize the hind. The one great wrong is lost sight of in the discussion of numerous lesser wrongs. The murderer of an empire should not be too severely criticised for crushing a gnat while on the way about the business.[42]

At the suggestion of Cortés, messengers were sent to all the towns of the province, with orders to stop

[42] 'Condotta artifiziosa, e doppia,' etc., says Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 28, while Solis lauds it as 'Grande artifice de medir lo que disponia, con lo que rezelaba: y prudente Capitan.' *Hist. Mex.*, i. 186.

the payment of tribute and to seize the collectors, but to spare their lives. Information was likewise to be given to the neighboring nations, that all might prepare to resist the force which Montezuma would probably send against them. The Totonacs became wild with joy, and declared that the little band who dare so brave Montezuma must be more than men.[43] To Quiahuitzlan flocked chiefs and nobles from all parts, eager to behold these beings, and to ascertain their own future course of action. There were those among them still timid, who urged an embassy to the king of kings, to beseech pardon before his army should be upon them, slaying, enslaving, and laying waste; but Cortés had already influence, was already strong enough to allay their fears, and bring them all into allegiance to the Spanish sovereign, exacting their oath before the notary Godoy to support him with all their forces. Thus, by virtue of this man's mind, many battles were fought and won without the striking of a blow. Already every Spaniard there was a sovereign, and the meanest soldier among them a ruler of men.

[43] 'Desde alli adelante nos llamaron Teules,' says Bernal Diaz, with great satisfaction. *Hist Verdad.*, 32. 'A los Españoles llamaron *teteuh*, que quiere decir dioses, y los Españoles corrompiendo el vocablo decian *teules*, el cual nombre les duró mas de tres años,' till we stopped it, declaring that there was but one God. *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, i. 142–3. See note 16.

CHAPTER X.

MULTIPLICATION OF PLOTS.

JUNE–JULY, 1519.

CORTÉS, DIPLOMATE AND GENERAL—THE MUNICIPALITY OF VILLA RICA LOCATED—EXCITEMENT THROUGHOUT ANÁHUAC—MONTEZUMA DEMORALIZED—ARRIVAL OF THE RELEASED COLLECTORS AT THE MEXICAN CAPITAL—THE ORDER FOR TROOPS COUNTERMANDED—MONTEZUMA SENDS AN EMBASSY TO CORTÉS—CHICOMACATL ASKS AID AGAINST A MEXICAN GARRISON—A PIECE OF PLEASANTRY—THE VELAZQUEZ MEN REFUSE TO ACCOMPANY THE EXPEDITION—OPPORTUNITY OFFERED THEM TO RETURN TO CUBA, WHICH THEY DECLINE THROUGH SHAME—THE TOTONACS REBUKED—THE CEMPOALA BRIDES—DESTRUCTION OF THE IDOLS—ARRIVAL AT VILLA RICA OF SALCEDO—EFFORTS OF VELAZQUEZ WITH THE EMPEROR—CORTÉS SENDS MESSENGERS TO SPAIN—VELAZQUEZ ORDERS THEM PURSUED—THE LETTERS OF CORTÉS—AUDIENCE OF THE EMPEROR AT TORDESILLAS.

PALAMEDES invented the game of chess while watching before the gates of Troy; a tame business, truly, beside the achievements of the heaven-born Achilles, the hero of the war. Yet chess remains, while Achilles and his heaven have melted with the mists. Who shall say, then, which was the greater, Cortés the soldier, or Cortés the diplomate? But these were barbarians, one says, with whom the shrewd Spaniards had to deal; they had neither horses, nor iron, nor gunpowder, to aid them in their wars. Furthermore, they regarded the strangers fully as demi-gods, probably as some of their own wandering deities returned. True; but he makes a great mistake who rates the Mexicans so far beneath Europeans in natural ability and cunning. Montezuma lacked some of the murderous enginery that Cortés had, and his

inner life was of different dye; that was about all. If any would place Cortés, his genius, and his exploits, below those of the world's greatest generals, because he warred on enemies weaker than their enemies, we have only to consider the means at his command, how much less was his force than theirs. What could the Scipios or the Cæsars have done with half a thousand men; or Washington, or Wellington, with five hundred against five hundred thousand? Napoleon's tactics were always to have at hand more forces than the enemy. In this the Corsican displayed his astuteness. But a keener astuteness was required by Cortés to conquer thousands with hundreds and with tens. Perhaps Moltke, who, with a stronger force, could wage successful war on France, perhaps he, and a handful of his veterans, could land on the deadly shores of the Mexican Gulf, and with Montezuma there, and all the interior as dark to them as Erebus, by strategy and force of arms possess themselves of the country. I doubt it exceedingly. I doubt if one in ten of the greatest generals who ever lived would have achieved what the base bastard Pizarro did in Peru. The very qualities which made them great would have deterred them from anything which, viewed in the light of experience and reason, was so wildly chimerical. Then give these birds of prey their petting, I say; they deserve it. And be fame or infamy immortal ever theirs! Lastly, if any still suspect the genius of Cortés unable to cope with others than Indians, let them observe how he handles his brother Spaniards.

It was about time the municipality should find anchorage; too much travelling by a town of such immaculate conception, of so much more than ordinary signification, were not seemly. Velazquez would deride it; the emperor Charles would wonder at it: therefore half a league below Quiahuiztlan, in the dimpled plain which stretches from its base to the harbor of Bernal at present protecting the ships,

where bright waters commingling with soft round hills and rugged promontories were lifted into ethereal heights by the misted sunshine, the whole scene falling on the senses like a vision, and not like tame reality, there they chose a site for the Villa Rica,[1] and drew a plan of the town, distributed lots, laid the foundations for forts and batteries, granary, church, town-hall, and other buildings, which were constructed chiefly of adobe, the whole being inclosed by a strong stockade. To encourage alike men and officers to push the work, Cortés himself set the example in preparing for the structures, and in carrying earth and stones. The natives also lent their aid, and in a few weeks the town stood ready, furnishing a good shipping depot, a fortress for the control of the interior, a starting-point for operations, an asylum for the sick and wounded, and a refuge for the army in case of need.

Great was the excitement in Anáhuac and the regions round about over the revolt of the Totonacs and the attitude assumed by the Spaniards; and

[1] Villa Rica is the name appearing in the first royal charter of 1523, but with later foundations Vera Cruz became the title. *Panes, Extension Veracruz*, MS., 1 et seq. The municipal council, however, distinctly calls it *la Rica Villa de la Veracruz* and ought to be the proper authority for the form of name first applied. *Carta del Ayunt.*, in *Cortés, Cartas*, 1 et seq. 'Y luego ordenamos de hazer, y fundar, è poblar vna Villa, que se nombró la Villa Rica de la Vera-Cruz; porque llegamos Jueves de la Cena, y desembarcamos en Uiernes Santo de la Cruz, ó rica por aquel Cauallero que....dixo que mirasse las tierras ricas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 29. 'Llamola Villa Rica a la nueua poblaciõ, y de la Veracruz, por auer desembarcado el Viernes Sãto, y Rica, por la riqueza que se auia descubierto.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. vii. Although nominally founded adjacent to San Juan de Ulua, there was no intention to build the town on that unhealthy and dreary spot. The first actual foundation took place at the harbor of Bernal. Nearly five years later the town rose anew on the present Rio de la Antigua, where it became known alone as Vera Cruz. In 1599 the actual or new Vera Cruz found itself finally planted on the very site of the first nominal foundation. The chief reason for this change was probably the need for the better protection against filibusters afforded by the island of San Juan de Ulua, whose batteries commanded the harbor. See *Albornoz, Carta al Emperador*, Dec., 1525, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 495. The charter for la Nueva Ciudad de la Vera-Cruz was granted July 19, 1615. *Calle, Mem. y Not.*, 68; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 30; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 27; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 276–7. Alegre, *Hist. Comp. de Jesus*, i. 149–50, has some excellent remarks hereon. Few authors, however, are free from blunders with regard to the different sites, even Lorenzana committing more than one. *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 381.

while hope swelled the breast of subjected peoples, the Aztec nobles, seeing revolution in the signs of the times, began to look to the safety of their families and estates.[2] To Montezuma the seizure of his collectors was an outrage on the sacredness of his majesty, and a slur on his power, which the council declared must be punished in the most prompt and effective manner, lest other provinces should follow the example. And yet the monarch had no stomach for the business. Ofttimes since these accursed strangers touched his shores would he willingly have resigned that which he above all feared to lose, his sceptre and his life; then again, as appetite returned and existence was loaded with affluent pleasure, he sighed to taste the sweets of power a little longer. He was becoming sadly pusillanimous, an object of contempt before his gods, his nobles, and himself. It seemed to him as if the heavens had fallen on him and held him inexorably to earth. There was no escape. There were none to pity. He was alone. His very gods were recreant, cowering before the approach of other gods. Repressing his misgivings as best he might, he issued orders for an immediate descent of the army on the offenders. Let the mettle of these beings be proven, and let them live or die with their Totonac allies. To this end let levies be made of men and money on a long-suffering people, whose murmurs shall be drowned in the groans of fresh victims on the sacrificial altar of the war god.[3]

See now how powerfully had wagged that little forked tongue of Cortés! See how those gentle whisperings that night at Quiahuiztlan, those soft

[2] 'Los Hombres mas Poderosos entendian en buscar Lugares en los Montes, y partes mas remotas, para conservar sus Mugeres, Hijos, y Hacienda.' *Torquemada*, i. 403.

[3] Inconsolable at the prospect of the strangers acquiring a footing in the country, Montezuma, after vainly searching for admission into the Hades of Cicalco, retired to the abode occupied by him ere he became emperor. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 15–16. One reason for this is said to have been the result of the embassy to the oracle at Achiuhtla, in Miztecapan, which brought back the announcement that the Aztec empire must yield to strangers. *Burgoa, Geog. Descrip. Oajaca*, pt. ii. 129.

dissemblings breathed into the ears of two poor captives—see how they shot forth like winged swords to stop an army on the point of marching to its slaughters! Here, as in scores of other instances, Cortés' shrewdness saved him from disaster.

For in the midst of the warlike preparations arrived the two released collectors, and their presentation of the magnanimity of the white chief, of his friendly conduct and warm assurances, materially changed the aspect of affairs. There was no alliance; there was no rebellion; the Totonacs dared not rebel without foreign support; with them Montezuma would settle presently. And with no little alacrity did he countermand the order for troops, and send an embassy to Cortés. Thus through the vacillating policy which now possessed the Mexican monarch was lost the opportunity to strike the enemy perhaps a fatal blow; and thus by that far off impalpable breath was fought and won another battle, this time vanquishing the king of kings himself, with his hundred thousand men.

The embassy sent comprised two of Montezuma's nephews,[4] accompanied by four old and honorable caciques. They were to express the monarch's thanks to the Spaniards, and to remonstrate against the revolt encouraged by their presence. He had become assured that they were of the race predicted by his forefathers, and consequently of his own lineage; out of regard for them, as guests of the revolted people, he would withhold present chastisement. A gift of robes and feather-work, and gold worth two thousand castellanos, accompanied the message.[5]

We cannot blame Cortés if his heart danced to its own music as he assured the envoys that he and all his people continued devoted to their master; in proof of which he straightway produced the other three

[4] 'Figiuoli porse del suo fratello Cuitlahuatzin.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 30.

[5] 'Ciertas pieças de oro y plata bien labradas, y vn casquete de oro menudo... Peso todo esto dos mil, y nouenta Castellanos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 58.

collectors, safe, sound, and arrayed in their new attire.[6] Nevertheless, he could but express displeasure at the abrupt departure of the Mexicans from the former camp. This act had forced him to seek hospitality at the hand of the Totonacs, and for their kind reception of him they deserved to be forgiven. Further than this, they had rendered the Spaniards great benefits, and should not be expected to serve two masters, or to pay double tribute; for the rest, Cortés himself would soon come to Mexico and arrange everything. The envoys replied that their sovereign was too engrossed in serious affairs to be able as yet to appoint an interview. "Adieu," they concluded, "and beware of the Totonacs, for they are a treacherous race." Not to create needless alarm, nor leave on the minds of the envoys at their departure unpleasant impressions concerning his projects, Cortés entertained them hospitably, astonished them with cavalry and other exhibitions, and gratified them with presents. The effect of this visit was to raise still higher the Spaniards in the estimation not only of the Aztecs, but of the Totonacs, who with amazement saw come from the dread Montezuma, instead of a scourging army, this high embassy of peace. "It must be so," they said among themselves, "that the Mexican monarch stands in awe of the strangers."

Not long after, Chicomacatl came to Cortés asking aid against a Mexican garrison, said to be committing ravages at Tizapantzinco,[7] some eight leagues from Cempoala. Cortés was in a merry mood at the moment; he could see the important progress he was making toward the consummation of his desires, though the men of Velazquez could not—at least they would admit of nothing honorable or beneficial to Cortés, and they continued to make much trouble.

[6] Before the embassy came, says Herrera, 'Dió orden con voluntad del señor de Chianhuitzlan, que los tres Mexicanos presos fuessen sueltos,' dec. ii. lib. v. cap. xi.

[7] *Ixtlilchotitl, Hist. Chich.*, 290. Other authorities differ in the spelling.

Here was an opportunity to test the credulity of these heathen, how far they might be brought to believe in the supernatural power of the Spaniards. Among the musketeers was an old Biscayan from the Italian wars, Heredia by name, the ugliest man in the army, uglier than Thersites, who could not find his fellow among all the Greeks that came to Troy. Lame in one foot, blind in one eye, bow-legged, with a slashed face, bushy-bearded as a lion, this musketeer had also the heart of a lion, and would march straight into the mouth of Popocatepetl, without a question, at the order of his general. Calling the man to him, Cortés said: "The Greeks worshipped beauty, as thou knowest, good Heredia, but these Americans seem to deify deformity, which in thee reaches its uttermost. Thou art hideous enough at once to awe and enravish the Aztecs, whose Pantheon cannot produce thine equal. Go to them, Heredia; bend fiercely on them thine only eye, walk bravely before them, flash thy sword, and thunder a little with thy gun, and thou shalt at once command a hundred sacrifices." Then to the Totonac chief: "This brother of mine is all sufficient to aid thee in thy purpose. Go, and behold the Culhuas will vanish at thy presence." And they went; an obedience significant of the estimation in which Cortés was then held, both by his own men and by the natives.

They had not proceeded far when Cortés sent and recalled them, saying that he desired to examine the country, and would accompany them. Tlamamas would be required to carry the guns and baggage, and they would set out the next day. At the last moment seven of the Velazquez faction refused to go, on the ground of ill health. Then others of their number spoke, condemning the rashness of the present proceeding, and desiring to return to Cuba. Cortés told them they could go, and after chiding them for neglect of duty he ordered prepared a vessel, which should be placed at their service. As they were about to

embark, a deputation appeared to protest against permitting any to depart, as a proceeding prejudicial to the service of God, and of the king. "Men who at such a moment, and under such circumstances, desert their flag deserve death." These were the words of Cortés put into the mouth of the speaker. Of course the order concerning the vessel was recalled, and the men of Velazquez were losers by the affair.[8]

The expedition, composed of four hundred soldiers, with fourteen horses, and the necessary carriers, then set off for Cempoala, where they were joined by four companies of two thousand warriors. Two days' march brought them close to Tizapantzinco, and the following morning they entered the plain at the foot of the fortress, which was strongly situated on a high rock bordered by a stream. Here stood the people prepared to receive them; but scarcely had the cavalry come in sight when they turned to seek refuge within the fort. The horsemen cut off their retreat in that direction, however, and leaving them, began the ascent. Eight chiefs and priests thereupon came forth wailing, and informed the Spaniards that the Mexican garrison had left at the first uprising of the Totonacs, and that the Cempoalans were taking advantage of this and of the Spanish alliance to enforce the settlement of a long-standing boundary dispute. They begged that the army would not advance. Cortés at once gave orders to restrain the Cempoalans, who were already plundering. Their captains were severely reprimanded for want of candor as to the real object of the expedition, and were ordered to restore the effects and captives taken. This strictness was by no means confined to them, for a soldier named Mora, caught by the general in the act of stealing

[8] One of them who had bartered a fine light-colored horse for some property in Cuba was unable to annul the trade, and thus lost his animal. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 34. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 64, refers merely to murmurs in favor of Velazquez, which Cortés quiets by placing a few in chains for a time.

two fowls, was ordered hanged. Alvarado, however, cut him down in time to save his life, probably at the secret intimation of Cortés, who, while securing the benefit of example, would not unnecessarily sacrifice a soldier.[9]

Charmed by this display of justice on the part of the Spaniards, and impressed as well by their ever increasing prestige, the chiefs of the district came in and tendered allegiance. A lasting friendship was established between them and the Cempoalans;[10] after which the army returned to Cempoala by a new route,[11] and was received with demonstrations of joy by the populace. With a view of binding more closely such powerful allies, Chicomacatl proposed intermarriages. And as a beginning he presented eight young women,[12] richly dressed, with necklaces and ear-rings of gold, and each attended by servants. "Take them," said

[9] 'Muriò este soldado en vna guerra en la Prouincia de Guatimala sobre vn Peñol.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 35. He places the incident on the return march.

[10] According to Gomara the Aztec garrison does ravage the country when the Totonac revolt occurs, and their forces meet the Spaniards on the field, only to flee at the sight of the horsemen. Cortés and four others dismount, and mingling with the fleeing, reach the fort gates, which they hold till their troops come up. Surrendering the place to the allies, Cortés tells them to respect the people and to let the garrison depart without arms or banner. This victory gained great influence for the Spaniards, and remembering the feat of Cortés, the Indians declared that one Spaniard was enough to aid them in achieving victory. *Hist. Mex.*, 59. Ixtlilxochitl, who follows Gomara, fights the Aztec garrison as far as the city, and then captures it. *Hist. Chich.*, 290. Solis assumes that a few Spaniards cut off the retreat of the townsmen, and rushing forward with some Cempoalans, are already inside when the leaders come to plead for mercy. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 197–8. The foremost credit is however due to Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 34–5, who, being present, declares Gomara's account wholly wrong, that no garrison existed here, and that no resistance was made. The latter sentence is modified by Tapia, also a member of the expedition, who states that the town did resist and was punished. *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 566. Hence it may be assumed that Diaz, as a foot soldier, was not present to see the probably bloodless rout of the Indians by the cavalry. The townsmen are not likely to have allowed the Cempoalans to approach without offering resistance, or, in case they knew of the Spanish advance, without sending a deputation before the pillage began.

[11] Passing through two towns, the soldiers suffering greatly from heat and fatigue. Near Cempoala the lord awaited them in some temporary huts with bountiful cheer, though apprehensive of Cortés' anger at his deception. The following day they entered the city. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 35; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. xiii.

[12] 'Veinte Doncellas (aunque Gomara dice, que fueron ocho),' says Torquemada, i. 399, without giving his reasons.

he to Cortés. "They are all daughters of caciques. Seven are for your captains, and this, my niece, is for yourself, for she is the ruler of towns."

Matters were becoming interesting. Cortés and some of his captains had wives in Cuba, and nearly all of them had mistresses here. The damsels of Cempoala were not famed for their beauty; the one offered Cortés was particularly ill-favored. With regard to captives and slaves, of course no marriage vow was necessary, but with princesses the case was different. But even here there was little difficulty. The aboriginal form of marriage, while it satisfied the natives, rested lightly on the Spaniards. Indeed, with them it was no marriage at all; and so it has been throughout the New World; in their marital relations with foreigners the natives have felt themselves bound, while the Europeans have not. To the ceremony in this instance no objection was offered.

At this happy consummation, though the rite is not yet performed, serious meditation takes possession of the mind of Cortés, who bethinks himself that he is doing little of late for his God, who is doing so much for him. Success everywhere attends his strategies. And these female slaves and princesses! While trying to quiet his conscience for accepting this princess, he was exceedingly careful in regard to taking unto himself real wives, as we have seen in Cuba. But here marriage after the New World fashion would surely advance his purposes. And so they are compelled to submit to the stronger, who by the right of might proceeds to rob them of their gold and to desolate their homes; and now assumes the higher prerogative of requiring them to relinquish the faith of their fathers and embrace the religion of their enemies. It would please God to have these Cempoala people worship him; Cortés can make them do so. True, they love their gods as much as Cortés loves his. Their gods likewise help them to good things, among others to the Spaniards themselves,

who in return now determine their overthrow. And shall they consent! Alas, they are weak, and their gods are weak!

Heathenism, with its idolatry, and bloody sacrifices, and cannibalism, is horrible, I grant you. "For daily they sacrificed three or five Indians," says Bernal Diaz, "offering the heart to idols, smearing the blood upon the walls, and cutting off the limbs to be eaten. I even believe they sold the flesh in the market."[13] But equally horrible, and far more unfair, are the doings of the superior race, which with the advance of the centuries, and the increase of knowledge and refinement, are often guilty of deeds as bloodthirsty and cruel as these. With the most powerful of microscopic aids to vision, I can see no difference between the innate goodness and badness of men now and two or five thousand years ago; the difference lies merely in a change of morality fashions, and in the apparent refining and draping of what conventionally we choose to call wickedness. What is the serving of dainty dishes to the gods in the form of human sacrifices, of carving before them a few thousand fattened captives, to the extirpation of a continent of helpless human beings; and that by such extremes of treachery and cruelty as the cannibals never dreamed of, entrapping by fair words only to cut, and mangle, and kill by steel, saltpetre, and blood-hounds; stealing at the same time their lands and goods, and adding still more to their infamy by doing all this in the name of Christ; when in reality they violate every principle of religion and disregard every injunction of the church; just as men to-day lie and cheat and praise and pray, and out of their swindlings hope to buy favor of the Almighty!

And now these poor people must give up their poor gods, for their masters so decree. The chiefs and

[13] 'Tambien auian de ser limpios de sodomias, porque tenian muchachos vestidos en habito de mugeres, que andauan á ganar en aquel maldito oficio.' This they promised. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 35. Solis assumes that Cortés was aroused to this crusade by the heavy sacrifices at a great festival. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 204–5.

native priests protest. The Spaniards are benefactors and friends, but the gods are superior to men. To them they owe health, prosperity, existence; and sacrifices are but the necessary slight returns for so great blessings. The sacrificed are by no means injured, say the Aztecs, but are sent to heaven and enfolded at once in the bosom of their god. Verily there are curious articles of faith among the heathen worshipers as well as among our own, but if we look for all the good in ours we shall be mistaken. In vain the men of Cempoala beg to retain the religion of their forefathers and the sacred emblems of their faith. Carried away by the fierce zeal which more than once in these annals overcomes his prudence and brings him to the brink of ruin, Cortés cries: "Christians and soldiers, shall these things be—these idolatries and sacrifices, and other impious doings? No! First down with the images, then to arguments, and the granting of entreaties. Our lives on work rewarded with eternal glory!" Shouts of earnest approval was the response, and on they marched toward the temple. Priests and people rushed to the defence of their deities. With a scornful gesture the ruler was waived aside, as he interposed with the warning that to lay hands on the idols was to bring destruction alike on all. "You are not my friends," exclaimed Cortés, "if you do not as I wish! Choose ye; and I will leave you your gods to save you from the threatened vengeance of Montezuma." This was by far too practical an application of their piety. The fact is, their gods had not done exactly right by them in the matter of the Aztec imposition. These white strangers, after all, seemed to be better gods than their idols. "Well, work your will," at length said Chicomacatl, "but do not ask our aid in such detestable doings." So the thing was accomplished, as before this had been determined. In a moment fifty soldiers were on the temple summit, and down came the worshipful wooden things, shat-

tered and clattering along the steps, while with bleeding hearts their makers stood by, their faces covered to exclude the sacrilegious sight. Ah, how they wailed, how they lamented, calling on the misshapen blocks to pity their inability to stop the deed![14]

Not such dastards were these people, however, that not one among them would strike a blow for their faith. For presently the court-yard was filled with armed men, headed by infuriated priests in long hooded robes of dark material, with slashed ears and faces clotted with blood, determined, if not to prevent, at least to avenge the outrage. What was sworn allegiance, or even life, beside the momentous question of religion? Seeing the danger, Cortés with characteristic promptness seized the lord, together with several leading men, and declared if a single Spaniard was so much as scratched they should immediately die. Chicomacatl accordingly spoke to the people and made them retire. Nor was wholly lost on them the mute argument of the shattered idols lying powerless at their feet. Hence when the images were burned, the natives looked on with comparative calmness. "Surely these beings are superior to our gods, whom they have thus vanquished," they said one to another. Sweetly and serenely Cortés now smiled on them, called them brethren, and preached the European doctrines. The pagan temple was cleansed, the blood-smeared walls were whitewashed, and in their place was erected a Christian altar, decorated with flowers and surmounted with a cross. Here, before the assembled natives, Olmedo preached the Christian faith, and celebrated mass. The contrast between the simple beauty of this impressive ceremony and their own bloody worship made a deep impression on the minds of the natives, and at the conclusion those who desired were baptized. Among

[14] Gomara makes the natives tear down the idols and the sepulchres of caciques worshipped as gods. 'Acabo con los de la ciudad que derribassen los idolos y sepulcros de los caciques, q̄ tambien reuerēciauan como a dioses.' *Hist. Mex.*, 67.

them were the eight brides, the ill-favored ruler of towns who had been given to Cortés being called Catalina, probably in honor of his wife in Cuba, whose place she was to occupy for a time. Lucky Puertocarrero's second pretty prize, the daughter of Cacique Cuesco, was named Francisca.[15]

Accompanied by the brides and a large escort the army now returned to Villa Rica. There they found just arrived from Cuba a vessel commanded by Francisco de Salcedo, nicknamed 'the dandy,' who with Luis Marin, an able officer, and ten soldiers, all well provided with arms, and with two horses, had come in quest of fortune under Cortés.[16] Salcedo reported that Velazquez had received the appointment of adelantado over all lands discovered by him or at his cost, with one fifteenth of all royal revenues thence arising.[17]

Benito Martin, the chaplain, who had been sent to obtain the commission, was rewarded with the benefice of the new discovery at Ulua, which really comprised all Mexico, while the lately appointed bishop of Cuba, the Dominican Julian Garcés, confessor to the bishop of Búrgos, the patron of Velazquez, was promoted to

[15] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 36; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. ix. xiv. Gomara places the presentation of the women at the first visit of the Spaniards to the city, and herein he is followed by Herrera, Torquemada, and Ixtlilxochitl. *Hist. Chich.*, 289.

[16] These proved the more valuable since Cortés' horse had died shortly before. He obtained, by gift or purchase, the fine Arriero, a dark chestnut belonging to Ortiz, the musician, and to García, the miner. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 33. Gomara assumes that Salcedo brought a caravel, with sixty Spaniards and nine horses, the vessel having been detained in Cuba for repairs. *Hist. Mex.*, 59; yet he includes Salcedo as present at the final review there. *Id.*, 14. He is evidently confused.

[17] For himself and one heir. Further, after conquering and settling four islands, he might select one from which to receive perpetually for himself and heirs one twentieth part of all the revenue accruing therefrom for the king. No duty would be charged during his life on any clothing, arms, and provisions imported by him into those lands. As an aid toward the expenses of the conquest, a royal estate at Habana was granted him, and a salary in those lands of 300,000 maravedís. The other clauses of the commission related to mines, clergy, taxes, and settlers. It was dated at Saragossa, November 13, 1518, 'five days previous to the usurpation of the fleet by Cortés,' observes Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, v. 3–5. Dated at Barcelona, says Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xi. Several are led to suppose that Velazquez did not receive the notice of his appointment for over a year after its date, which is unlikely. *Mex.*, ii. 222–3.

the insignificant see of Cozumel. These preferments, based on an insufficient knowledge of the country, were corrected at a later time, when Garcés was made bishop of Tlascala, while Martin received other compensation.[18] Before the issue of these grants it appears that Yucatan at least had a narrow escape from slipping entirely out of Spanish hands. At the first news of Córdoba's discoveries the admiral of Flanders was induced to ask for the land in grant, in order to settle it with Flemings, and also to petition for the governorship of Cuba as a means to promote the colony. This was supported by Xèvres, the chief adviser in such matters, who knew little of the Indies and the vast tracts referred to, and so the promise was given. Las Casas was in Spain at the time, and being consulted by the admiral as to the means for colonizing, became indignant at the rash concession of Cuba, which he considered as belonging to Columbus. He remonstrated, and warned those interested to do the same. The result was the withdrawal of the grant, greatly to the disappointment of the admiral, for whose account several vessels had already reached San Lúcar, laden with Flemish settlers.[19]

Cortés was fully aware that Velazquez, possessed of a commission, would not long delay in asserting his claim with all the power at his command upon the islands, and with all his influence at court; this spurred on the captain-general to lose no time in bringing forward his own pretensions, and in seeking to obtain royal approval of his acts. Therefore at this juncture he determined to gain authority for effectually supplanting the Cuban governor in the field wherein he had already openly ignored him, and to despatch

[18] Which he failed to enjoy, since he died at sea while en route to New Spain to take possession. *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 465–6; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xi.; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 16–17.

[19] Many of these died from hardship, and the rest returned impoverished to their country. *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 374–6; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xix.; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 8.

messengers to the king. The men of Cortés needed no prompting to see how necessary to their interest it was to procure his confirmation as general to the exclusion of Velazquez, and to support Cortés by writing reports in corroboration of his own statements. Yet, in view of the flowing in of exaggerated accounts concerning new discoveries, little would avail descriptions of conquests and resources, however glowing, and recommendations however warm, unless made real by specimens of the treasures which were the main attraction alike to king and subject. For gifts can move gods, says Hesiod. To the crown was due one fifth of the wealth so far obtained, but fearing that this would hardly produce the effect desired, Cortés proposed to surrender the one fifth due himself, and prevailed on his friends, and with their aid on all members of the expedition, to give up their share in the finer pieces of wrought gold and silver, and in all choice articles, so that a gift worthy of themselves and the country might be presented to the king.[20]

[20] It has been generally assumed, from a loose acceptance of chroniclers' text, that all the treasures were surrendered for the object in view, but this could not have been the case. The pile of gold dust and nuggets, accumulated by constant barter along the coast, and increased by the contents of two helmets sent by Montezuma, formed a respectable amount, of which only a small portion was sent to the king, as specimens of mining products. Three thousand castellanos were set aside for the expenses of the messengers to Spain, and an equal sum for Cortés' father, 'Otros 3000 que Cortés enviaba para su padre.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 498. 'A su padre Martin Cortes y a su madre ciertos Castellanos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 62. The disposal of the dust alone indicates an apportionment. Further, the list of treasure sent to Spain, as appended to the *Carta del Ayuntamiento*, and as given by Gomara, shows that much of the wrought metal received from Montezuma, not counting that acquired by barter, was retained by the expedition. Gomara writes that the first step of Cortés was to order a division of treasures by Ávila and Mejía, acting respectively for the crown and the army. All the effects being displayed in the plaza, the gold and silver amounting to 27,000 ducats, the cabildo observed that what remained after deducting the royal fifth would belong to the general in payment for the vessels, arms, and supplies surrendered by him to the company. Cortés said there was time enough to pay him; he would now take only his share as captain-general, and leave others wherewith to settle their small debts. He also proposed that instead of sending merely the one fifth to the king, the finest specimens should be given, which was agreed to. His list is given in *Hist. Mex.*, 60–2. Ordaz and Montejo were sent round with a list to be signed by all who wished to surrender their share in the gold. 'Y desta manera todos lo firmaron á vna.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 36. The

The flag-ship was prepared for the voyage, and the navigation intrusted to Alaminos and another pilot called Bautista, with fifteen sailors and the necessary outfit. Four Indians, rescued from the sacrificial cage at Cempoala, where they had been kept to fatten, were also sent on board, together with native curiosities, including specimens of picture-writing. The difficult task of out-manœuvring Velazquez and securing the aims of their party was intrusted to the alcaldes Puertocarrero and Montejo, the former being selected chiefly because of his high connections, which might serve him at court, the latter for his business talent. Three thousand castellanos were given them from the treasury for expenses, together with the necessary power and instructions, and three letters in duplicate for the king. One of these was the first of the celebrated letters of Cortés on the conquest. He related at length all that had occurred since he left Santiago; the difficulties with Velazquez, the hardships of the voyage, and the progress of conquest for God and the king. He dwelt on the vast extent and wealth of the country, and expressed the hope of speedily subjecting it to the crown, and of seizing the person of the great Montezuma. And he trusted that in return for his services and loyal devotion he would be remembered in the cédulas to be issued for this new addition to the empire.[21]

Carta del Ayunt. refers to four of Velazquez' men as objecting to the presents being sent elsewhere than to their leader. *Cortés, Cartas*, 26–7; *Tapia, Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 563; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. xiv.; *Torquemada*, i. 407; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 118.

[21] No generous allusion appears to have been made to the discoverers who opened the way for him. Gomara alone gives a brief outline of the letter, but the original or copy has never been found, notwithstanding the close search made. Since Charles V. received it on the eve of his departure for Germany, it occurred to Robertson that the Vienna archives might throw on it some light, and the consequent search led to the discovery of an authenticated copy of the companion letter from the municipality of Villa Rica, but nothing relating to Cortés' report. *Hist. Am.*, preface, x.–xi. Panes insists that the letter must have existed in the Vienna Court Library at one time. *Doc. Domin. Esp.*, MS., 59–60. Barcia suggests several ways in which it might have been lost; one being its production before the royal council at the instance of Pánfilo de Narvaez. *Bibl. Occid.*, tit. iv. ii. 598. Fortunately the companion letter and other narratives cover its essential points.

The second letter was by the ayuntamiento of Villa Rica, dated July 10, 1519,[22] covering not only the same ground, but giving an account of the voyages of discovery by Córdoba and Grijalva, the reasons for founding a colony, and for Cortés' appointment. The features of the country, its resources and inhabitants, were touched upon, and the belief expressed that of gold, silver, and precious stones "there is in the land as much as in that where it is said Solomon took the gold for the temple." Velazquez was exposed as a cruel, dishonest, and incompetent governor, and as such most dangerous to be intrusted with the control of these vast and rich territories. They asked for an investigation to prove the charges, as well as the propriety of their own acts; and concluded by recommending that Cortés, whose character and conduct stamped him a loyal subject and an able leader, be confirmed in his offices, till the conquest of the country, at least, should have been achieved.[23]

The third letter, even longer than this, though of similar tenor, was signed by the representative men in the army,[24] and concluded by praying that their services and hardships be rewarded with grants, and that Cortés be confirmed in the government till the king might be pleased to appoint an infante or a grandee of the highest class, for so large and rich a country ought to be ruled by none else. Should the designing bishop of Búrgos of his accord "send us a

[22] 'El Cabildo escriuiò juntamente con diez soldados....ê iva yo firmado en ella.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 36.

[23] Written by Cortés' most devoted friends, and undoubtedly under his supervision, we cannot expect to find it other than a labored effort to promote his views. Robertson, whose suggestion led to its discovery in the Vienna Imperial Library, offers a mere synopsis of the contents. *Hist. Am.*, preface, p. xi. ii. 52-2. It is given at length in the *Cortés, Cartas*, by Gayangos, Paris, 1866, 1-34, with notes, and with the list of presents appended; and in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 417-72, and in *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 2d app., 41-104, preceded by an introductory sketch of the expedition by the collector of the papers, and containing the list of presents as checked by Muñoz in 1784 from the Manual del Tesorero de la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla.

[24] 'Todos los Capitanes, y soldados juntamente escriuimos otra carta.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 36. 'El cabildo....escriuio....dos letras. Vna ....no firmaron sino alcaldes y regidores. La otra fue a cordada y firmada del cabildo y de todos los mas principales.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 63.

governor or captain, before we obey him we shall inform your royal person." This sentence, which Las Casas characterizes as a "great though sweetened piece of impudence," and several others not in harmony with Cortés' own calculated report, were probably the cause for the disappearance of the letter before it reached the emperor.[25]

The messengers or procuradores left the port July 16,[26] and although ordered not to touch Cuba, lest Velazquez should learn of the mission, Montejo could not resist the temptation of taking a peep at his estates at Mariel de Cuba, a port close to Habana. Here they entered August 23, and took supplies and water. This could not of course be done in secret, and swelling with rumor the report reached Velazquez that his flag-ship had come ballasted with gold, to the value of two hundred and seventy thousand pesos. No less alarmed than furious at this proof of the perfidy he had so long feared, he despatched a fast sailing vessel with a strong force under Gonzalo de

[25] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 37, gives a long detail of its contents, particularly of the conclusion, wherein the bishop of Búrgos is pointed out as favoring his friends and relations in the distribution of Indian governments. Velazquez enjoyed his special favor in return for the large presents in gold and towns he had made, to the prejudice of the crown. Cortés, on reading the letter, was highly pleased with the eulogy bestowed upon himself, and promised to remember it when rewards came to be distributed, but he objected to the prominence given to the discoveries of Córdoba and Grijalva, 'sino á él solo se atribuia el descubrimiento, y la honra, é honor de todo,' and wished to suppress the statement that one fifth of the profits were to be given to him. The men declined to hide anything from the king, and so Cortés no doubt made the messengers hide the letter. Tapia gives a brief synopsis of it, mentioning the objections raised against the bishop of Búrgos, and the resolution not to obey any orders contrary to their report till the king had replied to it—'é para que otra cosa en contrario de lo que le escrebiamos no se hiciese, que S. M. sin saber de qué hacia mercedes, no las hiciese, estábamos prestos de morir é tener la tierra en su real nombre fasta ver respuesta de esta carta.' *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 566. 'Esta carta no vido el Emperador, porque, si la viera, no les sucederia ni á Cortés ni á sus consortes el negocio tan favorable como abajo se parecerá.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 498.

[26] 'En una nao que....despaché á 16 de julio del año de 1519, envié á V. A. muy larga y particular relacion.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 51; *Oviedo*, iii. 261. 'En veinte y seis dias del mes de Julio....partieron de San Juan de Ulua.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 37. On the next page he says July 6th. The naming of Ulua as the port of departure shows also a carelessness of facts; yet Gomara says: 'Partieron....de Aquiahuiztlã....a veinta y seis.' *Hist. Mex.*, 6. Still Cortés' letter, written so soon after, ought to be correct. Prescott accepts the 26th.

Guzman, the royal treasurer, to capture her; but she had stayed only three days at Mariel, and then passed safely through the Bahamas Channel, the first to make that passage.[27]

The arrival of the messengers at Seville, in October, created no small stir, and aided by their treasures and reports they became the heroes of the hour. But their triumph was of short duration; for Benito Martin, the chaplain of Velazquez, happened to be at the port. This man at once laid claim to the vessel for his master, denounced the persons on board as traitors, and prevailed upon the Casa de Contratacion to seize the ship, together with the private funds of the commission, as well as certain money sent by Cortés for his father. A still stronger opponent appeared in the person of Fonseca, bishop of Búrgos, whose interest in Velazquez, fostered by a long interchange of favors, was strengthened by a projected marriage of the gov-

[27] 'Esta fuga fue ocasion de descubrir el derrotero de la Canal de Bahama, para la buelta de España, hasta entonces no nauegada, y desde aquella ocasion siempre seguida.' *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 41. 'Alaminos...fue el primero que nauegò por aquella canal.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 36–39. Prejudiced against Montejo, as shown by previous expressions, this author accuses him of sending letters to Velazquez by a sailor, who spread the news of the mission along his route. Some of the letters were from adherents in Cortés' army. 'Pareciò, de otras personas principales que estauan en nuestro Real, fueron aconsejados que fuessen á aquella estancia....y aun escriuieron para que el Diego Velazquez tuuiesse tiempo de auellos á las manos.' Velazquez accordingly sends two small vessels under Gabriel de Rojas and Guzman to pursue the ship, but their cruise between Habana and the Bahamas Channel is in vain. Montejo's conduct before and after this indicates nothing that can justify the accusations, and Velazquez, in his letter to Figueroa, juez de residencia in Española, inveighs against one 'Montejo' and his companion for taking not only provisions and forty butts of water, but a number of Indians from Mariel, and then leaving 'without informing any magistrate or other person,' taking a dangerous and hitherto unknown route. In *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 401. During the investigation held on the subject by the governor, it appeared that Juan de Rojas of Habana reported the secret visit of Montejo, who, knowing that Rojas had become aware of his presence, wrote him at the moment of leaving that he was going to visit Velazquez. From Perez, a servant of Rojas and in charge at Mariel, it seems, he exacted an oath not to reveal what he had learned of the rich cargo and destination of the vessel. Rojas nevertheless obtained the facts from him. *Testimonio*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 151–204. In a letter to the bishop of Búrgos, October 12, 1519, Velazquez states that a man at Mariel, Perez probably, was at the last moment shown the treasures. Guzman was sent with a vessel in pursuit. In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 248–50. Gomara also says, 'embiando tras ella vna carauela de armada.' *Hist. Mex.*, 64; *Torquemada*, i. 407.

ernor with his niece.[28] Detaining the messengers and their papers by deferred promises and other measures,[29] he filled the royal ear with the most damaging charges against them and their party in behalf of his protégé.

Velazquez had meanwhile been taking testimony against Cortés, and had sent treasurer Guzman to Spain with documents and instructions to join Martin in pressing his suit before the bishop.[30]

Charles V. had been elected emperor, and was busy in Spain raising supplies and making preparations on a vast scale for presenting an appearance in Germany befitting so high a dignity. Previous to embarking for Flanders he was to meet the cortes at Compostela. The messengers from New Spain could afford to lose no more time, and so with the aid of Puertocarrero's friends and the men opposed to Fonseca, among them the Licenciado Nuñez, relator of the royal council and related to Cortés, they slipped away, and in company with Alaminos and Martin Cortés, managed to be presented to the monarch at

[28] 'Doña Mayor de Fonseca. El obispo de Búrgos ... por la muerte del Gran Chanciller ... tornó á alear y á ser principal.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, v. 2; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xi.; *Zúñiga, Anales Eccles. Sevilla*, 414.

[29] The bishop of Búrgos, then at Valladolid, spoke so harshly to Puertocarrero that the latter ventured to remonstrate, and demand that their messages be forwarded to the king. A charge was now raked up against Puertocarrero of having three years before carried off a woman from Medellin to the Indies, and for this he was cast into prison. *Bernal Diaz., Hist. Verdad.*, 38; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 119.

[30] Guzman appears to have started in October from Cuba, when Narvaez' expedition against Cortés had already begun to be fitted out. *Carta de Velazquez*, Oct. 12, 1519, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 472–5; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 246–51; *Carta al Figueroa*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 402; *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, v. 2. His appeal to the Jeronimite Fathers, says Bernal Diaz, met only with rebuff. They considered that Cortés had done well to send so rich a present to the king. 'Le embiaron al Diego Velazquez á Cuba á vn Licenciado que se dezia Zuazo para que le tomasse residencia .... Uelazquez, se congoxó mucho mas, y como de antes era muy gordo, se paró flaco en aquellos dias.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 38. Martin petitioned the bishop for the repair and return of the messengers' vessel to Velazquez, together with another vessel, both to carry reinforcements to the Indies. This was needed, partly to prevent the possible conflict between Cortés' party and the expedition fitting out under Velazquez to support the men he had already sent under Cortés as his lieutenant. *Memorial*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 407–9.

Tordesillas, in the beginning of March.[31] The king was not a little pleased with the reports, gilded as they were with the richest presents that had as yet reached him from his American possessions,[32] but he was unfortunately too absorbed with the imperial crown and the preparations for departure to give more than a passing attention to the subject, and still less would he enter into the merits of the claims presented. Finding, however, that Fonseca had not been impartial in the matter, he was prevailed on to refer it to Cardinal Adrian, and the junta of prelates and ministers governing the kingdom during the royal absence, before whom the Council of the Indies had also to lay its reports. The messengers were meanwhile allowed under bond to receive from the seized funds what was needed for their support.[33] The powerful Fonseca managed, however, by misrepresentation and other means, to delay the case, and for about two years it dragged its weary length. And yet, where a man is strong enough to carve out his own fortune, particularly where the administration of strict justice might send his neck to the halter, the law's delay and its susceptibility to perversion may be most fortunate.

[31] *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 203. 'Viniéronse con la corte hasta llegar á la Coruña, y en este camino los cognoscí yo.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 499; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. vii.

[32] In the Manual de la Casa de Contratacion de la Indias is noted that the Cempoala natives were presented to the king, at Tordesillas, in February, or March, 1520, and the presents at Valladolid in April. The Indians were sent to Cuba at the close of March, 1521, except one who had died. *Cortés, Cartas*, 34; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 91–104.

[33] According to Bernal Diaz the bishop of Búrgos retained not only the original letters of the king, but a portion of the presents, which produced a sharp letter from Charles. The duplicate letters reached him, however. *Hist. Verdad.*, 38–9. This author is not well informed about the movements of the procuradores. He lets the king reach Flanders before they arrive, and there receive only the reports.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SINKING OF THE FLEET.

JULY-AUGUST, 1519.

DIEGO VELAZQUEZ ONCE MORE—HIS SUPPORTERS IN THE CAMP OF CORTÉS—THEY ATTEMPT ESCAPE—ARE DISCOVERED—THE LEADERS ARE SEIZED AND EXECUTED—CORTÉS' RIDE TO CEMPOALA, AND WHAT CAME OF IT—HE DETERMINES ON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE FLEET—PRELIMINARY STRATEGEMS—SEVERAL OF THE SHIPS PRONOUNCED UNSEAWORTHY—THE MATTER BEFORE THE SOLDIERS—THE FLEET SUNK—INDIGNATION OF THE VELAZQUEZ FACTION—ONE VESSEL REMAINING—IT IS OFFERED TO ANY WISHING TO DESERT—IT IS FINALLY SUNK—FRANCISCO DE GARAY'S PRETENSIONS—SEIZURE OF SOME OF HIS MEN.

To the top of a fir-tree, which he curbed and then let spring, Theseus fastened the robber Sinis, who had been accustomed himself to kill travellers in that way. In a hollow brazen bull, which he had made for the Sicilian tyrant to roast his victims in, Perillus the inventor was roasted. A famous detective was hanged at last for house-breaking. Matthew Hopkins, the witch-finder, who about the middle of the seventeenth century travelled the country over to discover and bring witches to punishment, was finally, with pronounced effect, subjected to one of his own tests. Witches, he had said, would not sink in water. This was a safe proposition for the prosecution; for if they sank they were drowned, and if they did not sink they were burned. Being at length himself charged with witchcraft, the people seized and threw him into a river; and as he floated, by his own law he was declared a witch, and put to death accordingly. In more ways than one, he who invents a guillotine

is often the first to suffer by it. It is not wise to sow dragons' teeth, and expect therefrom a happy harvest.

Now Diego Velazquez had all his life been sowing dragons' teeth, and hunting witches, and building guillotines, and brazen bulls. Starting from Spain in the guise of a noble old soldier, as he advertised himself, though some said of him that his sword was bloodless and his bravery bravado, he served the usual apprenticeship in the New World, chasing, and mutilating, and murdering, and enslaving natives, working to death on his plantations those saved for this most cruel fate. For this and similar service Diego Colon, then ruling the Indies at Española, sent him to Cuba to play governor there over those inoffensive and thrice unlucky savages. Fraud being native to his character, no sooner was he fairly seated than he repudiated his late master and benefactor, and reported directly to the king, even as his own captain of the Mexican expedition was now doing. Another of his guillotines was the vile treatment of Grijalva for not disobeying orders, on which score he could not complain against Grijalva's successor. Yet, as head and heart frosted with time the Cuban governor was not happy: misdeeds never bring true or lasting happiness. His bitterness, however, was but in the bloom; the full fruit of his folly would come only after the consummation of events upon the continent, grand as yet beyond conception. Ordinarily it is much easier to kill a man than to create one; in this instance it was extremely difficult to kill the man that he had made.

If among the New World cavaliers such a thing as poltroon or coward could be, Diego Velazquez was that thing, notwithstanding he had participated in so much fighting. Yet I do not call him coward, for my pen refuses to couple such a term with that of sixteenth-century Spaniard. Certain it is, however, that few men in those days preferred conquering new lands by deputy to winning glory in person, and

if this soldier and governor was not a coward, there was little of the manly or chivalrous in his bravery. He was cautious, yet frequently his cupidity overcame his caution; and when he adventured his gold—for he seldom risked his life, either for fame which he dearly loved, or for gold which he loved still dearer—it was under restrictions ruinous to almost any enterprise. In his ordinary mood he played fairly enough the statesman and hero, but in truth his statesmanship was superficial, and his heroism theatrical. Las Casas calls him a terrible fellow for those who served him, and Gomara says he had little stomach for expenditures. This much allowance, however, should be made in any statements of historians respecting the governor of Cuba: in their drama of the conquest Diego Velazquez plays the part of chief villain to the hero Hernan Cortés, when as a matter of fact Cortés was the greater villain of the two, principally because he was the stronger.

Even the priests praise Cortés, though many of his acts were treacherous; and timidity in a leader was accounted the most heinous of crimes. On the whole, I agree with Torquemada that the governor should have gone against Montezuma in person, if it was necessary he should go on such dastardly work at all; but we may be sure that Velazquez would not himself venture upon this sea of high exploit, though Æolus with a silver cord had tied up the winds in an ox-hide, as he did for Ulysses. And now from this time forth, and indeed from the moment the unrestrainable Estremaduran embarked defying him, the sulphurous fire of hatred and revenge burned constant in the old man's breast.

Never was villainy so great that if united with high station or ability it could not find supporters; for most men are rascals at heart in one direction or another. The pretty pair, Velazquez the governor, and Cortés the adventurer—so well pitted that the

difference between them consists chiefly in setting off the position of one against the native strength of the other, the manners and pusillanimity of the one against the fate-defying chivalry of the other—had each his active workers not only in Spain, but in America, those of Velazquez being some of them in the very camp of Cortés. Since the royal grant of superior powers to Velazquez, this faction has lifted its head. And now its brain works.

The messengers for Spain had scarcely left the port before these malcontents form a plot, this time not with the sole desire to return to a more comfortable and secure life, but with a view to advise Velazquez of the treasure ship so close at hand. Amongst them are to be found the priest Juan Diaz; Juan Escudero, the alguacil of Baracoa, who beguiled and surrendered Cortés into the hands of the authorities; Diego Carmeño and Gonzalo de Umbría, pilots; Bernardino de Coria, and Alonso Peñate, beside several leading men who merely countenanced the plot.[1] They have already secured a small vessel with the necessary supplies, and the night of embarkment is at hand, when Coria repents and betrays his companions.

Cortés is profoundly moved. It is not so much the hot indignation that stirs his breast against the traitors as the light from afar that seems to float in upon his mind like an inspiration, showing him more vividly than he had ever seen it before, his situation. So lately a lax and frivolous youth, apparently of inept nature, wrought to stiffer consistency by some years of New World kneading, by a stroke of the

[1] The names vary somewhat in different authorities, Bernal Diaz including instead of Peñate, a number of the Gibraltar sailors known as Peñates, who were lashed at Cozumel for theft. The plot was hatched 'Desde á quatro dias que partieron nuestros Procuradores.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 39. Cortés mentions only four 'determinado de tomar un bergantin.... y matar al maestre dél, y irse á la isla Fernandina.' *Cartas*, 53–4. Gomara assumes them to be the same who last revolted on setting out for Tizapantzinco. *Hist. Mex.*, 64. 'Pusieron.... por obra de hurtar un navío pequeño, é salir á robar lo que llevaban para el rey.' *Tapia, Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 563. Peter Martyr jumbles the names, dec. v. cap. i.

rarest fortune he suddenly finds himself a commander of men, in a virgin field of enterprise fascinating beyond expression, and offering to the soldier possibilities excelled by nothing within the century. As the mind enlarges to take in these possibilities, the whole being seems to enlarge with it, the unstable adventurer is a thing of the past, and behold a mighty rock fills the place. Against it heads shall beat unprofitably. The momentous question of to be or not to be is forever determined; it is an affair simply of life now. Life and the power of which he finds himself possessed shall rise or fall together; and if his life, then the lives of others. No life shall be more precious to him than his own; no life shall be accounted precious at all that stands in the way of his plans. To a lady who complained of the burning of the Palatinate by Turenne, Napoleon answered: "And why not, madame, if it was necessary to his designs?" The Palatinate! ay, and a hundred million souls flung into the same fire, ere the one omnipotent soul shall suffer the least abridgment. It was a small matter, and he would do it; all the islands of the Western Inde he would uproot and fling into the face of the Cuban governor before he would yield one jot of his stolen advantage. Each for himself were Velazquez, Columbus, and Charles, and the rest of this world's great and little ones, and Cortés would be for himself. Henceforth, like Themistocles, though he would die for his country he would not trust her. Return to Cuba he well knew for him was death, or ignominy worse than death. His only way was toward Mexico. As well first as last. All the past life of Cortés, all his purposes for the future, concentred in these resolves to make them the pivot of his destiny. Cortés, master of kings, arbiter of men's lives! As for these traitors, they shall die; and if other impediments appear, as presently we shall see them appear, be they in the form of eye or right hand, they shall be removed. Tyrant, he might

be branded; ay, as well that as another name, for so are great ends often brought to pass by small means. Unpleasant as it may be, the survivors may as well bear in mind that it will be less difficult another time.

So the conspirators are promptly seized and sentenced, Escudero and Cermeño to be hanged, Umbría to lose his feet, and others to receive each two hundred lashes.[2] Under cover of his cloth Padre Diaz, the ringleader and most guilty of them all, escapes with a reprimand. As for the rest, though among them were some equally guilty, they were treated with such dissembling courtesy and prudence as either to render them harmless or to convert them into friends. "Happy the man who cannot write, if it save him from such business as this!" exclaimed the commander, as he affixed his name to the death-warrants. For notwithstanding his inexorable resolve he was troubled, and would not see his comrades die though they would have sacrificed him. On the morning of the day of execution he set off at breakneck speed for Cempoala, after ordering two hundred soldiers to follow with the horses and join a similar force which had left three days before under Alvarado.[3]

Cortés' brain was in a whirl during that ride. It was a horrible thing, this hanging of Spaniards, cutting off feet, and flogging. Viewed in one light it was but a common piece of military discipline; from another stand-point it was the act of an outlaw. The greater part of the little army was with the commander; to this full extent the men believed in him, that on his

[2] Thus Cortés had his revenge on the alguacil. 'Y no le valiò el ser su Compadre,' says Vetancvrt, with a hasty assumption which is not uncommon with him. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 119. Gomara mentions no mutilation. 'Parece claro ser aquestas obras, ... propias de averiguado tirano,' says Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 496, which may be regarded as a singularly mild expression for the bishop. Herrera dwells upon Cermeño's extraordinary skill with the leaping-pole; he could also smell land fifteen leagues off the coast. dec. ii. lib. v. cap. xiv. 'Coria, vezino que fue despues de Chiapa.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 39.

[3] 'Embiado.... por los pueblos de la sierra, porque tuuiessen que comer; porque en nuestra Villa passauamos mucha necessidad de bastimentos.' *Id.* This seems unlikely, since the Totonacs were not only willing, but bound, to provide supplies.

valor and discretion they would adventure their lives. With most men beliefs are but prejudices, and opinions tastes. These Spaniards not only believed in their general, but they held to a most impetuous belief in themselves. They could do not only anything that any one else ever had done or could do, but they could command the supernatural, and fight with or against phantoms and devils. They were a host in themselves; besides which the hosts of Jehovah were on their side. And Cortés measured his men and their capabilities, not as Xerxes measured his army, by filling successively a pen capable of holding just ten thousand; he measured them rather by his ambition, which was as bright and as limitless as the firmament. Already they were heroes, whose story presently should vie in thrilling interest with the most romantic tales of chivalry and knight-errantry, and in whom the strongest human passions were so blended as to lift them for a time out of the hand of fate and make their fortunes their own. The thirst for wealth, the enthusiasm of religion, the love of glory, united with reckless daring and excessive loyalty, formed the most powerful incentives to action. Life to them without the attainment of their object was valueless; they would do or die; for to die in doing was life, whereas to live failing was worse than death. Cortés felt all this, though it scarcely lay on his mind in threads of tangible thought. There was enough however that was tangible in his thinkings, and exceedingly troubling. Unfortunately the mind and heart of all his people were not of the complexion he would have them. And those ships. And the disaffected men lying so near them, looking wistfully at them every morning, and plotting, and plotting all the day long. Like the Palatinate to Turenne, like anything that seduced from the stern purposes of Cortés, it were better they were not.

This thought once flashed into his mind fastened itself there. And it grew. And Cortés grew with it, until the man and the idea filled all that country, and

became the wonder and admiration of the world. Destroy the ships! Cut off all escape, should such be needed in case of failure! Burn the bridge that spans time, and bring to his desperate desire the aid of the eternities! The thought of it alone was daring; more fearfully fascinating it became as Cortés dashed along toward Cempoala, and by the time he had reached his destination the thing was determined, and he might with Cæsar at the Rubicon exclaim, *Jacta est alea!* But what would his soldiers say? They must be made to feel as he feels, to see with his eyes, and to swell with his ambition.

The confession of the conspirators opened the eyes of Cortés to a fact which surely he had seen often enough before, though by reason of his generous nature which forgot an injury immediately it was forgiven, it had not been much in his mind of late, namely, that too many of his companions were lukewarm, if not openly disaffected. They could not forget that Cortés was a common man like themselves, their superior in name only, and placed over them for the accomplishment of this single purpose. They felt they had a right to say whether they would remain and take the desperate chance their leader seemed determined on, and to act on that right with or without his consent. And their position assuredly was sound; whether it was sensible depended greatly on their ability to sustain themselves in it. Cortés was exercising the arbitrary power of a majority to drive the minority as it appeared to their death. They had a perfect right to rebel; they had not entered the service under any such compact. Cortés himself was a rebel; hence the rebellion of the Velazquez men, being a rebelling against a rebel, was in truth an adherence to loyalty. Here as everywhere it was might that made right; and, indeed, with the right of these matters the narrator has little to do.

Success, shame, fear, bright prospects, had all lent their aid to hold the discontented in check, but in

these several regards feeling and opinion were subject to daily fluctuations. Let serious danger or reverses come, and they would flee in a moment if they could. And the fleet lying so near was a constant temptation. Cut that off, and the nerves of every man there would be freshly strung. The meanest would suddenly become charged with a kind of nobility; they would at once become inspired with the courage that comes from desperation. Often those least inclined to fight when forced to it are the most indifferent to death. Other dormant elements would be brought out by the disappearance of those ships; union, fraternity, complete community, not only of interest but of life. Their leader with multiplied power would become their god. On him they would be dependent for all things; for food and raiment, for riches, glory, and every success; for life itself. Cortés saw all this, pondered it well, and thought it would be very pretty to play the god awhile. He would much prefer it to confinement in old Velazquez' plaza-pen, or even in a Seville prison. Cortés was now certain in his own mind that if his band remained unbroken either by internal dissension or by white men yet to arrive, he would tread the streets of the Mexican capital before he entered the gates of the celestial city. If Montezuma would not admit him peaceably, he would gather such a force of the emperor's enemies as would pull the kingdom down about his ears. It would be necessary on going inland to leave a garrison at Villa Rica; but it would be madness to leave also vessels in which they could sail away to Cuba or elsewhere. And finally, if the ships were destroyed, the sailors, who otherwise would be required to care for them, might be added to the army. Such were the arguments which the commander would use to win the consent of his people to one of the most desperate and daring acts ever conceived by a strategist of any age or nation.

Not that such consent was necessary. He might destroy the ships and settle with the soldiers after-

ward. The deed accomplished, with or without their consent, there would be but one course open to them. Nevertheless he preferred they should think themselves the authors of it rather than feel that they had been tricked, or in any way unfairly dealt with. And with the moral he would shift the pecuniary responsibility to their shoulders. So he went to work as usual, with instruments apparently independent, but whose every step and word were of his directing. One day quickly thereafter it came to pass that the masters of several of the largest ships appeared before the captain-general with lengthened faces well put on, with the sad intelligence that their respective craft were unseaworthy; indeed one of them had sunk already. They did not say they had secretly bored holes in them according to instructions. Cortés was surprised, nay he was painfully affected; Roscius himself could not have performed the part better; "for well he could dissemble when it served his purpose," chimes in Las Casas. With Christian fortitude he said: "Well, the will of God be done; but look you sharply to the other ships." Barnacles were then freely discussed, and teredos. And so well obeyed the mariners their instructions that soon they were able to swear that all the vessels save three were unsafe, and even these required costly repairs before they would be seaworthy.[4] Thus as by the hand of providence, to the minds of the men as they were able to bear it, the deed unfolded. Soon quite apparent became the expediency of abandoning such vessels as were leaking badly; there was trouble and no profit in attempting to maintain them, for they would surely have to be abandoned in the end. "And indeed, fellow-soldiers," continued Cortés, "I am not

[4] *Testimonio de Montejo y Puertocarrero*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 489, 494. 'Viniesen á él, cuando estuviese mucha gente con él junta, y le denunciasen como no podian vencer el agua de los navíos.' *Las Casas*, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 497. 'Tuuo forma para que los soldados mas aficionados que tenia se lo pidiessen....Los soldados se lo pidieron, y dello se recibio auto por ante escriuano.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. xiv. 'Le aconsejamos los que eramos sus amigos, que no dexasse Nauio en el Puerto.' *Bernal Diaz*, *Hist. Verdad.*, 39.

sure but it were best to doom to destruction also the others, and so secure the coöperation of the sailors in the coming campaign, instead of leaving them in idleness to hatch fresh treachery." This intimation was successful, as had been foreordained by the ruler of these events it should be. It was forthwith resolved to scuttle all the ships but one, the one brought by Salcedo. Accordingly Escalante, the alguacil mayor, a brave and able officer wholly devoted to Cortés, was sent down to Villa Rica to carry out the order, with the aid of the picked soldiers there stationed. Sails, anchors, cables, and everything that could be utilized were removed, and a few hours later some small boats were all that remained of the Cuban fleet.[5]

It was then the community first realized its situation. The followers of Cortés, with unbounded faith in their leader, did not so much care, but the partisans of Velazquez, few of whom knew that the affair had been coolly predetermined, were somewhat agitated. And when on closer inquiry they were enlightened by certain of the mariners, the cry arose that they were betrayed; they were lambs led to the slaughter. Cortés promptly faced the now furious crowd. What did they want? Were their lives more precious than those of the rest? "For shame! Be men!" he cried, in conclusion. "You should know ere this how vain are the attempts to thwart my purpose. Look on this magnificent land with its vast treasures, and narrow not your vision to your insignificant selves. Think of your glorious reward, present and to come, and trust in God, who, if it so please him, can conquer this empire with a single arm. Yet if there be one here still so craven as to wish to turn his back on the glories and advantages thus

[5] 'Los Pilotos, ê Maestres viejos, y marineros, que no erã buenos para ir â la guerra, que se quedassen en la Villa, y cõ dos chinchorros que tuuiessen cargo de pescar....y luego se vino (Escalante) â Cempoal con vna Capitania de hombres de la mar, que fuessen los que sacaron de los Nauios, y salieron algunos dellos muy buenos soldados.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 40.

offered; if there be one here so base, so recreant to heaven, to his king, to his comrades, as to slink from such honorable duty, in God's name let him go. There is one ship left, which I will equip at my own charge to give that man the immortal infamy he deserves." This he said and much more, and to the desired effect. The speaker knew well how to play upon his men, as on an instrument, so that they would respond in any tune he pleased. Cheers rent the air as he concluded, in which the opposition were forced to join through very shame. Seeing which Cortés gently intimated, "Would it not be well to destroy the remaining vessel, and so make a safe, clean thing of it?" In the enthusiasm of the moment the act was consummated with hearty approval.[6]

[6] It is generally admitted that Cortés suggested the idea of destroying the fleet, for even Bernal Diaz, who at first gives the credit to the men by saying, 'le aconsejamos los que eramos sus amigos,' confesses on the following page that 'el mismo Cortès lo tenia ya concertado.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 39–40. The preponderating testimony also shows that the masters made their report in public, with the evident object, as the best authorities clearly indicate, of obtaining the consent of the responsible majority for the scuttling. During the partition of treasures at Mexico, large shares were set aside for Cortés and Velazquez to cover the cost of the fleet and the outfit, 'que dimos al traues con ellos, pues todos fuimos en ellos,' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 84, which is proof, in addition to the reliable assertion that the deed was agreed upon by the majority. Cortés' expression, 'los eché á la costa,' *Cartas*, 54, is merely that of a leader of that party or majority, who besides really gives credit to others. Hence the conclusion of Prescott and others, that the scuttling was done on his own responsibility, is not well founded. Cortés was clever enough always to have those present who were ready to take any responsibility for him that he might wish. The phrase, 'his was the greatest sacrifice, for they (the vessels) were his property,' *Prescott's Mex.*, i. 374, is also wrong, for he was compensated by the army. And it is an exaggeration to say that the execution of the measure 'in the face of an incensed and desperate soldiery, was an act of resolution that has few parallels in history,' *Id.*, 376, since his party supported him. According to Gomara the pilots bore holes in the vessels, and bring their report, whereupon five vessels are first sunk; shortly afterward the remainder except one are scuttled. The offer of this vessel to those who wished to return was made with a view to learn who were the cowards and malcontents. Many indeed did ask for leave, but half of them were sailors. Others kept quiet out of shame. *Hist. Mex.*, 65. It was never Cortés' policy to mark the disaffected, however. This author is followed by Torquemada, 'porque asi se ha platicado siempre entre las Gentes, que mas supieron de esta Jornada,' i. 409, and on the strength of this the latter argues that Herrera's version, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. xiv., which adheres chiefly to Bernal Diaz', must be wrong. Tapia, *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 563, conforms chiefly to Gomara. Robertson, after following Bernal Diaz, takes the trouble of having the ships 'drawn ashore and....broke in pieces.' *Hist. Am.*, ii. 33–4; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 35–6; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, iii. 262; *Sandoval, Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 171; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. i. Peralta has them

"To Mexico!" was now the cry, and preparations for the march were at once made. Escalante, whose character and services had endeared him to Cortés,

burned by secret agents of Cortés. *Nat. Hist.*, 76. Solis, ever zealous for his hero, objects to Bernal Diaz' attempt to pluck any of the glory, and scouts the idea that fears of pecuniary liability could have influenced Cortés to gain the approval of others for his act. 'Tuvo á destreza de historiador el penetrar lo interior de las acciones,' is the complacent tribute to his own skill in penetrating the question. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 214–15. The view of the foundering fleet, appended to some editions of his work, has been extensively copied. One is given in the Antwerp edition of 1704, 141. A still finer view, with the men busy on shore, and the sinking vessels in the distance, is to be found in the Madrid issue of 1783, i. 213. The destruction of the fleet has been lauded in extravagant terms by almost every authority, from Gomara and Solis to Robertson and Prescott, as an unparalleled deed. Of previous examples there are enough, however, even though the motives and the means differ. We may go back to Æneas, to whose fleet the wives of the party applied the torch, tired of roaming; or we may point to Agathocles, who first fired his soldiers with a resolution to conquer or to die, and then compelled them to keep their word by firing the vessels. Julian offered a tamer instance during his campaign on the Tigris; but the deed of the terrible Barbarossa in the Mediterranean, only a few years before the Mexican campaign, was marked by reckless determination. Still examples little affect the greatness of an act; motives, means, and results afford the criteria. 'Pocos exemplos destos ay, y aquellos son de grandes hombres.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 65. 'Una de las acciones en que mas se reconoce la grandeza de su ánimo.... Y no sabemos si de su género se hallará mayor alguna en todo el campo de las Historias.' *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 213. 'An effort of magnanimity, to which there is nothing parallel in history.' *Robertson, Hist. Am.*, ii. 34. 'Un' impresa, che da per se sola basterebbe a far conoscere la sua magnanimità, e ad immortalare il suo nome.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 35; Prescott, *Mex.*, i. 375–6, is equally carried away, and he finds more words for his admiration. He is wrong in supposing that one of the vessels in the harbor was left intact; the exempt ship referred to by a chronicler was the one carrying the messengers to Spain.

Antonio de Solis y Ribadeneyra is remarkable as the first Spanish historian of the conquest. It appears to us strange that an episode so glorious to the fame of Castilians should have been allowed to lie so long neglected in the musty pages of their chroniclers. True, these were worthy, zealous men, who conscientiously narrated every occurrence of any note, but their standard for historic truth and dignity caused them to clothe facts, however striking, in a garb of dreary gravity, dryness of detail, and ambiguous confusion, which discouraged even the student. It required the dramatic eye of the composer and the imagination of the poet to appreciate the picturesque sketches of a strange people now fading into oblivion, the grandeur of a semi-savage pageantry, the romantic exploits that recalled the achievements of the Cid. This faculty was innate in Solis, developed besides by a long and successful career in letters. He had profited also by the advantages opened to him as the secretary of Conde de Oropesa, Viceroy of Navarre and of Valencia, who Mæcenas-like fostered the talents and aided in the promotion of the promising savant, for as such he already ranked. Cradled in the famous college town of Alcalá de Henares, he had given early evidence of talent, and at Salamanca university he had signalized himself in his seventeenth year by producing a comedy of considerable merit. While pursuing with energy the study of law and moral philosophy, he cultivated with hardly less ardor the muses, to which end he was no doubt impelled also by his intimacy with the illustrious

was placed in command of Villa Rica. The native chiefs were directed to regard him as the representa-

Calderon. Several of his dramas were received with acclamation, and one was translated into French, while his miscellaneous poems, reprinted in our days, are marked by a vivid imagination and an elegance which also adorns his letters. Talents so conspicuous did not wait long for recognition, and with the aid of his patron he advanced to the dignities of royal secretary and chief chronicler of the Indies. When 56 years old his mind underwent a change, and entering the church he abandoned forever the drama and light literature. The pen changed only its sphere, however, for it served the historiographer zealously, achieving for him the greatest fame; and fame alone, for at his death, in April, 1686, at the age of 76, deep poverty was his companion. When he entered on this office the Indies had lapsed into the dormant quietude imposed by a strict and secluding colonial régime. There were no stirring incidents to reward the efforts of the historian, save those connected with free-booter raids, which offered little that could flatter Spanish pride. To achieve fame he must take up some old theme, and present it in a form likely to rouse attention by its contrast. Thus it was that he selected the thrilling episode of the conquest of Mexico, with the determination to rescue it from the unskilful arrangement and repetitions, the want of harmony and consistency, the dryness and faulty coloring, to which it had hitherto been subjected, and to expend upon it the effects of elegant style and vast erudition. When the work appeared at Madrid, in 1684, its superior merits were instantly recognized, and although the sale at first was not large, editions have multiplied till our day, the finest and costliest being the illustrated issue of 1783–4, in two volumes, which I quote, while consulting also the notes of several others. So grand and finely elaborated a subject, and that from a Spanish historian who was supposed to have exhausted all the available resources of the Iberian archives, could not fail to rouse general attention throughout Europe, and translations were made into different languages. Robertson, among others, while not failing to point out certain blemishes, has paid the high compliment of accepting Solis for almost sole guide on the conquest, and this with a blindness which at times leads him into most amusing errors. Even Prescott warms to his theme in a review of six closely printed pages, wherein eulogy, though not unmingled with censure, is stronger than a clearer comprehension of the theme would seem to warrant. But in this he is impelled to a great extent by his oft displayed tendency to hero worship.

Solis deserves acknowledgment for bringing order out of chaos, for presenting in a connected form the narrative of the conquest, and for adorning it with an elegant style. But he has fulfilled only a part of the promises made in his preface, and above all has he neglected to obtain information on his topic beyond that presented in a few of the generally accessible works, even their evidence being not very closely examined. He has also taken great liberties with the text, subordinating facts to style and fancy, seizing every possible opportunity to manufacture speeches for both native and Spanish heroes, and this with an amusing disregard for the consistency of language with the person and the time. His religious tendencies seriously interfere with calm judgment, and impel him to rave with bigoted zeal against the natives. The hero worship of the dramatist introduces itself to such an extent as frequently to overshadow everything else, and to misrepresent. 'Sembra più un panegirico, che una istoria,' says Clavigero, very aptly. *Storia Mess.*, i. 16. His arguments and deductions are at times most childish, while his estimation of himself as a historian and thinker is aired in more than one place with a ridiculous gravity. With regard to style, Solis had Livy for a model, and belonged to the elder school of historians; he was its last good representative, in fact. His language is expressive and elegant, greatly imbued with a poetic spirit not unsuited to the subject, and sustained in eloquence, while its pure idiom aids to maintain the work as classic among

tive of the general, and to supply him with every requirement.[7]

Some nine days after the sinking of the fleet a messenger arrived from Escalante, announcing that four vessels[8] had passed by the harbor, refusing to enter, and had anchored three leagues off, at the mouth of a river. Fearing the descent upon him of Velazquez, Cortés hurried off with four horsemen, after selecting fifty soldiers to follow. Alvarado and Sandoval were left jointly in charge of the army, to the exclusion of Ávila, who manifested no little jealousy of the latter. Cortés halted at the town merely to learn particulars, declining Escalante's hospitality with the proverb, "A lame goat has no rest." On the way to the vessels they met a notary with two witnesses,[9] commissioned to arrange a boundary on behalf of Francisco de Garay, who claimed the coast to the north as first discoverer, and desired to form a settlement a little beyond Nautla. It appeared that Garay, who had come out with Diego Colon, and had risen from procurador of Española

Castilians. 'Ingenio Conceptuoso, Floridisimo, i Eloquente,' is the observation in the work of his historiographic predecessor, Pinelo, *Epitome*, ii. 607. But it lacks in boldness and dignity; the rhapsodies are often misplaced, and the verboseness is tiresome. Some of the faults are of course due to the time, but not the many, and it also becomes only too apparent that Solis is so conceitedly infatuated with his affected grandiloquence as to sacrifice facts wherever they interfere with its free scope. It is said that he intended to continue the history of Mexico after the conquest, and that death alone prevented the consummation of the project. But this is mere conjecture, and it appears just as likely that the dramatist recognized the effect of closing a great work at so appropriate a point as the fall of Mexico. The work was taken up, however, by Salazar y Olarte, who published in 1743 the second part of the *Conquest*, till the death of Cortés, abounding in all the faults of the superficial and florid composition of Solis.

[7] 'Luego le zahumaron [the chiefs] al Juan de Escalante con sus inciensos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 40. 'Dejé en la villa de la Veracruz ciento y cincuenta hombres con doze de caballo.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 52–3. One hundred and fifty Spaniards, with two horses and two fire-arms, were left here under Pedro de Ircio, *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 65–6, but Bernal Diaz corrects him. 'Al Pedro de Ircio no le auian dado cargo ninguno, ni aun de cuadrillero.' ubi sup.; *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 291. The force seems to be altogether too large. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 51, says 60 old and suffering soldiers were left as garrison.

[8] Bernal Diaz says one vessel; but Cortés and other authorities mention four.

[9] Bernal Diaz, who appears to have been with the party, names them as Guillen de la Loa, notary; Andrés Nuñez, shipwright; Pedro de la Arpa, a Valencian, and a fourth man. *Hist. Verdad.*, 40.

to become governor of Jamaica, had resolved to devote his great wealth to extending his fame as explorer and colonizer. On learning from Alaminos and his fellow voyagers of the coasts discovered in this direction, he resolved to revive the famed projects of Ponce de Leon, and with this view despatched a small fleet in 1518, under Diego de Camargo.[10] Driven back by the Floridans with great slaughter, says Gomara, the expedition sailed down to Pánuco River, again to be repulsed, with the loss of some men, who were flayed and eaten. Torralba, steward of Garay, was then sent to Spain, and there, with the aid of Garay's friends, obtained for him a commission as adelantado and governor of the territories that he might discover north of Rio San Pedro y San Pablo.[11] Meanwhile a new expedition was despatched to Pánuco, under Alonso Álvarez Pineda, to form a settlement and to barter for gold. After obtaining some three thousand pesos, Pineda sailed southward to take possession and to select a site for the colony.[12]

And now while the notary is endeavoring to arrange matters with Cortés, Pineda waits for him a little distance from the shore. At that moment

[10] 'Armo Francisco de Garay tres carauelas en Iamaica, el año de mil quiniẽtos y deziocho, y fue a tentar la Florida.' *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 55. 'Determinó de enviar á un hidalgo, llamado Diego de Camargo, á descubrir é continuar el descubrimiento que Grijalva habia hecho, con uno ó con dos navios; el cual descubrió la provincia de Panuco, ó, por mejor decir, comenzó de allí donde Grijalva se habia tornado, que fué desde Panuco, y anduvo navegando por la costa cien leguas hácia la Florida.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 466; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xi.; *Galvano's Discov.*, 133–4.

[11] See *Hist. Mex.*, i. 29, this series. 'El Rey se las concedió el año de 819, estando en Barcelona.' *Las Casas*, loc. cit. 'Torralua... truxo prouisiones para que fuesse Adelantado, y Gouernador desde el rio de San Pedro, y San Pablo, y todo lo que descubriesse: y por aquellas pruisiones embiò luego tres Nauios con hasta dozientos y setenta soldados.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 41.

[12] Bernal Diaz intimates that Pineda had remained at Rio Pánuco to colonize, while one vessel was sent down to take possession where Cortés met the men. After giving an account of two expeditions in 1518 and 1519, Gomara says: 'Otros dizen, que no fue mas de vna vez. Sino que como estuuo mucho alla cuẽtan por dos.' *Hist. Ind.*, 55. But Las Casas mentions distinctly that it was on the strength of Camargo's discoveries, in 1518, that the grant was made to Garay in the following year. ubi sup. 'Garai auia corrido mucha costa en demãda de la Florida, y tocado en vn rio y tierra, cuyo rey se llamaua Panuco, donde vieron oro, aun que poco. Y que sin salir de las naues auiã rescatado hasta tres mil pesos de oro.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 67; *Cortés, Cartas*, 56–7; *Oviedo*, iii. 262–3; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. i.

Cortés cared little for Garays or boundaries; but he would by no means object to a few more Spaniards to take the place of those he had hanged, and of others whom he might yet be obliged to hang. To this end he converted perforce to his cause the notary and his attendants. Then learning from them that Pineda could on no account be prevailed on to land for a conference, Cortés signalled to the vessels with the hope that more men would come on shore. This failing, he bethought himself of letting three of his men exchange clothes with the new-comers and approach the landing, while he marched back with the rest in full view of the vessels. As soon as it grew dark, the whole force returned to hide near the spot. It was not till late the following morning that the suspicious Pineda responded to the signals from shore, and sent off a boat with armed men. The trio now withdrew behind some bushes, as if for shade. Four Spaniards and one Indian landed, armed with two firelocks and two cross-bows, and on reaching the shrubbery they were pounced upon by the hidden force, while the boat pushed off to join the vessels all ready to sail.[13]

[13] 'El uno (of the captured ones) era maestre de la una nao, é puso fuego á la escopeta, é matara al capitan de la Veracruz, sino que á la mecha le faltó el fuego.' *Oviedo*, iii. 263. Bernal Diaz, in a less intelligent account of the capture, states that only two men landed. 'Por manera que se huuieron de aquel Nauio seis soldados.... Y esto es lo que se hizo, y no lo que escriue el Coronista Gomara.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 41. But Cortés' version must surely be the best, since it was related shortly after the occurrence, and by an immediate participator in the events.

CHAPTER XII.

MARCH TOWARD MEXICO.

AUGUST-SEPTEMBER, 1519.

ENTHUSIASM OF THE ARMY—THE FORCE—THE TOTONACS ADVISE THE TLASCALAN ROUTE—ARRIVAL AT JALAPA—A LOOK BACKWARD—THE ANÁHUAC PLATEAU—MEETING WITH OLINTETL—ARRIVAL IN THE COUNTRY OF THE TLASCALTECS—THE SENATE CONVENES AND RECEIVES THE ENVOYS OF CORTÉS—AN ENCOUNTER—A MORE SERIOUS BATTLE—XICOTENCATL RESOLVES TO TRY THE PROWESS OF THE INVADERS, AND IS DEFEATED.

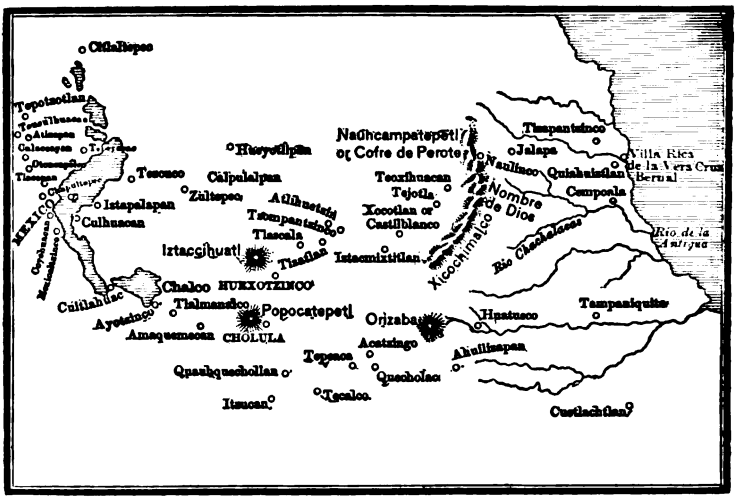
THE Garay affair having thus been disposed of, it was announced to the Spaniards that they would now go in quest of the great Montezuma. For as the conciliating sea smooths the sand which but lately it ground in its determinate purpose from the rocks, so had Cortés quieted the ruffled temper of the malcontents, till they were committed as one man to the will of the leader. And he smiled somewhat grimly as he concluded his harangue: "To success or total destruction now we march; for there is open to us no retreat. In Christ we trust, and on our arms rely. And though few in number, our hearts are strong." The soldiers shouted their approval, and again signified their desire to press onward to Mexico.[1]

The force for the expedition consisted of about four hundred and fifty Spaniards, with fifteen horses, and six or seven light guns, attended by a considerable number of Indian warriors and carriers, including Cubans. The Totonac force comprised also forty chiefs, taken really as hostages, among whom

[1] 'Y todos á vna le respondimos, que hariamos lo que ordenasse, que echada estaua la suerte de la buena ò mala ventura.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 40.

are named Mamexi, Tamalli, and Teuch, the latter proving a most able and trusty guide and counsellor.[3]

The advice of the Totonacs is to take the route through Tlascala, as a state friendly to them and bitterly opposed to the Mexicans, and on the 16th of August the army leaves Cempoala for the interior. Soon begins the gentle ascent which lifts them from oppressive heat and overpowering vegetation to cooler



[3] Bernal Diaz states, 65, that on reaching Mexico City 'no llegauamos á 450 soldados,' intimating that they must have amounted to fully this figure on leaving Villa Rica. This would allow fully 120 men to Escalante, which appears a large garrison, even after making allowances for the old and infirm. Gomara places the force at 400 Spaniards, with 15 horses, 6 guns, and 1300 Indians, including Cubans and carriers. *Conq. Mex.*, 67; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. i.; *Torquemada*, i. 411, 517. Ixtlilxochitl increases this to 7 guns, 1300 warriors, and 1000 carriers. 'Con quince de caballo y trescientos peones.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 52. Cortés refers later on to 400 Cempoalans. He mentions merely 200 carriers. Clavigero has 415 Spaniards, a figure resulting from a misreading of his original. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 36. Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 216–17, followed of course by Robertson, changes the figures to 500 men, 200 carriers, and 400 Indian troops. A page, twelve years old, was left with the lord of Cempoala to learn the language. 'Tomaron un indio principal que llamaban *Tlacochalcatl* para que los mostrase el camino,' taken from the country by Grijalva, and brought back by Cortés. *Sahagun, Conq. Mex.*, 16. Shortly before beginning the march, says Duran, a messenger arrived from Mexico in the person of Motelchiuh, sent by Montezuma to serve as guide, and to provide for the proper service and hospitality on the way. Being told that no guide was needed, he returned, leaving orders with the caciques en route to tender good reception to the strangers. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 405–10.

regions, and at the close of the second day is reached the beautiful Jalapa,[3] a halting-place between the border of the sea and the upper plateau.

There they turn with one accord and look back. How charming! how inexpressibly refreshing are these approaching highlands to the Spaniards, so lately from the malarious Isthmus and the jungle-covered isles, and whose ancestors not long since had held all tropics to be uninhabitable; on the border, too, of Montezuma's kingdom, wrapped in the soft folds of perpetual spring. Before the invaders are the ardent waters of the gulf, instant in their humane pilgrimage to otherwise frozen and uninhabitable lands; before them the low, infectious *tierra caliente* that skirts the lofty interior threateningly, like the poisoned garment of Hercules, with vegetation bloated by the noxious air and by nourishment sucked from the putrid remains of nature's opulence, while over all, filled with the remembrance of streams stained sanguine from sacrificial altars, passes with sullen sighs the low-voiced winds. But a change comes gradually as the steep ascent is made that walls the healthful table-land of Anáhuac. On the *templada* terrace new foliage is observed, though still glistening with sun-painted birds and enlivened by parliaments of monkeys. Insects and flowers bathe in waves of burning light until they display a variety of colors as wonderful as they are brilliant, while from cool cañons rise metallic mists overspreading the warm hills. Blue and purple are the summits in the distance, and dim glowing hazy the imperial heights beyond, that daily baffle the departing sun. And on the broad plateau, whose rich earth with copious yield

[3] Meaning 'Spring in the Sand.' *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. app. 7. 'Y la primera jornado fuimos á vn pueblo, que se dize Xalapa.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 41. But the road was too long for one day's march. I may here observe that Bernal Diaz is remarkably faulty in his account of this march and of the campaign into Tlascala, and this is admitted by several writers, who nevertheless follow him pretty closely. The place is known the world over for its fairs and productions, particularly for the drug bearing its name, and is famous in the neighboring districts for its eternal spring and beautiful surroundings.

of gold and grain allures to cultivation, all the realm are out of doors keeping company with the sun. From afar comes the music-laden breeze whispering its secrets to graceful palms, aloft against the sky, and which bend to meet the confidence, while the little shrubs stand motionless with awe. Each cluster of trees repeats the story, and sings in turn its own matin to which the rest are listeners. At night, how glittering bright with stars the heavens, which otherwise were a shroud of impenetrable blackness. In this land of wild Arcadian beauty the beasts are free, and man keeps constant holiday. And how the hearts of these marauders burned within them as they thought, nothing doubting, how soon these glories should be Spain's and theirs.

The boundary of the Totonac territory was crossed, and on the fourth day the army entered a province called by Cortés Sienchimalen, wherein the sway of Montezuma was still maintained. This made no difference to the Spaniards, however, for the late imperial envoys had left orders with the coast governors to treat the strangers with every consideration. Of this they had a pleasing experience at Xicochimalco,[4] a strong fortress situated on the slope of a steep mountain, to which access could be had only by a stairway easily defended. It overlooked a sloping plain strewn with villages and farms, mustering in all nearly six thousand warriors.[5] With replenished stores the expedition began to ascend the cordillera in reality, and to approach the pine forests which mark the border of the *tierra fria*. Marching through a hard pass named Nombre de Dios,[6] they entered another province defended by a fortress,

[4] Identified with Naulinco. *Lorenzana, Viage*, p. ii.

[5] Cortés refers to a friendly chat with the governor, who mentioned the orders he had received to offer the Spaniards all necessities. *Cartas*, 57.

[6] 'Por ser el primero que en estas tierras habíamos pasado. El cual es tan agro y alto, que no lo hay en España otro.' *Cortes, Cartas*, 57. 'Hoy se llama *el Paso del Obispo*.' *Lorenzana*, ubi sup. 'Ay en ella muchas parras con vuas, y arboles cō miel.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 68.

named Teoxihuacan,[7] in no wise inferior to the first for strength or hospitality. They now finished the ascent of the cordillera, passed through Tejotla, and for three days continued their way through the alkaline wastes skirting the ancient volcano of Nauhcampatepetl,[8] exposed to chilling winds and hailstorms, which the Spaniards with their quilted armor managed to endure, but which caused to succumb many of the less protected and less hardy Cubans. The brackish water also brought sickness. On the fourth day the pass of Puerto de Leña,[9] so called from the wood piled near some temples, admitted them to the Anáhuac plateau, over seven thousand feet above the sea. With a less balmy climate and a flora less redundant than that of the Antillean stamping-ground, it offered on the other hand the attraction of being not unlike their native Spain. A smiling valley opened before them, doubly alluring to the pinched wanderers, with its broad fields of corn, dotted with houses, and displaying not far off the gleaming walls and thirteen towering temples of Xocotlan, the capital of the district. Some Portuguese soldiers declaring it the very picture of their cherished Castilblanco, this name was applied to it.[10]

Cacique Olintetl, nicknamed the temblador from the shaking of his fat body, came forth with a suite and escorted them through the plaza to the quarters assigned them, past pyramids of grinning human skulls, estimated by Bernal Diaz at over one hundred

[7] 'Hoy se nombra *Ixhuacán* de los Reyes.' *Lorenzana, Viage.*

[8] 'De *Nauhcampa*, quatre parties, et *tepetl*, montagne.' *Humboldt, Vues*, ii. 191. Equivalent to the Spanish name of Cofre de Perote.

[9] Lorenzana believes it to be the later Sierra de la Agua. A map with profile of the route is given in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 201; and a still better map by Orozco y Berra, *Itinerario*, in *Noticias Mex.*, 233.

[10] The name must not be confounded with Zacatlan, as Ixtlilxochitl calls it, for this lies north of Tlascala. 'Este valle y poblacion se llama Caltanmi.' 'Tenia las mayores y mas bien labradas casas que hasta entonces.... habiamos visto.' *Cortés, Cartas* 58. Lorenzana says, 'the present Tlatlanquitepec,' in the lower lying portion of which stood the palace of Caltanni, 'house below;' and there stands the big tree to which the natives say that Cortés tied his horse, *Viage*, pp. iii.–iv. 'Llamase.... Zaclotan aquel lugar, y el valle Zacatami.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 68; *Oviedo*, iii. 260. Cocotlan. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 41.

thousand. There were also piles of bones, and skulls suspended from beams, all of which produced far from pleasant impressions. This horror was aggravated by the evident coldness of their reception, and by the scanty fare offered.[11] Olintetl occupied what Cortés describes as the "largest and most finely constructed houses he had yet seen in this country," wherein two thousand servants attended to the wants of himself and his thirty wives.

Impressed by the magnificence of his surroundings, Cortés inquired whether he was a subject or ally of Montezuma. "Who is not his slave?" was the reply. He himself ruled twenty thousand subjects,[12] yet was but a lowly vassal of the emperor, at whose command thirty chiefs at least could place each one hundred thousand warriors in the field. He proceeded to extol the imperial wealth and power, and the grandeur of the capital, wherein twenty thousand human victims were annually given to the idols. This was probably intended to awe the little band; "But we," says Bernal Diaz,[13] "with the qualities of Spanish soldiers, wished we were there striving for fortunes, despite the dangers described." Cortés calmly assured the cacique that great as Montezuma was, there were vassals of his own king still mightier, with more to the same effect; and he concluded by demanding the submission of the cacique, together with a present of gold, and the abandonment of sacrifices and cannibalism. Olintetl's only reply was that he could do nothing without authority from the capital. "Your Monte-

[11] Gomara intimates that the Spaniards were well received, and had 50 men sacrificed in their honor. *Hist. Mex.*, 68. The native records state that bread sprinkled with the blood of fresh victims was offered to them, as to idols, but this being rejected with abhorrence, pure food was brought. Before this sorcerers had been sent to use their arts against them, by spreading diseases, casting spells to prevent their advance, and otherwise opposing them. But everything failed before the magic influence shed perhaps by the banner of the cross. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 401–8; *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 14; *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, 518; *Torquemada*, i. 417–8.

[12] 'Tenia Montezuma en este pueblo, y su comarca, cinco mil soldados de guarnicion.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. ii.

[13] *Conq. Mex.*, 42. 'A muchos valientes por ventura desmayara,' says to the contrary Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 69.

zuma," replied the audacious Spaniard, with suppressed anger, "shall speedily send you orders to surrender to me gold or any other desired effects in your possession."

More generous were the caciques of two towns at the other end of the valley, who brought a few golden trifles and eight female slaves.[14] The revelations of the Cempoalans and of Marina concerning the wonderful power of the Spaniards, and the honors paid them by Montezuma's envoys, had the effect of making Olintetl also more liberal with provisions at least. Being asked about the road to Mexico he recommended that through Cholula, but the Cempoalans representing the Cholultecs as highly treacherous, and devoted to the Aztecs, the Tlascalan route was chosen, and four Totonac chiefs were despatched to ask permission of the republican rulers to pass through their lands. A letter served as mystic credentials, and a red bushy Flemish hat for a present.[15]

After a stay of four days the army proceeded up the valley, without leaving the customary cross, it seems, with which they had marked their route hitherto; the reason for this was the objection of Padre Olmedo to expose the emblem to desecration in a place not wholly friendly to them.[16] The road lay for two leagues through a densely settled district to Iztacmixtitlan, the seat of Tenamaxcuicuitl, a town which Cortés describes as situated upon a lofty height, with very good houses, a population of from five to six thousand families, and possessing comforts superior to those of Xocotlan. "It has a better fortress," he

[14] *Cortés, Cartas*, 59. Bernal Diaz assumes that Olintetl was persuaded by the Cempoalans to conciliate Cortés with four slaves, a few paltry pieces of jewelry, and a load of cloth.

[15] Camargo sends the letter from Cempoala, together with a sword, a crossbow, and a red silk cap. *Hist. Tlax.*, 145. But it is not probable that Cortés would deprive himself of such needful articles, not overabundant with him, even if he had no objection to let Indians examine them. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 42–3, despatches two Cempoalans from a later station, and this on hearing that the Tlascaltecs had risen to oppose them.

[16] Still Gomara, in his sweeping way, declares that Cortés 'puso muchas cruzes en los templos, derrocàdo los idolos como lo hazia en cada lugar.' *Hist. Mex.*, 70; *Tapia, Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 567. Twenty leading warriors were taken from here, says Bernal Diaz.

writes, "than there is in half Spain, defended by a wall, barbican, and moats." The cacique who had invited the visit made amends for the cold reception of the previous chief, and the Spaniards remained for three days waiting in vain for the return of the messengers sent to Tlascala. They then passed onward, reinforced by about three hundred warriors from the town.[17] Two leagues' march brought them to the boundary of Tlascala, conspicuous by a wall of stone and mortar nine feet in height and twenty in breadth, which stretched for six miles across a valley, from mountain to mountain, and was provided with breastworks and ditches.[18]

Between latitude 19° and 20° ranges of hills cut the plain of Anáhuac into four unequal parts. In the centre of the one eastward stood the capital of Tlascala. The state so carefully protected was about the same small territory which we now see on the map,[19] with twenty-eight towns, and one hundred and fifty thousand families, according to the rough census taken by Cortés.[20] A branch of the Teo-Chichimec nation, the Tlascaltecs had, according to tradition, entered upon the plateau shortly before the cognate Aztecs, and, after occupying for a time a tract on the western shore of Tezcuco Lake, they had tired of the constant disputes with neighboring tribes and proceeded eastward, in three divisions, the largest of which had, late in the thirteenth century, taken possession of Tlascala, 'Place of Bread.' The soil was rich, as implied by the name, but owing to the continued wars with former enemies, reinforced by the Aztecs, they found little opportunity to make available their wealth by means

[17] Clavigero calls them 'un competente numero di truppe Messicane del presidio di Xocotla,' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 41, which is unlikely.

[18] See *Native Races*, ii. 568, et seq.

[19] Fifteen leagues from west to east, ten from north to south, says Torquemada, i. 276. Herrera extends it to 30 leagues in width.

[20] 'Hay en esta provincia, por visitacion que yo en ella mandé hacer, ciento cincuenta mil vecinos.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 69. In the older edition of these letters by Lorenzana, it reads, 500,000 families, a figure which in itself indicates an exaggeration, but has nevertheless been widely copied. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 87.

of industries and trade, and of late years a blockade had been maintained which deprived them of many necessaries, among others salt. But the greater attention given in consequence to agriculture, had fostered temperate habits and a sinewy constitution, combined with a deep love for the soil as the source of all their prosperity. Compelled also to devote more time and practice to warfare for the preservation of their liberty than to the higher branches of culture, they presented the characteristics of an isolated community, in being somewhat behind their neighbors in refinement, as well as in the variety of their resources.

In government the state formed an aristocracy, ruled by a senate of the nobility, presided over by four supreme hereditary lords, each independent in his own section of the territory. This division extended also to the capital, which consisted of four towns, or districts, Tizatlan, Ocotelulco, Quiahuiztlan, and Tepeticpac, ruled respectively by Xicotencatl, Maxixcatzin, Teohuayacatzin, and Tlehuexolotl.[21]

It was before this senate that the messengers of Cortés appeared, informing them in the name of the Cempoalan lord of the arrival of powerful gods from the east, who having liberated the Totonacs from Montezuma's sway, now desired to visit Tlascala in passing through to Mexico, and to offer their friendship and alliance. The messengers recommended an acceptance of the offer, for although few in number the strangers were more than equal to a host. They thereupon depicted their appearance, their swift steeds, their savage dogs, their caged lightning, as well as their gentle faith and manners. The messengers having retired, the senate proceeded to discussion. Prudent Maxixcatzin, lord of the larger and richer industrial district, called attention to the omens and signs which pointed to these visitors, who from all

[21] For further information about Tlascala, see *Native Races*, ii. and v. Torquemada gives a detailed history of the state in i. 259–78. See also *Prescott's Mex.*, i. 411–19; *Soria, Istoria y Fundacion de la Ciudad de Tlaxcala*, MS. in Aztec, sm. 4° of 48 leaves.

accounts must be more than mortal, and, if so, it would be best to admit them, since resistance must be vain. Xicotencatl, the eldest lord, replied to this that the interpretation of the signs could not be relied on. To him these beings seemed monsters rejected by the sea-foam, greedy of gold and luxuries, whose steeds devoured the very ground. To admit them would be ruinous. Besides, should the invincible Tlascaltecs submit to a mere handful? The gods forbid! It was further argued that the amicable relations of the strangers with Montezuma and his vassals did not accord with their protestations of friendship. This might be one of the many Aztec plots to obtain a footing in the country. Nor did the destruction of idols at Cempoala increase the confidence of a people so jealous of its institutions. The discussion waxing warmer, senator Temilotecatl suggested the middle course of letting the Otomí frontier settlers, who were thoroughly devoted to their Tlascaltec patrons, make an attack on the invaders, aided by their own general Axayacatzin Xicotencatl, son of the old lord, and known by the same name. If successful, they could claim the glory; if not, they might grant the victors the permission they had desired, while casting the blame for the attack on the Otomís. This was agreed to.[22]

[22] *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. iii., confounds the two Xicotencatls, and Torquemada, in seeking to correct him, applies the title of general to Maxixcatzin, i. 416, supposing besides, with Clavigero, that Temilotecatl may be another name for Tlehuexolotl. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 40; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 133. Jealous of the honor of his countrymen, and eager to vindicate them against the charge of duplicity or enmity toward the Spaniards, Camargo lets the messengers go back with a friendly invitation. After they had started on this mission the idols were consulted, but remained mute; the temples were overthrown by earthquakes, and comets appeared, creating a general panic. *Hist. Tlax.*, 144–6. The account of the conquest by this author is particularly interesting since Diego Muñoz Camargo was a native of the valiant little republic of Tlascala, a mestizo, says Veytia, *Hist. Ant. Méj.*, ii. 91, who calls him Domingo, while Clavigero gives him nobility. *Storia Mess.*, i. 10. Born shortly after these events, and in contact with the very men who figured therein, his stories are reproduced from their lips, though colored with the spirit of a convert and patriot who, like nearly all of his countrymen, was only too eager to curry favor with the dominant race. This is apparent in nearly every line of his text, wherein the terms of praise bestowed on the conquerors become not un-

As the Spaniards halted before the great wall, speculating on the strength of the people who had erected it, and upon the possible traps it might hide, their late hosts again besought them to take the Cholula route, but Cempoalan counsel prevailed. Waving aloft his banner, Cortés exclaimed: "Behold the cross! Señores, follow it!" And with this he led the way through the semicircular laps of the entrance. The wall was not provided with sentinels, and the army met with no obstacles.[23] Attended by ten horsemen, the general advanced to reconnoitre. After proceeding about four leagues he caught sight of fifteen armed Indians, who were pursued and overtaken. A fight ensued, in which the natives, nerved by despair, fought so fiercely that two horses were killed, and three horses and two riders wounded.[24] Meanwhile a

frequently absurd from the contradictions implied by other passages. Nor does he neglect to hold forth on his own people for their bravery and exploits in fighting the detested Aztecs, and their unswerving devotion to the Spaniards. In the pursuit of this pleasing theme he scruples not to sacrifice truth when it proves a stumbling-block. He leaves the impression, for instance, that the Tlascaltecs never raised sword against Cortés. Many of the misstatements are due to a non-critical acceptance of tales, for Camargo was as simple and superstitious as any of his contemporaries. Although acting as interpreter in the province, *Torquemada*, i. 523, he exhibits a not very thorough acquaintance with Spanish, which is the cause of errors and repetitions. The conquest forms but a portion of his narrative, which treats chiefly of aboriginal history and customs, and touches lightly the events that passed before his eyes. It was written in 1585, and lay for some time in the Felipe Neri convent archives, where it was consulted by Torquemada. Taken afterward by Panes to Spain, it was deposited by Muñoz with the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, from which source copies were obtained, among others one by Ternaux-Compans, and a faulty translation was published in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, xcviii.-ix.

[23] A short distance further they passed through a pine grove, wherein threads and papers were fixed and scattered across the path, the work of Tlascaltec sorcerers, who thus sought to cast a spell upon the invaders. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. iv.

[24] 'Segun algunos que lo vieron, cortaron cercen de vn golpe cada pescueco con riendas y todo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 71. 'Io viddi che còbattẽdosi vn dì, diede vn Indiano vna cortellata a vn cauallo....nel petto, che glielo aperse fin alle iteriora, et cadde icõtanẽte morto, &....che vn'altro Indiano diede vn'altra cortellata a vn'altro cauallo su il collo che se lo gettò morto.' *Relatione per vn gentil'huomo*, in *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 305. According to Duran two warriors stepped forth from a vast Tlascalan army before the regular battle, and issued a challenge, which was accepted by two horsemen. After a short combat the Indians, by deft movements, killed both horses, cutting off the neck of one, and wounding the other in the pasterns. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 411-20; *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 255–6. This attack is the only resistance admitted by Camargo. The assailants were all Otomís, who killed one Spaniard and two horses. *Hist. Tlax.*, 146.

force of Indians came up, estimated at from three to five thousand, and a horseman was at once sent back to hurry forward the infantry, while the rest boldly charged the enemy, riding through their ranks, and killing right and left without being injured themselves. On the approach of the foot-soldiers, and the discharge of a volley, the natives retired with about sixty of their number slain.[25] Shortly afterward two of the Cempoalan messengers returned with some Tlascaltecs, who expressed their sorrow at the attack made by a tribe not belonging to their nation. They offered to pay for the horses killed, and invited the Spaniards in the name of the lords to proceed. The army advanced for a league into more open country, and camped among some abandoned farms, where dogs proved to be the only food left. Thus ended the first day in Tlascalan territory, the first of September, according to Bernal Diaz.

In the morning the Spaniards met the two other messengers returning from their mission to Tlascala, who told a harrowing story of their seizure for the sacrificial stone, and of their escape by night. It is probable that their detention by the Tlascaltecs for messenger purposes had frightened them into believing that they were destined to be sacrificed, for envoys enjoyed the greatest respect among the Nahuas.[26] Shortly after a body of over one thousand warriors[27] appeared, to whom Cortés, in presence of the notary Godoy, sent three prisoners, with a formal assurance of his friendly intentions. The

[25] 'Hirieron á quatro de los nuestros, y pareceme que desde alli á pocos dias murió el vno de las heridas....quedaron muertos hasta diez y siete dellos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 43; *Cortés, Cartas*, 61; Lorenzana calls the scene of this battle the plain of Quimichoccan. *Viage*, p. viii.

[26] See *Native Races*, ii. 413; *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 230. According to Bernal Diaz the messengers are met before the Tlascalan border is reached, and they deliver the announcement that the Tlascaltecs will kill the Spaniards and eat their flesh, in order to test their reputed strength. The Cempoalans shall suffer the same fate, since they are assumed to be plotting in behalf of the Aztecs. loc. cit. Sahagun supposes that the Cempoalan guide had treacherously led the Spaniards against the Otomís. *Conq. Mex.* (ed. 1840), 40; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 42-3.

[27] Bernal Diaz says 6000.

only reply being showers of arrows, darts, and stones, Cortés gave the "Santiago, and at them!" and charged. The enemy retreated with the face to their pursuers, enticing them toward some broken ground intersected by a creek, where they found themselves surrounded by a large force, some bearing the red and white devices of Xicotencatl. Missiles were showered, while double-pointed spears, swords, and clubs pressed closely upon them, wielded by bolder warriors than those whom the Spaniards had hitherto subdued. Many were the hearts that quaked, and many expected that their last moment had come; "for we certainly were in greater peril than ever before," says Bernal Diaz. "None of us will escape!" exclaimed Teuch, the Cempoalan chief, but Marina who stood by replied with fearless confidence: "The mighty God of the Christians, who loves them well, will let no harm befall them."[28] The commander rode back and forth cheering the men, and giving orders to press onward, and to keep well together. Fortunately the pass was not long, and soon the Spaniards emerged into an open field, where the greater part of the enemy awaited them, estimated in all, by different authorities, at from thirty thousand to one hundred thousand.[29]

How long was this to continue, each new armed host being tenfold greater than the last? Yet once again the Spaniards whet their swords, and prepare for instant attack, as determined to fight it out to the death, as Leonidas and his brave Spartans at the pass of Thermopylæ. The cavalry charged with loose reins, and lances fixed on a range with the heads of the enemy, opening a way through the dense columns and spreading a confusion which served the

[28] *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. v. A pious conquistador who was present, says Duran, told me that many wept, wishing they had never been born, and cursing the marquis for having led them into such danger. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 417.

[29] Tapia gives the higher and Herrera the lower figure, while Ixtlilxochitl makes it 80,000.

infantry well. Bernal Diaz relates how a body of natives, determined to obtain possession of a horse, surrounded an excellent rider named Pedro de Moron, who was mounted upon Sedeño's fine racing mare, dragged him from the saddle, and thrust their swords and spears through the animal in all directions. Moron would have been carried off but for the infantry coming to his rescue. In the struggle which ensued ten Spaniards were wounded, while four chiefs bit the dust. Moron was saved only to die on the second day, but the mare was secured by the natives and cut into pieces, which were sent all over the state to afford opportunity for triumphal celebrations. The loss was greatly regretted, since it would divest the horses of their terrifying character. Those previously killed had been secretly buried. The battle continued until late in the afternoon, without enabling the Indians to make any further impression on the Spanish ranks than inflicting a few wounds, while their own were rapidly thinning under the charges of the cavalry and the volleys of artillery and firelocks. The slaughter had been particularly heavy among the chiefs, and this was the main reason for the retreat which the enemy now began, in good order.[30] Their actual loss could not be ascertained, for with humane devotion the wounded and dead were carried off the moment they were stricken; and in this constant self-sacrificing effort the Tlascaltecs lost many lives and advantages. Robertson regards with suspicion the accounts of the great battles fought during the conquest, wherein Indians fell by the score while

[30] During the battle one of the late Cempoalan envoys recognized the captain who had bound him for sacrifice, and with Cortés' permission he sent him a challenge. The duel was held in front of the armies, and after a tough struggle the Cempoalan, with a feint, threw his opponent off guard, and secured his head, which served as a centre-piece during the Cempoalan victory celebration. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. vi. This author also relates that one of the final acts of the battle was the capture by Ordaz, with 60 men, of a pass. 'Les matamos muchos Indios, y entre ellos ocho Capitanes muy principales, hijos de los viejos Caciques.' Five horses were wounded and fifteen soldiers, of whom one died. The other chronicles admit of no dead. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 44.

the Spaniards stood almost unscathed, and Wilson ridicules the whole campaign, reducing the Tlascalan population, for instance, to about ten thousand, with a fighting force of less than one thousand men. Such remarks certainly show a want of familiarity with the subject.[31] We have often seen, in the New World wars, a thousand naked Americans put to flight by ten steel-clad Europeans, and I have clearly given the reasons. When we look at the Indians, with their comparatively poor weapons, their unprotected bodies, their inefficient discipline and tactics, whereby only a small portion of their force could be made available, the other portion serving rather as an obstruction, their custom of carrying off the dead, and other weak points, and when we contrast them with the well

[31] *Robertson, Hist. Am.*, ii. 38–9; *Wilson's Conq. Mex.*, 360–70; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 51. It is seldom that I encounter a book which I am forced to regard as beneath censure. He who prints and pays the printer generally has something to say, and generally believes something of what he says to be true. An idiot may have honest convictions, and a knave may have talents, but where a book carries to the mind of the reader that its author is both fool and knave, that is, that he writes only foolishness and does not himself believe what he says, I have not the time to waste in condemning such a work. And yet here is a volume purporting to be *A New History of the Conquest of Mexico*, written by Robert Anderson Wilson, and bearing date Philadelphia, 1859, which one would think a writer on the same subject should at least mention. The many and magnificent monuments which to the present day attest the great number and high culture of the Nahua race, and the testimony to this effect offered by witnesses on all sides, are ignored by him with a contempt that becomes amusing as the pages reveal his lack of investigation and culture. Indeed, the reader need go no further than the introduction to be convinced on the latter point. Another amusing feature is that the work pretends to vindicate the assertions of Las Casas, who, in truth, extols more than other Spanish author the vast number and advanced culture of the natives. In addition to this mistaken assumption, which takes away his main support, he states that Prescott worked in ignorance of his subject and his authorities, and to prove the assertion he produces wrongly applied or distorted quotations from different authors, or assumes meanings that were never intended, and draws erroneous conclusions. Thus it is he proves to his own satisfaction that Mexico City was but a village occupied by savages of the Iroquois stamp, and that Cortés was the boastful victor over little bands of naked red men. As for the ruins, they were founded by Phœnician colonists in remote ages. Another tissue of superficial observations, shaped by bigotry and credulous ignorance, was issued by the same author under the title of *Mexico and its Religion*, New York, 1855, most enterprisingly reprinted in the disguise of *Mexico: its Peasants and its Priests*, New York, 1856. In common with Mr Morgan, and others of that stamp, Mr Wilson seems to have deemed it incumbent on him to traduce Mr Prescott and his work, apparently with the view of thereby attracting attention to himself. Such men are not worthy to touch the hem of Mr Prescott's garment; they are not worthy of mention in the same category with him.

armored Spaniards, with their superior swords and lances, their well calculated movements, and their concerted action carried out under strict and practised officers, and above all their terror-inspiring and ravaging fire-arms and horses—how can we doubt that the latter must have readily been able to overcome vast numbers of native warriors? It was soon so understood in Europe. For once when Cortés was in Spain he scoffed at certain of his countrymen for having fled before a superior force of Moors, whereupon one remarked: "This fellow regards our opponents like his, of whom ten horsemen can put to flight twenty-five thousand." In the retreat of the Ten Thousand, who under Cyrus had invaded Persia, we have an example of the inadequacy of numbers against discipline. Though for every Greek the Persians could bring a hundred men, yet the effeminate Asiatic absolutely refused to meet the hardy European in open conflict. Æschylus was inspired by personal experience in his play of the Persians when he makes the gods intimate to the wondering Atossa, the queen-mother, that free Athenians, unwhipped to battle, could cope successfully with the myriads of despotic Xerxes. The poor Americans had yet to learn their own weakness, and to pay dearly for the knowledge.

"It well seems that God was he who fought for us to enable us to get free from such a multitude," says Cortés. He attempted no pursuit, but hastened to take possession of Tecohuatzinco, a small town on the hill of Tzompachtepetl,[32] where they fortified themselves upon the temple pyramid, and proceeded to celebrate the victory with songs and dances, a performance wherein the allies took the leading part.

[32] *Lorenzana, Viage*, ix., wherein the appearance of the hill is described as the bishop saw it. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 292; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 146. Other authors differ. '*Teoatzinco*, cioè il luogo dell'acqua divina.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 44. Duran assumes that the battle was for the possession of this place, which he calls Tecoac. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 418, 422; *Tezozomoc, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 256. 'Aldea de pocas casas, que tenia vna torrezilla y tẽplo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 74.

The following day[33] Cortés sallied forth with the horses, one hundred infantry, and seven hundred allies, partly to forage before the enemy appeared, but also to inflict some damage, and to show that they were as fresh as ever. "I burned five or six small villages," he says, "each of about one hundred families, and returned with four hundred prisoners."[34] After being consoled with food and beads, the captives, including fifteen taken during the late battle, were despatched to the camp of Xicotencatl, two leagues off, with a letter to serve as credentials, and a message assuring him of the friendly intentions of the Spaniards, although they had been obliged to resort to severe measures. By no means impressed either with his defeat or with the assurances, Xicotencatl replied that peace would be celebrated at his father's town with a feast on the Spaniards' flesh, while their hearts and blood were delighting the gods. They would receive a more decisive answer on the morrow. With this defiant message came the report that the Tlascalan army, largely reinforced, was preparing to march on and overwhelm them. "When we learned this," says Bernal Diaz, "being men, we feared death, many of us; and all made confession to the Merced father, and the clergyman Juan Diaz, who all night remained present to listen to the penitent; and we commended ourselves to God, praying that we might not be conquered." Cortés applied himself energetically to supervise preparations and give the enemy a welcome. A fresh supply of arrows, and of Indian shields of plaited cane and cotton, were made, and the arms and accoutrements inspected. He impressed upon the soldiers the necessity of keeping close together, round the banner to be carried well aloft by Alférez Corral, in order that they might not be cut off. As for the cavalry they

[33] So Cortés distinctly says. Bernal Diaz writes, however, that this day was devoted to rest. Still, a later observation indicates that Cortés is right.

[34] *Id.* Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 44, admits only twenty captives, and blames the allies for firing the villages; but Cortés is frank enough about it.

were to make repeated charges, without losing time in delivering thrusts.

Early in the morning of September 5th the Indian army could be seen extending far over the field, terrible in war-paint, plumed helmets, and gaudy shields, with their double-edged flint swords and many-pointed lances gleaming in the sun, while the air resounded with shrill yells, mingling with the melancholy tones of their drums and the doleful blasts of conchs and trumpets.[35] It was the largest and finest army yet seen by the Spaniards, numbering, according to Gomara, one hundred and fifty thousand men, but according to Bernal Diaz only fifty thousand,[36] in four divisions, representing Tizatlan, Ocotelulco, Quiahuiztlan, and Tepeticpac, each distinguished by its own banner and colors, the latter noticeable also in the war-paint of the common soldier and in the quilted armor of the officers. Far in the rear, indicative of hostile sentiment, rose the standard of the state, bearing a bird with wings extended.[37] Gomara relates that, confident of success, the Tlascaltecs sent messengers to the camp with three hundred turkey-cocks and two hundred baskets of tamales, each of one hundred arrobas, so that they might not be taunted with having fought starved men, or having offered such to the idols.

But this story, adopted by Herrera, Clavigero, Robertson, and nearly every other writer, implies a generosity altogether too impolitic for an enemy who had already suffered two severe defeats. It is probable, however, that Xicotencatl may have sent small pres-

[35] Prescott, *Mex.*, 438–42, gives a pretty description of the army, but is so carried away that he dons it with helmets glittering with gold and precious stones, etc.; and this in spite of the efforts of the chroniclers to exhibit the Tlascaltecs as very poor in anything but rude comforts.

[36] Under five captains, to whom he applies the names of the four lords, as he understands them, and of the ruler of Huexotzinco. *Hist. Verdad.*, 45; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 75. 149,000 men, says Cortés, in his second letter, 62, but this exactness is probably due to a printer's mistake.

[37] For colors and banners, and how carried, see *Native Races*, ii. 411–12, and *Torquemada*, i. 436.

ents of food in order to obtain an opportunity for his spies to examine the camp.[38]

The Indians advanced in several columns up the sides of the hill, and, despite the resistance offered, pressed onward into the very camp, but were soon obliged to yield before murderous bullets and cutting blades. Cortés allowed the Indians to become tired and discouraged with repeated charges, and then with a ringing "Santiago!" the Spaniards, followed by the allies, sallied forth,[39] driving them in confusion to the plain, where the cavalry followed up the advantage, leaving bloody paths in all directions. Checked and reinforced by the reserve, the enemy turned with fresh courage on their pursuers. The shock was overwhelming. The tired Castilians yielded; their ranks were broken, and all seemed lost. Even Cortés was seized with a terrible misgiving, but it was only for a moment. Leading the cavalry to the rescue, he raised his voice above the din of battle, and called on all to rally. Nerved by his words and deeds, the men plied lustily their swords, and, driving back the enemy, formed anew. "So ably and valiantly fought the horsemen," writes Bernal Diaz, "that next to God who protected us, they proved our strength." Following up their advantage, the Spaniards hewed down the enemy in great numbers.

Victory might yet have turned against them but for a quarrel between Xicotencatl and another cap-

[38] He was detected in this trick afterward. 'Lo qual fue gran refrigerio y socorro para la necesidad que tenian.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 76. Oviedo increases the gift to 700 baskets. iii. 495. Gomara proceeds to relate that in sign of contempt for the small number of the enemy, whom it could be no honor for his large army to overcome, Xicotencatl detached 2000 warriors—200 says Oviedo—to seize and bring him the strangers bound. They attacked, and were routed with an almost total destruction of their number. 'No escapo hombre dellos, sino los q̄ acertaron el passo de la barranca.' loc. cit. 76.

[39] Bernal Diaz states that they did not wait for the enemy to attack, but marched forth and met them one eighth of a league from camp. *Hist. Verdad.*, 45. But Cortés says distinctly, 'Otro dia en amaneciendo dan sobre nuestro real mas de ciento y cuarenta y nueve mil hombres.' *Cartas*, 62. Gomara and Herrera also allow Indians to attack the camp first. Cortés is too fond of announcing when he takes the initiative to have failed to say so had he done it in this case.

tain,[40] one accusing the other of mismanaging the late battle. The latter not only challenged the other, it seems, but withdrew his troops, and induced another division to follow him.[41] Thus left with only half his army, and that shattered and discouraged, Xicotencatl retired before the handful on whom his every effort seemed to have made no impression. He retreated in good order, carrying off most of the dead, for the opponents were too exhausted to pursue. Indeed, all the horses were wounded, and fully sixty men, of whom it appears several must have died soon after, though Cortés admits of no dead, and Bernal Diaz of only one.[42]

[40] 'Son of Chichimeclatecle,' says Bernal Diaz, a name which should read Chichimeca-tecuhtli.

[41] That of Guaxolcingo—meaning Huexotzinco. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 45. That of Tlehuexolotzin. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 46. Solis exaggerates this into an actual battle between the leaders and their followers. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 255–8. Herrera intimates that a secret arrangement had been formed between Cortés and the seceding captain, the latter appearing with his officers at the camp, the evening after the previous battle, and, declaring himself convinced that the Spaniards were invincible, offered not only to remain neutral, but to aid them in entering Tlascala. Cortés agreed. When the captain returned to Xicotencatl's camp he was so badly beaten that he came back to Cortés for medical treatment. Certain signs were to be worn, so that the Spaniards might respect the neutral troops. dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. vi. He also relates that one Tlascaltec maintained himself so long and bravely against two Spanish soldiers that Láres, the smith, rushed up, cried shame upon the twain, and lanced the warrior. *Id.*, cap. vii.

[42] This soldier himself received two wounds, which did not prevent him from fighting, however. 'Nos mataron vn soldado,' he says, and a few lines further down, 'y enterramos los muertos.... porque no viessen los Indios que eramos mortales.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 45. Thus even the 'True Historian' reveals the common weakness. *Hazart, Kirchen-Geschichte*, ii. 512–14; *West-Indische Spieghel*, 224–35; *Franck, Weltbuch*, ccxxix.

CHAPTER XIII.

ENTRY INTO TLASCALA.

SEPTEMBER, 1519.

NATIVE CHIEFS SENT AS ENVOYS TO THE TLASCALAN CAPITAL—THEIR FAVORABLE RECEPTION—XICOTENCATL PLANS RESISTANCE TO CORTÉS—SENDS OUT SPIES—CORTÉS SENDS THEM BACK MUTILATED—THE SPANIARDS ATTACK AND DEFEAT XICOTENCATL—NIGHT ENCOUNTERS—GENERAL DISSATISFACTION AND A DESIRE TO RETURN TO VILLA RICA—ENVOYS ARRIVE FROM MONTEZUMA—CORTÉS RECEIVES XICOTENCATL AND THE TLASCALAN LORDS—PEACE CONCLUDED—TLASCALA—FESTIVITIES AND REJOICINGS—MASS CELEBRATED—CORTÉS INCLINED TO EXTREME RELIGIOUS ZEAL—BRIDES PRESENTED TO THE SPANIARDS—APPROPRIATE CEREMONIES—PREPARING TO LEAVE TLASCALA FOR CHOLULA—COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE CHOLULTECS.

IN the late battle three chiefs had been captured, and they together with two others were sent, this time to the Tlascalan capital direct, to carry an offer of peace, and to explain that the Spaniards would not have harmed their warriors had they not been obliged to do so. If peace was still declined they would come and destroy them all. Meanwhile Cortés set out on another foraging and raiding expedition, and "burned more than ten towns, one exceeding three thousand houses," retiring by the early afternoon, when the Indians began to gather in aid of the raided neighbors.[1]

Tired of the fruitless fighting, attended with loss of life and property only to themselves as it appeared, the peace party in Tlascala had been gaining the ascendancy, with the efforts of Maxixcatzin, sup-

[1] *Cortés, Cartas*, 62–3. According to Gomara the Indians pursued to the very camp, where they were defeated with great slaughter, after five hours' fighting. *Hist. Mex.*, 76–7.

ported as he now was by the powerful factions which had quarrelled with the general. When the peace messengers of Cortés arrived they were therefore received with favor. His previous friendly offers were considered, also his kind treatment of captives, so unusual with the natives, and the oracles and signs of a coming race of rulers. Whether gods or men, they were evidently invincible, and the friendship and alliance held out by them must be desirable, and ought to be secured before the strangers, embittered by further resistance, should pass on to join their enemies. An embassy, headed by Costomatl and Tolinpanecatl,[2] was accordingly despatched with provisions and some other trifling gifts to open negotiations for peace. Humbly these men appeared before Cortés, expressing the sorrow of the lords for the hostility shown, and their desire for peace. With a grave reproval for their obstinacy, Cortés said that he would admit their apology, and the envoys departed, after leaving beside the other gifts a number of male and female slaves.[3]

Smarting under the disgrace of his defeats, Xicotencatl had meanwhile been laying plans to retrieve himself. Among other counsellors he had summoned diviners to his aid, and they, calling to mind the assumption that the Spaniards were children of the sun, declared that as such the new-comers were invincible only when animated by its beams, and at night, when deprived of this invigorating power, they became mortals, who must bow to superior force. Knowing the strength of the party opposed to him in the Tlascalan capital, he does not appear to have submitted his projects there, but to have ventured upon detaining the envoys as they were returning

[2] *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 146. Duran gives a short speech, delivered in the council-chamber. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 422–3.

[3] Cortés places the arrival of this embassy on the day following the raiding of the ten towns, *Cartas*, 63; but Bernal Diaz at a later date. He makes the envoys four in number, and allows them, in returning, to instruct the neighboring settlements to furnish supplies to the Spaniards, all of which Xicotencatl prevents. *Hist. Verdad.*, 47–8, 50, 55.

from the Spanish camp until the result of his plans should have been ascertained; and this in face of the command to desist from hostility.[4] In order to make everything as sure as possible for the intended blow, Xicotencatl sent fifty Indians to the camp, with instructions to gather information concerning the approaches, the condition of the soldiers, and other points. They appeared before Cortés with the usual demonstrations of respect, and, placing before him five female slaves, a quantity of food, and other presents, they said: "Lord, behold these slaves! If you are fierce gods, eat their flesh and blood, and more shall be brought; if gentle gods, take these feathers and incense; if men, here are fowl, bread, and fruit." Cortés answered that they required no sacrifices of men. Had they desired such they could have taken by force all the victims needed. He rebuked their obstinacy and advised submission.[5] They were then taken aside to receive the hospitalities of the camp, after which they dispersed to satisfy their curiosity, and to question the allies. This aroused the suspicions of Teuch, the Cempoalan chief, who warned the general. Seizing the men he examined them singly, and soon ascertained that their object was not only to spy, but to fire the huts, and otherwise to aid the attack which would be made upon the camp that very night. Finding that his friendly advances had been scorned, Cortés resolved to inflict a lesson that would be

[4] Bernal Diaz assumes that the lords consult the diviners, and allow a night attack to be made; but then he describes two night attacks, while Cortés and others distinctly allow only one, and he forgets his former admission that, in addition to the peace party, half the army had actually abandoned Xicotencatl. It is after this first night attack, ignored by other writers, that the senate send in their submission, and order Xicotencatl to desist from hostilities. He refuses to obey, and detains the envoys on their way to the Spaniards, whereupon his officers are ordered to desert him. Finally he repents and is forgiven. *Hist. Verdad.*, 46–7. The detention of the envoys must be placed on their return from the Spanish camp, for Cortés distinctly states that the peace proposals from the lords arrived before the night attack.

[5] According to Gomara, Cortés announces that his men are mortal like themselves, which is not very likely. *Hist. Mex.*, 77. Bernal Diaz calls the slaves four old hags, and allows the Indians to act in rather an insulting manner, and without tendering the usual courtesies, which is also unlikely, when we consider that they had an object to gain. *Hist. Verdad.*, 49.

understood by a people so deeply intent upon war and sacrifices. This was to cut off the hands of the leading spies, and the thumbs of others, and to send them back with the message that this would be the punishment of spies, and that the Spaniards were prepared, night or day, to face their enemies.[6]

Fearing the confusion and danger of a night attack, when the artillery and other means would be less effective, Cortés resolved to anticipate the enemy by a counter charge, wherein the cavalry might render particular service. Learning that Xicotencatl was hidden with ten thousand or twenty thousand men behind a hill not far off, Cortés did not despatch the mutilated spies till after dusk, in order to let him approach nearer to camp.[7] When his messengers returned to Xicotencatl and displayed their bleeding stumps, the general was troubled, and throughout his army there was consternation, and numbers of warriors declared openly that it was useless to fight men who not only appeared to be invincible, but who could read their very intentions. While in this state of

[6] 'Los mandé tomar á todos cincuenta y cortarles las manos,' says Cortés, *Cartas*, 63; but the phrase may be loose, for Bernal Diaz specifies only seventeen as sent back with hands or thumbs cut off. *Hist. Verdad.*, 49. 'El marques les hizo á algunos de ellos contar (*sic pro* cortar) las manos.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 570. 'Mandò cortar las manos a siete dellos, y a algunos los dedos pulgares muy contra su voluntad.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. viii. Gomara places this occurrence on the 6th of September, but it is most likely later, and makes the spies a different party from those bringing the slaves and feathers, who arrive on the preceding day. *Hist. Mex.*, 77–8. Bernal Diaz accounts for this difference by stating that the party had been in camp since the previous day. Robertson reverses the order by assuming that mutilation of the spies so perplexes the Indians that they send the men with the slaves and feathers to ask whether they are fierce or gentle gods, or men. He does not understand why so many as 50 spies should have been sent, but had he read Cortés' letter more closely, he would have divined the reason, that they intended to fire the camp, and otherwise aid in the attack. He stigmatizes as barbarous the mutilation, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 42, 451, but forgets, in doing so, that the Spanish conquerors belonged to an age when such deeds were little thought of. Spies even now suffer death, and the above punishment may therefore be regarded as comparatively lenient, particularly by a people who daily tore out the heart from living victims. The mutinous pilot of Villa Rica had his life spared, but lost his feet. Cortés, as the captain of a small band, was obliged to conform to his age and surroundings in the measures taken for its safety.

[7] 'En yendo se las espias, vieron de nuestro real como atrauessaua por vn cerro grandissima muchedumbre de gente, y era la que traya Xicotencatl.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 79.

demoralization they were startled by the jingling of bells and the tramp of the dreaded horses, magnified by their fears and by the weird moonlight into a host. The next moment the Spaniards announced their presence by a ringing "Santiago!" and, undeterred by the few stray and feeble volleys of stones and arrows sent against them, they rode into the crowds of natives already in full flight, slashing and riding down in all directions.[8]

After this lesson Xicotencatl appears to have made no further attempts to molest the Spaniards, although small skirmishing parties, chiefly Otomís, continued to hover round the camp and give the soldiers opportunities for sallies. Gomara magnifies these skirmishes into daily attacks on the camp by the army, whose divisions take turns so as not to embarrass one another. This caused them to fight better, partly from a spirit of rivalry to surpass the preceding record. The ambition of the natives was to kill one Spaniard at least, but the object was never attained, so far as they knew. This continued for a fortnight, and daily came also messengers with food to sustain the strangers.[9]

[8] *Cortés, Cartas*, 63–4; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 78–9; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 569; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. viii. Bernal Diaz describes a night attack with 10,000 warriors, made a few days before, in which the Spaniards drive back the Indians and pursue them, capturing four, while the morning revealed twenty corpses still upon the plain. Two of the diviners appear to have been sacrificed for their bad advice. He now reappears with 20,000 men, but on meeting the mutilated spies he becomes disheartened, and turns back without attempting a blow. *Hist. Verdad.*, 46, 49–50. He is the only authority for two night expeditions. Having already been defeated in one night attack, Xicotencatl would be less likely to attempt a second, particularly since nocturnal movements were contrary to Indian modes of warfare. Cortés distinctly intimates that the present occasion was the first attempt at a night raid. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 291.

[9] He begins to suspect that their object may also have been to spy. Cortés was suffering from fever at this time, and one night he took pills, a course which among the Spaniards involved the strictest care and seclusion from affairs. Early in the morning three large bodies of Indians appeared, and regardless of his pills Cortés headed the troops, fighting all day. The following morning, strange to say, the medicine operated as if no second day had intervened. 'No lo cuẽto por milagro, sino por dezir lo que passo, y que Cortes era muy sufridor de trabajos y males.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 80. But Sandoval assumes 'que sin duda fue milagro.' *Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 173. Solis applies this story to the night attack, which seems plausible, and smiles phil-

In order to further impress upon the Indians that fighting by night was quite congenial to the Spaniards, Cortés set out one midnight to raid and forage in the direction of a large town called Tzompantzinco, which could be distinguished beyond a range of hills, toward the capital.[10] The soldiers had not gone far before one horse after another began to tremble and fall, including the general's. This was regarded a bad omen, and the men urged a return, but Cortés laughed it off, sent back five horses, and proceeded with the rest, declaring that God, in whose cause they were engaged, was superior to nature.[11] Two small villages were surprised, with some slaughter, and shortly before dawn the Spaniards fell upon the large town, containing twenty thousand houses, it is said. Frightened out of their senses by the noise, the people rushed from the dwellings to join in the crowd which sought to elude the pursuers. Finding that no resistance was attempted, Cortés speedily stopped the attack, and collecting his men in the plaza he forbade any attempt on life or property. The chiefs and priests presently appeared with gifts of food and two female slaves, pleading that the proximity of Xicotencatl's army had prevented them from sending in their submission. They would henceforth prove their gratitude for his leniency by sending supplies to the camp. Cortés accepted their excuses, and told them to pro-

osophically at Sandoval's conclusion. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 271; *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 291; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 47–8. 'Tenia calenturas, ò tercianas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 47. Some place the story with the later capture of Tzompantzinco, where it is entirely out of place, if indeed worth recording at all, for this expedition was a voluntary project, calling for no sick men to venture out. Duran relates that, tired of being besieged, Cortés one night made a sally in different directions. One party surprised all the native leaders together and asleep, and brought them to camp. In the morning they were sent back to the army, which had awakened to find them missing. In recognition of their kind treatment the chiefs raised the siege. This is told on the authority of an eye-witness, who evidently reserved his choicest stories for Padre Duran. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 419–20.

[10] Bernal Diaz places it one league from the camp, and Tapia four leagues. Ixtlilxochitl calls it Tzimpantzinco; others vary.

[11] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 80. Tapia allows the horses to overcome their attack and proceed. It appears to have been due to the cold night winds.

ceed to Tlascala to urge upon the lords the necessity for accepting peace. Before returning, Cortés ascended a hill, and thence saw the capital, with its surrounding villages. "Behold," he said to those who had objected to his leniency with the towns, "what boots it to have killed these people, when so many enemies exist over there?"[12]

Although left in comparative peace for some days, the end of the campaign seemed to the Spaniards as remote as ever. The harass and hardship of their life, the vigils, the cold nights, the scanty supplies, the absence of salt, medicine, and many other necessaries, all this was severely felt, particularly since so large a number were either sick or wounded, including Cortés and Padre Olmedo.[13] The ailments and wounds were as a rule slight, yet they helped to magnify dangers, and to dim every cheerful aspect. The very cessation of regular hostile demonstrations

[12] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 80–1. According to Herrera, Alcalde Mayor Grado counselled Cortés, on seeing this populous country, to return to Villa Rica and send to Velazquez for aid. Deeply grieved at such advice, the general remarked that the very stones would rise against them if they retreated. dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. viii.; *Cortés, Cartas*, 64–5. Bernal Diaz places this raid before the final night attack. *Hist. Verdad.*, 47; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 568–9.

[13] 'Nos vimos todos heridos á dos, y á tres heridos, y muy cansados, y otros dolientes.... y faltauan ya sobre cincuenta y cinco soldados que se auian muerto en las batallas, y dolencias, y frios, y estauan dolientes otros doze.' *Bernal Diaz*, 46. Prescott, i. 458, is careless enough to accept this verbally, but the run of the text here and elsewhere indicates that the sentence is rather figurative. The last four words, 'twelve others were on the sick-bed,' indicate that only three per cent. were laid low, and that the general health and condition must therefore have been tolerably good. This also indicates that the 55 missing soldiers could not have died since they left Vera Cruz, as certain writers assume. The only obstacles under which the soldiers could have succumbed in any number were the several battles with the Tlascaltecs, wherein the total number of the wounded nowhere foots up to more than 100. Of these 50 per cent. could not have died, to judge from the warfare engaged in, and from the very few, a couple at the most, it is said, who fell on the field. Nor could diseases have killed many during a month's march through a fine and fertile country, for the passage of the Cofre de Perote did not affect the Spaniards seriously. Hence it must be assumed that the 55 dead include the 35 who fell out of the ranks ere the army reached Villa Rica. This leaves, say, fifteen casualties for the present expedition since it left Villa Rica, and that appears to be a fair proportion. The only one who rightly interprets Bernal Diaz on this point appears to be Torquemada, who says, 'desde que salieron de Cuba, se avian muerto cinquenta y cinco Castellanos.' i. 428. The old soldier confirms the interpretation by stating in more than one place that the Spaniards numbered 450, or nearly so, on entering Mexico City. ubi sup., 65, 109.

seemed to cover a plot for a new Tlascalan combination. If this people could exhibit such armies and such valor, what must be expected from the far more numerous and equally warlike Aztecs? These views owed not a little of their acceptance to the fears and exaggeration of the Indian allies, and through their medium the prospect of reaching the impregnable Mexico began to appear preposterous. Cortés was aware that this feeling existed among a large number, for in making his customary tour of the camp one evening he had overheard a party of soldiers express themselves pretty strongly about the madness of his enterprise. It would happen to him as to Pedro Carbonero, who ventured with his force among the Moors and was never heard of again. The general should be left to go alone.

The murmurs in camp grew particularly strong during the raid on Tzompantzinco, promoted of course by Velazquez' men; and when Cortés returned, a deputation of seven, whom Bernal Diaz forbears to name, appeared before him to recommend that, in view of the suffering, the danger, and the dark prospects, they should return to Villa Rica, build a vessel, and send to Cuba for reinforcements. They were only tempting providence by their foolhardy course. Finding that arguments would be lost on these men, Cortés had caused his adherents to rally, and turning to them he recalled the determination formed at Villa Rica to advance on Mexico, and extolled their valorous deeds, which dimmed even the Greek and Roman records. He was suffering equally with them, yet he wavered not. Should they, the brave Spaniards, belie their character and country, and desert their duty to their king, to their God, who had protected them hitherto? To retreat now would be to abandon the treasures to be found only a few leagues off, the reward for which they had striven during a whole year, and to draw upon themselves the contempt not only of their countrymen, who at present looked on

them as the bravest of the brave, but that of the natives, who regarded them as gods. The Tlascaltecs had already sued for peace, but let the Spaniards take one step in retreat, and the enemy would turn with renewed ardor on them, joined by the Mexicans, so far held in check by their fame and deeds. Even the allies would for their own safety join to crush them. To retire was impossible, because it would be fatal. In any case, death was preferable to dishonor. The usual marks of approval which followed the speech silenced the deputation, and nothing more was heard about retreat.[14]

Great was the sensation in Mexico at the successive reports of easy Spanish victories over the stanch armies of Tlascala — victories by an insignificant band over armies which had successfully resisted the vast forces of the Anáhuac allies. Since it was only too evident that force could not keep the strangers from reaching the capital, Montezuma again called his council to consider the situation. Cuitlahuatzin proposed that they should be bought off with presents, while Cacama represented that their mission was probably harmless, and that they should be frankly invited to the city, there to be awed with the grandeur of the monarch. Others favored this course, but with the idea of laying traps for the strangers. The fear of their being warned and aided by Ixtlilxochitl, the rebellious brother of Cacama, caused Montezuma to incline to the advice of Cuitlahuatzin; and six prominent lords, headed by Atempanecatl,[15]

[14] Gomara gives a long speech, and intimates that it was delivered before a regular meeting. *Hist. Mex.*, 81–3; *Cortés, Cartas*, 65; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. ix.; *Torquemada*, i. 428–9; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 571. Bernal Diaz addresses the speech to the committee, and states that Cortés, on finding them still unconvinced, abandoned the gentle tone he had used, and exclaimed with some asperity that it was better to die like brave men than to live dishonored. The men being appealed to upheld him, and declared that they would listen to no contrary talk. *Hist. Verdad.*, 48–9; *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, i. 259–63.

[15] Surnamed Tlachpanquizqin, it seems. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 292; *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 380. Bernal Diaz calls them five leading men.

were accordingly despatched to the Spanish camp to congratulate the white chieftain on his victories, and to offer annual tribute in gold, silver, jewels, cloth—in fact, to do almost anything that his king might desire, on the condition that he should not proceed to Mexico. The envoys entered the presence of Cortés followed by two hundred attendants, and laying before him a present of twenty bales of embroidered cloth and feathers, and about one thousand castellanos in gold-dust, they delivered their message.[16] They explained that their monarch would gladly see him in Mexico, but feared to expose the Spaniards to the hardships of the rough and sterile country wherein Mexico was situated. Cortés expressed his thanks, and said that he would consider the proposal.[17]

While entertaining the Mexican envoys the camp was stirred by the announcement of the Tlascalan plenipotentiaries, consisting of fifty leading men, headed by Axayacatzin Xicotencatl himself.[18] The soldiers crowded forward to gaze at the dreaded general, who appeared to be a man of about thirty-five years, tall and broad-shouldered, well formed and robust, with broad, rough face, grave in manner and commanding in presence, though he came a suppliant. He had used every means as a noble patriot to save

[16] Nearly every writer states that Montezuma acknowledged himself the vassal of the Spanish king, but it is doubtful whether he stooped so low before a distant enemy. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 79, calls the present 1000 ropas and 1000 castellanos de oro, and Cortés says pesos de oro, which doubtless means dust; but Bernal Diaz terms the latter gold jewels worth that amount. Prescott confounds these presents with a later gift, and assumes without good authority that they came after Xicotencatl had brought in his submission. Gomara on the other hand places their arrival on September 6, which must be altogether too early.

[17] 'No les quiso dar luego la respuesta, porque estaua purgado del dia antes,' says Bernal Diaz, in explanation of the delay. *Hist. Verdad.*, 51. Brasseur de Bourbourg, however, lets Cortés declare that the orders of his king oblige him to disregard the wishes of the emperor. But the general was too prudent to give an open rebuff ere he saw how affairs would develop. According to Gomara he wished to detain them to witness his prowess against the Tlascaltecs. *Hist. Mex.*, 79; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. x.

[18] Ixtlilxochitl alone differs by stating that they were headed by Tolinpanecatl Tlacatecuhtli the younger brother of Xicotencatl; but he appears confused.

his country from the enslavement which he seemed with prophetic spirit to have foreseen; and as a brave soldier he had struggled to uphold the honor of the army. With pride subdued he had sought pardon of the lords for disobeying their orders,[19] and offered the best amends in his power by personally humbling himself before the chief who had torn the wreath from his brow. He approached Cortés with the customary profound salute, while his attendants swung the copal censer, and announced that he had come in the name of his father and the other lords to ask his friendship, and to offer their submission to the mightiest of men, so gentle yet so valiant. Accepting a seat by Cortés' side, he entered into explanations, and frankly took upon himself the blame for the resistance offered, but pleaded the Tlascalan love for liberty, threatened, as they imagined, by an ally of Montezuma, for were not Mexican allies in the Spanish train? and had not the Aztec monarch exchanged friendly intercourse with them? While delighted with the manner of the chief, and particularly with the object of his visit, Cortés thought it necessary to administer a slight rebuke for the obstinate refusal of his friendly offers; yet since his people had already suffered enough for this, he freely pardoned them in the name of his king, and received them as vassals.[20] He hoped the peace would be permanent; if not, he would be obliged to destroy the capital and massacre the inhabitants. Xicotencatl assured him that the Tlascaltecs would henceforth be as faithful as they had hitherto been unfriendly. In proof of their sincerity the chiefs would remain with him as hostages. He begged Cortés to come to the city, where the lords and nobles were awaiting him, and regretted

[19] Solis causes him to be dismissed from the office of captain-general. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 272–3. In *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 154, is a portrait of him, corresponding fairly to the description.

[20] It is generally accepted that the Tlascaltecs submitted as vassals. Yet it is just as likely that they merely offered their friendship and alliance, a relation which after the conquest was changed into vassalage.

not being able to offer a present worthy of his acceptance, but they were poor in treasures, even in cloth and salt, and what they once possessed had been surrendered to the Mexicans.[21]

Mass was said by Padre Diaz to celebrate the concluded peace, and in honor of the occasion Tecohuatzinco received the name of Victoria.[22] Both Spaniards and allies concluded the day with feasting and appropriate demonstrations of their delight. At Tlascala, where it was soon understood that the Spaniards were in some way to liberate the state from the tyranny of Montezuma, floral decorations and sacrifices gave eclat to the festivities, and twenty thousand leading men are said to have taken part in the *mitote* dance, singing to the prospective overthrow of the Mexicans and to the glory of the Spaniards.

The Mexican envoys felt not a little chagrined at a peace which could bode no good to their nation. Before Cortés, however, they sought to ridicule the whole proceeding as a farce on the part of the Tlascaltecs. The latter were too treacherous to be trusted. When the Spaniards were once in their city they would fall on them, and avenge the defeats and losses which till then must rankle in their hearts. Cortés told them that the Spaniards could not be overcome in town or field, by day or night. He intended going to Tlascala, and if the inhabitants proved treacherous they would be destroyed. Xicotencatl had been no less abusive of the Mexicans during his late interview, and Cortés, as he declares, enjoyed their dissension, sympathizing alternately with either party, in order to promote his own ends.[23] Finding the general so de-

[21] According to Bernal Diaz the Tlascaltecs gave but one present, and that at the capital, but some authors prefer to bring it in here. 'Le presentó cantidad de alpargatas para el camino.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 292; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. x.; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 84–5; *Cortés, Cartas*, 66–7.

[22] *Herrera*, loc. cit.

[23] 'Aun acordéme de una autoridad evangélica que dice: *Omne regnum in seipsum divisum desolabitur;* y con los unos y con los otros maneaba.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 70. According to Ixtlilxochitl quite a quarrel sprang up between the Mexican and Tlascalan representatives in the presence of Cortés, attended by an exchange of epithets. *Hist. Chich.*, 292.

termined, the envoys begged that he would remain at the camp for a few days while they communicated with the emperor. This was granted, partly because Cortés wished to await developments, not being at all sure of the Tlascaltecs, and partly because he and others needed a respite to recover from their wounds and fevers.[24]

The only result of the message to Mexico appears to have been an instruction to the envoys to use every effort to prevent the Spaniards from going either to Tlascala or to Mexico; and to make their representations more weighty a present was sent, consisting of ten pieces of wrought gold, worth over three thousand castellanos, says Bernal Diaz, and of several hundred pieces of cotton fabrics, richly embroidered.[25] It served but as another magnet to aid in attracting the invaders. Cortés accepted the presents, but held out no hopes of changing his determination.

The Tlascaltecs had meanwhile kept the camp liberally supplied with provisions, for which they would accept no recompense, and were daily urging Cortés to depart for Tlascala. Alarmed at his delay, the lords thought it best to go in person, accompanied by the leading nobles, to entreat him.[26] The last

[24] Cortés gives only his suspicions of the Tlascaltecs as a reason for the delay, without referring to any communication being sent to Mexico. *Cartas*, 67. Meanwhile he wrote to Escalante at Villa Rica, informing him of occurrences, and asking for a supply of holy wafers and two bottles of wine, which speedily came. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 51.

[25] After an absence of six days, six leading men came from Mexico, who brought, beside the ten pieces of jewelry, 200 pieces of cloth. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 52. The envoys who had been sent to Mexico came back on the sixth day with ten beautifully wrought jewels of gold and 1500 pieces of cloth, far richer than the former. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 85–6.

[26] 'Todos los señores me vinieron á rogar.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 67. 'Vinieron assi mismo todas las cabeçeras y señores de Tlaxcallan a rogarle.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 86. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 52, names five lords, but the names are very confused, except Xicotencatl and Maxixcatzin, which approach nearer to the usual form. Ixtlilxochitl states that Cortés made it a condition that the lords should come and ask him, whereupon they each select two high representatives to proceed to the camp and escort him to Tlascala. They were guided by the envoys Tolinpanecatl and Costomatl, and brought a few jewels as presents. *Hist. Chich.*, 292–3. Nor does Camargo allow the lords to go to the camp, but Costomatl and Tolinpanecatl are sent. *Hist. Tlax.*, 146.

envoy from Montezuma had just delivered his presents when they were announced. Descending from their litters they advanced toward Cortés with the customary salute,[27] the lead being taken by Xicotencatl, ruler of Tizatlan, so blind and old that he had to be supported by attendants, and by Maxixcatzin, of Ocotelulco, the youngest and wisest of the lords.[28]

Xicotencatl expressed his sorrow for their resistance, but reminded the Spanish chief that, this being forgiven, they had now come to invite him to their city, and to offer their possessions and services. He must not believe the slanderous insinuations which they feared the Mexicans had uttered. Cortés could not resist the evident sincerity of this appeal from so prominent a body, and he hastened to assure them that preparations for the departure and other affairs had alone detained him.[29]

The lords accordingly returned to prepare for the reception, and to send five hundred carriers to assist in the march, which began the following morning. The Mexican envoys were invited to accompany the Spaniards, in order that they might witness the honors paid to them. The road to Tlascala, some six leagues in length, passed through a hilly yet well cultivated country, skirted on the east by the snow-crowned peak which was soon to bear the revered name of Malinche. In every direction were verdure-clad slopes spotted with huge oaks, while above and beyond the vista was closed by a dark green fringe of

[27] 'Tocarõ las manos en el suelo, y besaron la tierra.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 52.

[28] *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 155. Maxixcatzin is put forward by the Spanish writers as the principal lord, chiefly perhaps because he was the most devoted to the conquerors, but also because his quarter of Ocotelulco was the largest and richest. Camargo and Ixtlilxochitl place Xicotencatl first, and he certainly takes the lead in speaking and in receiving the Spaniards at his palace. His age, which Camargo raises into the hundred, may have had something to do with this, however.

[29] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 52, states that he pleaded the want of carriers, which was not very plausible, unless intended as a hint at Tlascaltec hospitality.

the hardier fir, which seemed to rise like shielding bulwarks round the settlements in the valleys. The leading towns on the route were Tzompantzinco and Atlihuetzin, where the population turned out *en masse* to receive the Spaniards.

A quarter of a league from the capital they were met by the lords and nobles, accompanied by a great retinue, attired in the colors of the different districts. Women of rank came forward with flowers in garlands and bouquets; and a long line of priests in flowing white robes, with cowls, and flowing hair clotted with blood from freshly slashed ears, marched along swinging their copal censers, while in the rear and around surged a crowd estimated at one hundred thousand persons.

Before them rose the capital, prominently located upon four hills, "so great and so admirable," quoth Cortés, "that although I say but little of it, that little will appear incredible, for it is much larger than Granada and much stronger, with as good edifices and with much more people than Granada had at the time it was captured; also much better supplied with the things of the earth."[30] There were four distinct quarters, separated by high stone walls and traversed by narrow streets. In each stood a lordly palace for the ruler, and here and there rose temples and masonry buildings for the nobles, but the greater part of the dwellings were one-story adobe and mud huts. The highest quarter in situation was Tepeticpac, the first settled, separated from Ocotelulco by the river Zahuatl.[31] The latter was not only the largest and most populous, but the richest, and held a daily market attended by thirty thousand people, it is claimed.[32] Quiahuiztlan lay below on

[30] *Cortés, Cartas*, 67.

[31] Now Atoyac.

[32] Cortés proceeds to give an account of articles sold here, which is on a par with his Granada comparison, and accords little with the declared simplicity or poverty of the people. In the temple over 800 persons had been sacrificed during some years. *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. ii.

the river, and above it Tizatlan, the residence of the blind chief.[33]

It was here that the Spaniards entered on September 23d,[34] henceforth a feast-day to its people. Through streets adorned with festoons and arches, and past houses covered with cheering multitudes, they proceeded to the palace of Xicotencatl, who came forward to tender the customary banquet. Cortés saluted him with the respect due to his age,[35] and was conducted to the banquet-hall, after which quarters were pointed out in the courts and buildings surrounding the temple.[36] Neat beds of matting and nequen cloth were spread for the troops. Close by were the quarters of the allies and the Mexican envoys.

A round of invitations and festivities was tendered the guests in the several quarters; yet Cortés allowed no relaxation in the usual discipline and watches, greatly to the grief of the lords, who finally remonstrated against this apparent want of confidence. The Mexicans must have poisoned the mind of Malinche against them, they said. Malinche was becoming a recognized name for Cortés among the Indians. It seems strange that they should have fixed upon no higher sounding title for so great a leader than 'master of Marina,' as it implied, while the inferior Alvarado was dubbed Tonatiuh, 'the sun.' The Tlascaltecs had, however, another name for the general in Chalchiuitl, the term for their favorite precious stones, and also a title of Quetzalcoatl, 'the white god.'[37] Cortés

[33] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 87–8; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. capa. v. xii. xiii.; *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 162; *Las Casas, Hist. Apolog.*, MS., 13–14.

[34] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 52. Gomara, followed by Herrera, says the 18th.

[35] 'Se quitó la gorra y les hizo una muy grande y humilde reverencia, y luego abrazó á Xicotencatl,' says Ixtlilxochitl, with an exactness which is doubtless intended to impress the ruder Spanish population of his day. *Hist. Chich.*, 293. Camargo also describes ceremonies with some detail, *Hist. Tlax.*, 147, and Duran, *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 425–7.

[36] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 86. Camargo and Ixtlilxochitl quarter the Spaniards in the palace. 'Á las casas reales.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 17.

[37] *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 150; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 52.

was quite touched by the fervor of the lords in their newly formed friendship. Untutored in some respects, they appeared to rush like children from one extreme to another—from obstinate enmity to profound devotion, now worshipping the doughty little band who had overcome their vast number, and admiring their every trait and act, willing to yield life itself for the heroic leader. He hastened to assure them of his confidence, and declined the hostages they offered, asserting that strict discipline was part of the military system which he was in duty bound to maintain. This seemed to convince the lords, and they even sought to introduce among their own troops some of the regulations which they learned to admire.

The second day of their sojourn Padre Diaz said mass in the presence of the two leading lords, who thereupon presented Cortés with half a dozen fishes made of gold, several curious stones, and some nequen cloth, altogether worth about twenty pesos, says Bernal Diaz.[38] Insignificant as was the gift, they expressed a hope that in view of their poverty he would accept it as a token of friendship. Cortés assured them that "he received it from their hand with greater pleasure than he would a house filled with gold dust from others."[39] In return he gave them some of the robes and other useful articles obtained from Montezuma, beside beads and trinkets. They now proposed, as a further proof of their good-will, to bestow on the captains their daughters, in order to have for relatives men so good and brave. Cortés expressed himself pleased, but explained that this could not be admitted till the Tlascaltecs renounced idolatry and its attendant evils.[40]

[38] Camargo calls it a rich present.

[39] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 53.

[40] According to the somewhat mixed account of Bernal Diaz, Xicotencatl offers his daughter at once to Cortés, who accepts, and thereupon urges Padre Olmedo to begin a raid against idolatry. The latter tells him to wait till the daughters are brought. They are introduced on the following day, five in number, and Xicotencatl joins the hands of the general with the one intended for him. He accepts her, but declares that she and her companions must remain with their parents till conversion is consummated. Finally the daughter is transferred to Alvarado.

He thereupon proceeded to expound to them the doctrines of his faith and contrast them with the impure, cruel, and bloody rites practised by them. This was ably interpreted by Marina and Aguilar, who were by this time expert in preaching, and the cross and virgin image were produced to illustrate the discourse. The lords answered that they believed the Christian's God must be good and powerful, since he was worshipped by such men, and they were willing to accord him a place by the side of their idols;[41] but they could not renounce their own time-honored and benevolent deities. To do so would be to create an uprising among the people, and bring war and pestilence from the outraged gods. Cortés produced further arguments, only to be told that in time they would better understand the new doctrines, and might then yield, but at present their people would choose death rather than submit to such sacrilege.

Finding that the religious zeal of Cortés threatened to overcome his prudence, Padre Olmedo hastened to interpose his counsel, representing the danger of losing all that their valor and perseverance had gained if they pressed so delicate a subject with a superstitious and warlike people as yet only half gained over. He had never approved of forcible conversion, and could see no advantage in removing idols from one temple when they would be sure to rise in another. Indeed, persecution could only tend to root idolatry more deeply in the heart. It were better to let the true faith work its way into the appreciation of the people, as it would be sure to do if the natives were given an opportunity to contrast their bloody rites with the religion of Christ, provided the Spaniards would themselves follow the precepts of love and gentleness they were commending to the Indians. The success of the conquest owes much to Olmedo, whose heart, like Las Casas', warmed for the benighted Indians, to him wayward children who must be won by moder-

[41] A not uncommon practice in Mexico, carried out in the same manner as among the Romans. See *Native Races*, iii., passim.

ation. Like a guardian angel he rose in defence of his flock, saving at the same time the Spaniards from their own passions.[42] Alvarado, Velazquez de Leon, and others, who had no desire to witness a repetition of the Cempoalan iconoclasm, supported the father in his counsel, and Cortés agreed to content himself for the present with having an appropriate place set aside in the temple for an altar and a cross.[43] And upon this cross, say the credulous chroniclers, a white radiant cloud, in form of a whirling pillar, descended at night from the sky, impressing the natives with the sacredness of the symbol, and guarding it till the conquest had established the faith in the land.[44] The Spaniards succeeded further in abolishing human sacrifices, and the fattening-cages being torn down, a large number of intended victims sought refuge in their camp, lauding their doctrines and aiding not a little to pave the way for conversion.[45]

The inaugural mass for the new altar was followed by the baptism of the brides, the daughters and nieces of the lords being the first to undergo the ceremony.

[42] Portrait in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 165, and *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, ii. 514.

[43] 'En aquel templo adonde estaua aposentado, se hiziesse vn capilla.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xv. A new temple near by was set aside for this. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 54. 'Hizo la sala principal de Xicotencatl Oratorio.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 294. 'Hizo una iglesia en una casa de un ídolo principal.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 572–3. This author does not intimate that Cortés sought to force conversion, Bernal Diaz alone being responsible for the statement, though Herrera adopts it. Eager to remove the reproach of infidelity from his people, Camargo relates that Cortés insisted on the renunciation of idolatry, and that the chiefs finally yielded, while placing upon him the responsibility of removing the images. When the iconoclasm began, the people hastened to hide their cherished idols, which they long worshipped in secret, although accepting baptism. *Hist. Tlax.*, 150–8. In a hieroglyphic painting still possessed by the cabildo, says Ixtlilxochitl, it is shown that the lords were at this time baptized. He gives their new names. *Hist. Chich.*, 294.

[44] 'Durò tres, ó quatro años.' *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 304; *Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 78; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 140; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xv. Solis dwells upon the spiritual effect of the miracle, which occurred immediately after the departure from Tlascala. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 324–5. Torquemada devotes a whole chapter to it, and states that the first cross was raised by unseen hands the night after the arrival of the Spaniards in the city. The high-priest placed over it a guard, who was surprised by a celestial light which appeared at midnight and drove out the demon from the temple. iii. 200–3.

[45] 'Lo primero que mandaua nuestro Capitan era quebralles las tales carceles, y echar fuera los prisioneros.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 55.

Cortés pleading that he was already married, Tecuilhuatzin, the daughter of Xicotencatl, destined for him, was at his request given to Alvarado, his brother and captain as he proclaimed him, and blessed with the name of Luisa, while her sister Tolquequetzaltzin, baptized as Lucía, was conferred on the brother, Jorge de Alvarado. Maxixcatzin's niece Zicuetzin, a pretty girl, was named Elvira and given to Velazquez de Leon, it appears. Olid, Sandoval, Ávila, and others also received distinguished brides with dowries. Cortés found it necessary, however, to decline accepting wives for the whole company, as the lords proposed.[46] Indeed, they urged him to settle among them, offering to give lands and to build houses for the whole party.[47]

Finding him determined to proceed to Mexico, they offered their coöperation, and gave an account of the wealth, power, and condition of the lake states, dwelling in particular on the magnificence of Montezuma. They did not omit a tirade against his tyranny, and stated that whenever he proposed to attack Tlascala no less than one hundred thousand men were placed in the field. It was because they were forewarned that their resistance was so successful, and because the Aztec troops, gathered as they were to a great extent from subject provinces, fought with less spirit.[48]

[46] In order to obtain by them a race of heroes. Most writers, following Bernal Diaz and the less explicit chroniclers, allow Xicotencatl to give only one daughter, but Ixtlilxochitl names two, *Hist. Chich.*, 294, and Juarros, in his biography of the Alvarados, enumerates their different wives, and among them the two sisters, with their full names and their descendants. Pedro de Alvarado's only surviving issue, he says, was a daughter Leonor, by Luisa, who married first Pedro Puertocarrero and afterward Francisco de la Cueva, nephew of the Duke of Alburquerque. The other sister also left a daughter. *Hist. Guat.*, 347–8. Bernal Diaz mentions also a son, Pedro, by Luisa. *Hist. Verdad.*, 54; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 54. According to Camargo, 300 young and pretty slave girls, destined for the sacrifices, were the first women offered. They were at first declined, but finally accepted for the suite of Marina. Finding that they were well treated, the lords offered their own daughters in marriage. *Hist. Tlax.*, 148–50. A number of women were added to the suite of Marina and of the new wives, from the first families in the state, another authority intimates. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 86; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xi.

[47] *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 150–1. They opened a road to Cempoala, and brought effects from Villa Rica, including presents for the lords. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 294.

[48] Tapia writes, 'Yo que esto escribo pregunté á Muteczuma y á otros sus

Cortés had now a further motive for going to Mexico, which was the alliance proposed to him by Ixtlilxochitl, the rebellious brother of Cacama, and ruler of northern Acolhuacan, who hoped with Spanish aid to overthrow the hated Montezuma, and raise himself to the throne of Tezcuco, at least, and to the head of the allied states. To this pleasing proposal Cortés replied in a manner which could not fail to promote his own interests by keeping alive the spirit of dissension among his prey.[49] Huexotzinco, the ally of Tlascala, sent in her formal adhesion about the same time.

Finding that the Spaniards could not be kept away from Mexico, Montezuma thought it best at any rate to hasten their departure from Tlascala. An urgent invitation to visit him in his capital was accordingly sent through four prominent caciques, attended by followers bearing as usual a costly present, consisting of ten bales of embroidered robes and a number of gold articles, worth fully ten thousand pesos.[50] A council was held to consider the departure and the route to be taken. The lords of Tlascala did not relish the idea of a friendly visit to Mexico by their new allies, to be won over perhaps by the arts of the enemy. They sought to impress upon Cortés that

capitanes,' and was told that the Mexicans could readily have subdued little Tlascala, but they preferred to use her as a means, close at hand, for exercising their youth and armies in warfare, and for supplying war captives for the sacrifices! *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 572. 'Juntaua dozientos y trezientos mil hombres para vna batalla.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 89. The Tlascaltecs spoke of their descent from giants, and produced gigantic bones in evidence thereof. Some of these were sent to Spain by Cortés, together with the report. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 55.

[49] Torquemada places the arrival of this embassy immediately after Cortés' entry into Tlascala, *Monarq. Ind.*, i. 433, while Clavigero dates it at Tecohuatzinco. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 51–2. Brasseur de Bourbourg calls it the second embassy, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 165, for he accepts the statement of Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, 288, that the first envoys saw Cortés at his camp by San Juan de Ulua. For Ixtlilxochitl's career, see *Native Races*, v. 474–7.

[50] Bernal Diaz relates that Cortés detained these men as hostages, while he sent Alvarado and Bernardino Vazquez de Tapia to Mexico to communicate with Montezuma, and to examine the route and approaches to the city. They had hardly left before the company began to censure the rashness of sending two valuable men on so risky a mission, and Cortés accordingly sent to recall them. Tapia having fallen sick on the road, they gladly returned, but left the guides to proceed to Mexico.

Montezuma was the incarnation of treachery, awaiting only an opportunity to get them into his power and to crush them. They were ready to join in an armed descent upon the tyrant, proposing to spare neither young nor old; the former, because they might grow up to be avengers, the latter because of their dangerous counsel. Cortés suggested that he might yet establish friendly relations between them and the Mexicans, and reopen the trade in salt, cotton, and other articles; but this aroused only an incredulous smile. With regard to the route, they favored either the Calpulalpan road, proposed by Ixtlilxochitl, or that leading through Huexotzinco, friendly to them, declaring that it would be preposterous to pass by the way of Cholula, as urged by the Mexican envoys, since this was the very hatching-place for Montezuma's plots. The road to it, and every house there, were full of snares and pitfalls; the great Quetzalcoatl temple-pyramid, for instance, being known to contain a mighty stream which could at any moment be let loose upon invaders, and Montezuma having a large army hidden near the saintly city.[51]

The extraordinary accounts of Cholula served to arouse Cortés' curiosity, and the representation of dangers made him the more resolved to encounter them, chiefly because he did not wish to appear intimidated. This route was beside easier, and passed through a rich country. He accordingly decided in

[51] 'Me dijeron....que para ello habia enviado Muteczuma de su tierra.... cincuenta mil hombres, y que los tenia en guarnicion á dos leguas de la dicha ciudad....é que tenian cerrado el camino real por donde solian ir, y hecho otro nuevo de muchos hoyos, y palos agudos hincados y encubiertos para que los caballos cayesen y se mancasen, y que tenian muchas de las calles tapiadas, y por las azoteas de las casas muchas piedras.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 70. The stream within the temple was a myth, which the Cholultecs sought to maintain in order to frighten their enemies. Oviedo and Gomara relate that Xicotencatl junior was concerned in these plots, and that, warned by his sister, the wife of Alvarado, Cortés had him quietly seized and choked to death. iii. 497; *Hist. Mex.*, 90. Whoever may have been throttled, it certainly was not the general, for he met his fate at a later date. According to Bernal Diaz the whole army was consulted as to whether all were prepared to start for Mexico. Many of those owning estates in Cuba raised objections, but Cortés firmly declared that there was no other way open than the one to Mexico, and so they yielded. *Hist. Verdad.*, 56.

favor of it, and when reminded of the suspicious absence of any deputation from that city, he sent a message to the rulers that they might remedy the omission.[52]

The Cholultec council was divided on the answer to be sent, three of the members being in favor of compliance, and the other three, supported by the generalissimo, opposing any concession.[53] Finally a compromise was effected by sending three or four persons of no standing, and without presents, to say that the governors of the city were sick and could not come. The Tlascaltecs pointed out the disrespect in sending such men and such a message, and Cortés at once despatched four messengers to signify his displeasure, and to announce that unless the Cholultecs within three days sent persons of authority to offer allegiance to the Spanish king, he would march forth and destroy them, proceeding against them as against rebels.[54]

Finding that it would not do to trifle with the powerful strangers, some of the highest nobles in the city were despatched to the Spanish camp, with a suitable retinue, to tender excuses, pleading that they had dreaded to enter Tlascala, a state hostile to them.

They invited Cortés to their city, where amends

[52] 'Y dar la obediencia á nuestro Rey, y Señor, sino que los ternia por de malas intenciones.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 56. According to Camargo, Patlahuatzin of Tlascala was sent with the message. The Cholultecs seized and flayed his face and arms, cutting off the hands, so that they were left dangling by the skin from the neck. In this guise they sent him back with the reply that thus would they receive the white gods whose prowess he had extolled. The Tlascaltecs demanded that Cortés should avenge the cruelty and the insult, and he did so in the massacre of Cholula. This, continues the narrator, is commemorated in Tlascalan song, but the account is evidently mixed, and probably refers chiefly to some earlier occurrence. *Hist. Tlax.*, 161–2. Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes that Patlahuatzin is merely insulted and ill-treated. The two peoples had once been friends and allies, but during the last battle which they fought against their common enemy, the Aztecs, the Cholultecs had suddenly changed sides and fallen on the rear of their unsuspecting allies, inflicting great slaughter. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xviii.

[53] Three of the members are imprisoned for favoring an alliance with the Spaniards, but they escape and come to Cortés, says Herrera, *id.*

[54] Cortés, *Cartas*, 71, says that he sent this message by the Cholultec messengers.

would be made by rendering the obedience and tribute which was considered due from them as vassals of his king.[55]

[55] 'É así lo asentó un escribano.' *Id.*, 72. 'Otro dia vinieron muchos señores y capitanes de Chololla.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 91. According to Brasseur de Bourbourg, Cortés is already en route for Cholula when the friendly council members appear to bring excuses and invitations. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 169–70. Bernal Diaz, indeed, appears to say that the Cholultecs sent to excuse themselves from appearing before Cortés so long as he remained in hostile territory. *Hist. Verdad.*, 57.

CHAPTER XIV.

SUBJUGATION OF CHOLULA.

October, 1519.

Departure from Tlascala—Description of Cholula—The Welcome—Army Quarters in the City—Intimations of a Conspiracy between the Mexicans and Cholultecs—Cortés Asks for Provisions and Warriors—He Holds a Council—Preparations for an Attack—The Lords Enter the Court with the Required Supplies—Cortés Reprimands them in an Address—The Slaughter Begins—Destruction of the City—Butchery and Pillage—Amnesty finally Proclaimed—Xicotencatl Returns to Tlascala—Reconciliation of the Cholultecs and Tlascaltecs—Dedication of a Temple to the Virgin—Reflections on the Massacre of Cholula.

The Spaniards had been three weeks beneath the hospitable roofs of the Tlascaltecs, and now they departed amid expressions of good-will mingled with grief.[1] A crowd as large as that which had welcomed their arrival followed them for a considerable distance, and this included all the available warriors of the districts,[2] who would gladly have joined the handful of heroes in their quest for wealth and glory amongst the hated Aztecs. Cortés did not think it well, however, to trammel his movements, or to intrude on his various hosts with too large a force of undisciplined and unmanageable men, whom he had not learned to trust, and only about five thousand were allowed to attach themselves to his army.[3]

[1] 'Hiço sacrificar treynta muchachos el dia que se partieron.' *Oviedo*, iii. 497.

[2] Estimated by Cortés at a round 100,000. Others say he was offered 10,000 to 20,000 men.

[3] This is the figure deduced from later references. 'Quedaron en mi compañía hasta cinco ó seis mil.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 72. Dismissing the 100,000 with presents, he retained only 3000. 'Por no ponerse en manos de gente barbara.'

Late in the afternoon the army reached the southern border of Tlascala, and camped by a river two leagues from Cholula. The city stood in a vast fertile plain, so thickly covered with plantations and gardens "that not a span of land remained uncultivated." A network of ditches irrigated the fields wherein maize and agave, cochineal and chile, swelled the resources of the owners. "No city in Spain," exclaims Cortés, "presents a more beautiful exterior, with its even surface and mass of towers," interspersed with charming gardens and fringed with alluring groves. Its six sections were marked by fine, straight streets, lined with buildings, the neatness and substantial appearance of which fully corresponded to the reputed wealth of the occupants. Cortés estimates the number of houses at twenty thousand, with as many more in the suburbs, which implies a population of two hundred thousand.[4]

Cholula was one of the most ancient settlements in the country, with traditions reaching far back into the misty past. It was here that Quetzalcoatl had left the final impress of his golden age as ruler and prophet, and here that a grateful people had raised to him the grandest of his many temples, erected upon the ruins of a tower of Babel which had been stayed in its growth by divine interference. Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of war, during which the frenzy of the moment had overcome religious scruples to wreak destruction, or during which reckless invaders less imbued with veneration came to desecrate this western Rome, she had maintained herself, ever rising from the ashes with renewed vigor and fresh splendor, and she was at this time the commercial centre for

Herrera, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. i. 'Six thousand warriors,' says Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, 294. He gives the names of their chiefs, which differ wholly from those mentioned in *Camargo*, *Hist. Tlax.*, 160. 'Fueron tàbien con el muchos mercaderes a rescatar sal y mantas.' *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 91.

[4] *Cartas*, 74–5. 'En el tiempo de la guerra salian en campo ochenta ó noventa mill hombres de guerra.' *Oviedo*, iii. 498. 'Ultra triginta millia familiarum capiebat.' *Las Casas*, *Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 26. 'Parecio....en el assiento, y prospetiua a Valladolid.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. i.

the great Huitzilapan plateau, famous beside for her pottery and delicate fabrics. The warlike Tlascaltecs referred to her contemptuously as a city of cunning and effeminate traders, and there was doubtless a good deal of truth in this; but then her merchants rivalled those of Mexico in wealth, while her citizens were not behind the dwellers on the lake in refinement.

But the chief renown of Cholula consisted in being the holy city of Anáhuac, unequalled for the frequency and pomp of her festivals and sacred pageantry; in being the religious centre for countless pilgrims who journeyed from afar to worship at the shrines here maintained, not only by the citizens, but by princes of different countries. Her temples were estimated to equal the number of days in the year, and as some possessed more than one chapel, fully four hundred towers rose to bewilder the eye with their gleaming ornamentation. Chief among them was the semi-spherical temple, with its vestal fire, devoted to Quetzalcoatl, which stood upon a quadrilateral mound of nearly two hundred feet in height, ascended by one hundred and twenty steps, and with a larger base than any old-world pyramid.[5]

The government was aristocratic republican, directed by a council of six nobles, elected in the six wards. At their head sat two supreme magistrates, the *tlachiach* and *aquiach*, chosen respectively from the priesthood and nobility, and corresponding to pontiff and captain-general,[6] the latter office held at this time by Tecuanhuehuetzin.[7]

[5] See *Native Races*, iii. iv.

[6] *Native Races*, v. 264; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 160. 'Gouernauase por vn capitan general, cligido por la republica, con el consejo de seys nobles, assistian en el sacerdotes.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. ii. Gomara mentions only a captain-general or governor. *Hist. Mex.*, 95. Torquemada gives the city four lords, who divided between them the territory. ii. 350–1. The government appears to have undergone several changes since the age of Quetzalcoatl, and at one period four nobles appear to have represented the wards, but these increased in course of time to six, and the council appears also to have been increased by the attendance of other priests beside the pontiff.

[7] *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, 100, 107–8. For history and description of city and temples, see *Native Races*, ii.–v.

At the command of these chiefs a number of Cholultec nobles appeared at the camp to offer welcome and to bring provisions.[8] In the morning the army advanced toward the city and was met by a crowd of fully ten thousand people, preceded by a stately procession, at the head of which appeared the lords. They showed themselves most obsequious, but requested that the Tlascaltecs, as their enemies, should not be allowed to enter the city, and Cortés accordingly persuaded these warriors to camp outside. Some of their carriers alone entered with the Cempoalans and Spaniards to receive a share in the proffered hospitality. If the troops found no arches and floral festoons, as at Tlascala, to honor them, nor the same jubilant shouts of welcome, they were at least heralded by clashing music, and dense crowds of spectators lined the streets and roofs, while priests in white robes went chanting by their side, swinging the censers whence the copal rose to shed a halo on the heroes. Cortés was struck with the superior quality and quantity of dresses worn, the higher classes being noticeable in their embroidered mantles, not unlike the Moorish cloak. He also observed that beggars abounded, as they did in "Spain and other parts inhabited by civilized people."

The courts of one of the temples[9] were offered as quarters for the army, and presently servants appeared with provisions, which, if not abundant, were at least good.[10] Cortés did not omit to vaunt the grandeur of his king and to impress the advantages of the true faith, but although the lords bowed admission to the first they held firmly to their idols.

[8] From a vague reference in Camargo, Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes that this party is headed by the three counsellors least friendly to the Spaniards. A little later the other three come to Cortés for protection, after escaping from the imprisonment imposed upon them by their colleagues. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 174. Herrera places the arrival of the refugees at Tlascala. dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xviii. But there appears to be no ground for these statements.

[9] 'Del gran Cú de *Quetzalcoatl*.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 18.

[10] 'Les dieron aquella noche a cada vno vn gallipauo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 92.

The following day they failed to appear, and the supply of food dwindled perceptibly, while none was furnished on the third day, the populace even appearing to avoid the Spanish quarters. Cortés sent to remind the chiefs of their neglect, but received only the scantiest provisions, with the excuse that the stock was nearly exhausted.[11]

The same day came envoys from Montezuma, unprovided with the usual presents, who, after some words with the confrères acting as guides to the Spaniards, represented that to proceed to Mexico would be useless, since the roads were impassable and the food supply insufficient.[12] Finding that these and other statements had no effect on Cortés, they left, taking with them the leading envoy stationed with the Spaniards.[13] All this was far from reassuring, taken in connection with the warning of the Tlascaltecs still ringing in their ears, and with the report brought by Cempoalans of barricades, of stone piles upon the roofs, and of excavations in the main street set with pointed sticks and loosely covered over.[14]

Now came messengers from the allied camp to announce that women and children had been leaving the city with their effects, and that unusual preparations seemed to be going on. Scarcely had this set Cortés pondering when Marina appeared with the still more startling information that a native woman of rank, won by her beauty and evident wealth no doubt, had just been urging her in a most mysterious manner to transfer herself and her effects to the house of the woman, where she should be married to her

[11] 'Lo que traian era agua, y leña,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 58.

[12] 'Do Muteczuma estaba habia mucho número de leones é tigres é otras fieras, é que cada que Muteczuma quirie las hacie soltar, é bastaban para comernos é despedazarnos.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 574; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 92.

[13] Cortés told them to wait, for he would start for Mexico on the following day, and they promised to do so, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 58.

[14] On his entry into the city Cortés also observed suspicious features. 'Algunas calles de la ciudad tapiadas, y muchas piedras en todas las azoteas.' *Cartas*, 72.

son.[15] By expressing gratitude and pretending acquiescence, Marina elicited that envoys had been coming and going between Mexico and Cholula for some time, and that Montezuma had prevailed on the chiefs, by means of bribes and promises,[16] to attack the Spaniards that very night or in the morning. Aztec troops were stationed close to the city, to the number of twenty or even fifty thousand, to aid in the work and to carry the Mexican share of the captives to their capital.[17] Cortés at once secured the communicative woman, who was awaiting the return of Marina with her valuables, and ascertained further that the covered excavations, the stone piles, and the barricades were no fiction.

He also secured two apparently friendly priests,[18] and by bribing them with chalchiuite stones, and showing that he was aware of the plot, obtained a revelation which agreed substantially with the account already given. It appeared that Montezuma had proposed to quarter his troops in the city, but this the lords had objected to, fearing that once within the walls the Aztecs would retain possession.[19] The Cholultecs intended to do the deed themselves, and it was only in case the Spaniards left the city, or escaped, that the confederate Aztecs were to take an active part.

Only three of the wards had consented to share in the treachery,[20] and the priests of the others had that

[15] 'Hermano de otro moço que traia la vieja que la acompañaua.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 59. This is probably the young man who, according to Peter Martyr, reveals the plot to Aguilar. A 'Cempoal maiden' was also warned by a Cholultec woman. dec. v. cap. ii.

[16] 'Dieron al capitan-general vn atambor de oro.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 92. This official was the husband of the old woman. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 59.

[17] 'Auian de quedar veinte de nosotros para sacrificar á los idolos de Cholula.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 59. Others say half the captives.

[18] Marina won them over. *Id.* 'Dos que andauan muy solicitos.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. i. Brasseur de Bourbourg supposes that the friendly chiefs were those who gave the first intimation of the plot, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 174, and it is not unlikely that they did warn the Spaniards.

[19] Oviedo regards the Cholultecs as having rebelled against Montezuma. iii. 498. But they stood rather in the position of allies. See *Native Races*, v. Bernal Diaz assumes that half the Aztec troops were admitted.

[20] 'Los Mexicanos....trataron con los Señores de los Tres Barrios.' *Tor-*

very day sacrificed ten children[21] to the god of war, and received assurances of victory. So confident were they of securing the encaged guests that ropes and stakes had been prepared to bind the captives.

Cortés called his counsellors, and placing before them the state of affairs asked their views. A few of the more cautious advised retreat to Tlascala, whose friendly hospitality seemed alluring. Others suggested an immediate departure by way of the friendly Huexotzinco, while the majority inclined to a prompt and effective chastisement of the treachery as a warning to others. This was what Cortés had determined upon. He showed them how well the arrangement of the courts would answer for the plan he had evolved, and how strong they were in case of a siege.

Summoning the lords, he expressed his displeasure at the inconsiderate treatment received, and said that he would rid them of his presence on the morrow. He reminded them of the allegiance they had tendered, and declared that if loyal they would be rewarded; if not, punishment would follow. Finally he demanded provisions for the journey, and two thousand warriors, beside carriers, to accompany the army.[22] This appeared to suit their plans, for they exchanged a look of intelligence, and at once promised compliance, protesting at the same time their devotion. "What need have these of food," they muttered with a laugh, "when they themselves are soon to be eaten cooked with chile?"[23] That very night preparations were

quemada, i. 438. Herrera has been even more explicit, and Bernal Diaz confirms this in several places, without specifying the number. 'Otros barrios, que no se hallaron en las traiciones.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 60.

[21] Three years old, half males, half females. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. ii. Oviedo supposes the females to be young virgins. iii. 498. Bernal Diaz says five children and two other persons.

[22] Most authors, following Gomara and Herrera, assume that only carriers were asked for, but Diaz writes warriors, and correctly, no doubt, since it could not be Cortés' plan or desire to wreak vengeance on helpless carriers, but rather on the very men who proposed to attack him. According to Tapia, followed by Gomara, Cortés upbraids the lords for lying and plotting, but they assure him of their loyalty. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 575. It is not likely that he would have roused suspicion by such language.

[23] 'Aguilar que los oya hablar.' *Oviedo*, iii. 498.

made, the Spaniards planting guns at the approaches to the streets and courts, looking to the horses and accoutrements, and sending a message to the Tlascaltecs to enter the city and join them on hearing the first shot.

In the morning, so early indeed as to indicate a decided eagerness, came the lords and leading priests, with an immense throng. A force even larger than had been demanded followed them into the Spanish quarter, and was allowed to file into the court, which was commanded at all points by the soldiers and the cannon, the latter as yet innocent-looking instruments to the Cholultecs.[24] The lords and leading men, to the number of thirty or forty, were invited to Cortés' rooms to receive his farewell. He addressed them in a severe tone, in the presence of the Aztec envoys, representing that he had sought to win their friendship for himself and their adhesion for his king, and to further this he had treated them with every consideration. They had withheld the necessary supplies, yet he had respected their property and persons, and for their sake he had left his stanch allies outside the city. In return for this they had, under the mask of friendship, plotted against the lives of his party, the invited guests of themselves and of Montezuma, with the intention of assassinating them. But they had been caught in their own trap. The amazement of the chiefs deepened into terror as he concluded. "Surely it is a god that speaks," they murmured, "since he reads our very thoughts." On the impulse of the moment they admitted their guilt, but cast the blame on Montezuma. This, rejoined Cortés, did not justify treachery, and the excuse should avail them naught. The lords who had been opposed to the plot, and a few others less guilty or less responsible chiefs and priests, were now taken aside, and from them further

[24] Picked warriors were brought, pretending to be slaves and carriers. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 575. 'Cō hamacas para lleuar los Españoles.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 93.

particulars were obtained, which implicated the Mexicans only the more.

Returning to the envoys, who protested that their emperor was wholly blameless, he reassured them by saying that he believed not a word of the accusation. Montezuma was too great a prince, he continued, to stoop to such baseness, and had beside, by means of presents and messages, shown himself to be his friend. The Cholultecs should suffer the penalty not only of their treason but of their falsehood. The fact was that it did not suit Cortés to quarrel with Montezuma for the present, but rather to lull him into fancied security.[25] A terrible punishment was now in store for the Cholultecs.

The signal being given, volleys poured from cannon, arquebuses, and cross-bows upon the warriors confined in the court, and then the Spaniards rushed in with sword and lance thrusting and slashing at the packed masses. The high walls permitted no escape, and at the gates gleamed a line of lances above the smoking mouths of the guns. Pressing one upon another, the victims offered only a better mark for the ruthless slayers, and fell in heaps, dead and dying intermingled, while many were trampled underfoot. Not one of those who had entered the court remained standing. Among the slain were the captain-general and the most inimical of the lords and leading men.[26]

Meanwhile other guns had belched destruction along the approaches from the streets, as the crowd rushed forward in response to the cries and groans

[25] According to Bernal Diaz the envoys are told of this on the preceding evening, and are thereupon placed under guard. *Hist. Verdad.*, 59.

[26] Tapia states that most of the lords and chiefs whom Cortés addressed were killed. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 575. 'Some of them,' say Ixtlilxochitl and Gomara, while Clavigero, Brasseur de Bourbourg, and others suppose that all these leaders were pardoned, which is not likely, since so many less guilty men fell. 'El que solia mādar, fue vno de los que murieron en el patio.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 60. He intimates that the real carriers were allowed to leave the court, the warriors alone being detained for slaughter. The two friendly priests were sent home to be out of harm's way. This leads to the supposition that all the rest of the leading men fell. 'Los otros señores naturales todos murieron.' *Oviedo*, iii. 499.

of their butchered friends. Terrified by the fiery thunder and its mysterious missiles, they fell back; and now the cavalry charged, trampling them underfoot, and opening a way for the infantry and allies, who pressed onward to take advantage of the confusion and to repeat the scene enacted within. Panic-stricken as the natives were by the strange arms and tactics of the Spaniards, they offered little or no resistance, though armed with intent to attack. Being also without leaders, they had none to restrain their flight, but pressed one on the other, down the streets and into buildings, anywhere out of the reach of the cutting blades and fierce-tramping horses. The Tlascaltecs[27] were at the same time falling on their flanks, glorying in the opportunity to repay their enemies the treachery of years ago. A bloody track they left. Unprepared for such an onslaught the people of Cholula found little opportunity to make use of the barricades and the stone piles, and where they attempted it the fire-arm and cross-bow aided the fire-brand. The strongest resistance was met at the temples, wherein the fugitives mostly gathered, but even these did not hold out long, for stones and arrows availed little against armor.

All who could sought to gain the great temple of Quetzalcoatl, which offered not only the best defence from its height, but was held to be impregnable through the special protection extended over it by the deity. Within its walls lay confined a mighty stream, so it was said, which by the removal of a few stones could be let loose to overwhelm invaders. Now, if ever, in the name of all the gods, let it be done! Reverently were removed, one by one, the stones of the sacred wall, but no flood appeared, not even a drop of water. In their despair the besieged hastened to hurl the stones, and arrows, and darts[28]

[27] Wearing crowns of rushes to be distinguished from their enemies. *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 164.

[28] Zamacois enters into an elaborate argument to disprove the unimportant

upon the enemy as they climbed the sides of the pyramid. But there was little use in this. Quickly they were driven by the sword from the platform into the chapel tower. Not caring to lose time in a siege, the Spaniards offered them their lives. One alone is said to have surrendered. The rest, inspired by the presence of the idols, spat defiance. It was their last effort, for the next moment the torch was applied, and enfolding the building, the flames drove the besieged, frenzied with terror and excitement, upon the line of pikes inclosing them, or head-foremost down the dizzy heights. To the last could be seen a priest upon the highest pinnacle, enveloped in smoke and glare, declaiming against the idols for having abandoned them, and shouting: "Now, Tlascala, thy heart has its revenge! Speedily shall Montezuma have his!"[29]

During the first two hours of the slaughter over three thousand men perished, if we may believe Cortés, and for three hours more he continued the carnage, raising the number of deaths according to different estimates to six thousand or more.[30] The loss of life would have been still greater but for the strict orders issued to spare the women and children, and also the less hostile wards,[31] and for the eagerness of the Tlascaltecs to secure captives as well as spoils, and of the Spaniards to hunt for treasures. The hostile wards had besides been pretty well cleared of inhabitants by the time Cortés returned to his quarters

statement that burning arrows were showered on the besiegers. *Hist. Méj.*, ii. 707. This author has a decided faculty for singling out trifles, apparently under the impression that important questions can take care of themselves.

[29] *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 163–4; *Torquemada*, i. 440. 'Se dejaron allí quemar.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 576.

[30] *Cortés, Cartas*, 73–4; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 94; 6000 and more within two hours. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 294. Las Casas lets him first kill 6000 unarmed carriers and then proceed to devastate the city. *Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 27.

[31] 'Echê toda la gente fuera de la ciudad por muchas partes della.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 74. The statement of Bernal Diaz that the friendly priests were sent home, to be out of harm's way, shows also that parts of the city were respected. See notes 17 and 23. 'El marques mandaba que se guardasen de no matar mujeres ni niños.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 576.

forbidding further butchery. When the amnesty was proclaimed, however, numbers appeared from hiding-places, even from beneath the heaps of slain, while many who had pretended death, to escape the sword, arose and fled.

The pillage was continued for some time longer,[32] and as the Tlascaltecs cared chiefly for fabrics, feathers, and provisions, particularly salt, the Spaniards were allowed to secure all the gold and trinkets they could, though these were far less in amount than had been expected.[33] When the real work was over, Xicotencatl appeared with twenty thousand men and tendered his services; but Cortés could offer him only a share in the booty for his attention, and with this he returned to Tlascala to celebrate the downfall of the hated and boastful neighbor.[34]

The prayers of the chiefs who had been spared, supported by the neighboring caciques, and even by the Tlascalan lords, prevailed on Cortés to stop the pillage after the second day, and to issue a pardon, although not till everything of value had been secured. Some of the chiefs were thereupon sent forth to recall the fugitive inhabitants, and with such good effect that within a few days the city was again peopled. The débris and gore being removed, the streets speedily resumed their accustomed appearance, and the shops and markets were busy as before, though blackened ruins and desolated homes long remained a testimony of the fearful blow.[35] Im-

[32] For two days, says Tapia, *id.*, and Bernal Diaz intimates that it ended with the second day. *Hist. Verdad.*, 60.

[33] 'Tomaron los Castellanos el oro, y pluma, aũque se hallò poco.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. ii. 'Ovo mucho despojo de oro é plata,' says Oviedo, iii. 499, probably because he knew Cholula to be rich; but a great deal of private treasure at least must have been taken out of the city when the women were sent away. The Tlascaltecs carried off 20,000 captives, he adds.

[34] *Herrera*, ubi sup. Oviedo allows a reinforcement of 40,000 Tlascaltecs to join in the massacre and pillage, iii. 498, and Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 60, says the late comers joined in the pillage on the second day. The Tlascaltecs brought the Spaniards food, of which they had fallen short. *Ixtlilxochitl. Hist. Chich.*, 295.

[35] A very similar massacre and raid was perpetrated by the Chichimec-Toltecs at the close of the thirteenth century. *Native Races*, v. 484–7.

pressed no less by the supposed divine penetration of the white conquerors than by their irresistible prowess and terrible revenge, the natives were only too ready to kiss with veneration the hand red with the blood of their kindred. To this they were also impelled by finding that the Spaniards not only allowed no sacrifice of captives, but ordered the Tlascaltecs to release the prisoners they had hoped to carry into slavery. This was a most trying requirement to the allies, but at the instance of Maxixcatzin and other lords they obeyed in so far as to restore the greater proportion of the thousands who had been secured.

The intervention of the Tlascaltec lords and chiefs in behalf of the Cholultecs tended to promote a more friendly feeling between the two peoples, particularly since the one had been satiated with revenge and the other humbled, and Cortés took advantage of this to formally reconcile them. Whatever may have been their sincerity in the matter, they certainly found no opportunity to renew their feud.

The captain-general having fallen, the people, with Cortés' approval, chose a successor from the ranks of the friendly chiefs.[36] Cortés assured them of his goodwill and protection so long as they remained the loyal subjects they now promised to be, and he hoped that nothing would occur hereafter to mar their friendly intercourse. He explained to them the mysteries of his faith, and its superiority over the superstitious worship of the idols which had played them false during the late conflict, counselling them to cast aside such images, and let their place be occupied by the redeeming emblems of Christianity. The terrified natives could only promise obedience, and hasten to aid in erecting crosses, but the idols nevertheless retained their places. Cortés was quite prepared to take advantage of his power as conqueror to compel

[36] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 95. Finding that the brother of the deceased was, according to custom, entitled to the office, Cortés appointed him. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 60. Oviedo intimates that one governor was chosen to take the place of all the other ruling men. iii. 490.

the acceptance of his doctrines by the now humbled people, but Padre Olmedo representing the futility of enforced conversion, he contented himself with breaking the sacrificial cages and forbidding the offering of human victims. As it was, idolatry had suffered a heavy blow in this terrible chastisement of the holy city, rich as she was in her sanctuaries and profound in her devotion. The gods had proved powerless! Although a number of temples were speedily restored to their worship, the great pyramid was never again to be graced by pagan rites. Twice had this temple shared in the destruction of the city, only to rise more beautiful than ever in its delusive attractions; now a simple stone cross stood upon the summit, erected by Cortés to guard the site on behalf of the church which was there to rise a few years later. This was dedicated to the Vírgen de los Remedios, whose image is said to have been left in the city by her conquerors.[37]

The massacre of Cholula forms one of the darkest pages in the annals of the conquest, and has afforded much ground for reproach against Cortés, but it is to be regarded from different stand-points. The diabolical doctrines of the day may be said to have forced on adventurers in America the conquest of her nations, and cruel deeds were but the natural result, particularly when the task was undertaken with insufficient forces. According to their own admission, made also before the later investigating committee, the Cholultecs had plotted to destroy their invited guests, whom they sought first to lull into fancied security, and in this they acted as treacherously and plotted as cruelly as did their intended victims in re-

[37] It is also said 'que la trajo un religioso franciscano á quien se le apareció en Roma.' *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, i. 156. 'Disgusted with the idol which had played them false, they installed another in its place,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 61. The disregard shown by Spaniards even for the temples and relics of Quetzalcoatl might have struck the natives as peculiar in men whom rumor pointed out as his descendants, yet no chronicle refers to it.

taliating. True, they had been forced by threats, and by the exhibition of an apparently superior force, into a submission which they could ill brook, and were justified in striking a blow for liberty, especially when encouraged, or bidden, by the great monarch; but they had no right to complain if they suffered the penalty everywhere affixed to treachery; and the Cholultecs did bear an unenviable reputation in this respect. The native records naturally assert their innocence; but even if we ignore the confession of the Indians, as prompted by fear of their judges and masters, or as colored by Franciscans whose patron Cortés was, and if we disregard all official testimony, we must still admit that there was evidence enough to justify the general in a measure which he regarded as necessary for the safety of his men.[38]

[38] Spanish chroniclers as a rule approve the deed as necessary and just, either in tacit or open comment, and a few devout missionaries, who have assumed the rank of Indian apostles, are the only ones to take exception. Chief among these stands Las Casas, as might be expected from his sympathy with Velazquez, and from his character as Indian protector. He condemns it in the most unmeasured terms as a base murder of innocent and defenceless people, committed merely with a view to spread terror. Six thousand carriers, he writes, were shut up in a court and put to the sword, while the many discovered alive on the following days were thrust through and through. The chiefs of the city and neighborhood, to the number of over 100, were chained together to a circle of poles and burned alive, and the king, who fled with 30 or 40 followers to a temple, met the same fate there. While the soldiers were butchering and roasting the captives, 'eorum Capitaneum summa lætitia perfusum in hunc cantum prorupisse:

> Monte ex Tarpeio Romana incendia spectans
> Ipse Nero planctus vidit, nec corde movetur.'

Las Casas, Reg. Ind. Devastat., 26–8. A number of finely executed copper plates are appended to illustrate these deeds.

Bernal Diaz expresses himself hotly against this version, and states that several of the first Franciscans who came to Mexico held an investigation at Cholula of the massacre. After examining the leaders, and other persons who had witnessed it, they came to the conclusion that the story of the conquerors was true, and that the slaughter was a well merited punishment for a plot which involved the lives of Cortés' soldiers, and would, if successful, have stayed the conquest for God and the king. Diaz had heard the pious Motolinia say that although he grieved over the deed, yet, being done, it was best so, since it exposed the lies and wickedness of the idols. *Hist. Verdad.*, 61. The Franciscans did not probably care to weigh carefully the value of testimony from new converts given before a tribunal composed of their religious and political masters, nor were they likely to favor a Dominican friar like Las Casas when the interest of their patron Cortés was at stake. In awe of the friars, and in terror of the conquerors whose encomienda slaves they were, the Indians hardly dared to say aught to implicate the latter. This is

It might be claimed that by holding captive the chiefs their safety would have been assured; but treason was rife everywhere, and a lesson was needed.

doubtless the view Las Casas would have taken. Intent on pleading the cause of his dusky protégés, he cared not to sift statements that might create sympathy for them. Yet, had he foreseen how widely his accusations would be used to sully Spanish fame, he might have been more circumspect. 'E' vero, che fu troppo rigorosa la vendetta, ed orribile la strage,' says Clavigero; yet he severely condemns Las Casas for his distorted account. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 63–4. According to Sahagun's native record, the Tlascaltecs persuaded Cortés to avenge them on the Cholultecs, and as the latter received him coldly, he began to believe the accusations of his allies. Assembling the chiefs and soldiers, together with citizens, in the temple court, he slaughtered them, defenceless as they were. *Hist. Conq.*, 18. Bustamante comments on this version, and denounces the conquerors as atrociously cruel. *Id.* (ed. 1840), 56–63. Duran's version is a little milder. His main object being to give the life of Montezuma, he has passed by many events connected with the Spaniards, and has suppressed many accounts of their cruelties. He accordingly refers but briefly to the Cholula massacre, saying that 'the Indians, in their eagerness to serve the Spaniards, came in such large numbers to their quarters with provisions, grass, etc., that Cortés suspected treasonable designs, and put them to the sword.' *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 438–9. Ixtlilxochitl evidently struggles between his fear of the Spanish rulers and the desire to tell what he regards as the truth. He intimates that the only ground for suspicion against the Cholultecs was the effort to dissuade Cortés from going to Mexico. The chiefs and the citizens were assembled on the pretence of selecting carriers, and over 5000 fell beneath the sword. *Hist. Chich.*, 294. An antagonistic view of the affair is offered by Juan Cano, of Narvaez' expedition, who gave Oviedo the hearsay statement that Cortés had asked for 3000 carriers, and wantonly killed them. iii. 552. Carbajal Espinosa, a Mexican historian, like Bustamante, regards the victims as innocent and the deed as barbarous. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 182. Robertson considers that Cortés had good reasons for it, yet 'the punishment was certainly excessive and atrocious.' *Hist. Am.*, ii. 452. Solis condemns those who seek to accuse the Spaniards of cruelty and to pity the Indians—'maligna compasion, hija del odio y de la envidia.' The conquerors gave religion to them, and that he regards as sufficient compensation. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 345. 'Cortez felt but doubtful of their fidelity, and feared to leave his rear to a people who might ruin his enterprise,' says Wilson, *Conq., Mex.*, 383, in explanation of the motive; but he forgets that a few hostages, as taken from other peoples on the route, would have secured Cortés far more than the murder of a small percentage of this population. Prescott compares the deed with European cruelties, and, considering the danger threatening the Spaniards, he excuses it. He prefaces his comments by a consideration of the right of conquest. *Mex.*, ii. 29–39. Alas for honesty, humanity, decency, when talented American authors talk of the right of one people to rob and murder another people! See also *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 381–2; *Pizarro y Orellano, Varones Ilvstres*, 86–9; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 112–13, 313–14; *Pimentel, Mem. Sit.*, 90–2. Although some of the early Dutch writers eagerly copy and even exaggerate Las Casas' version, the contemporary German writers are quite moderate. Cortés' version is given in the *Weltbuch Spiegel und bildtnis des gantzen Erdtbodens von Sebastiano Franco Wördensi*, Tübingen, 1534, ccxxxvii leaves, beside preface and register. This book was much sought after in its day, and received several editions, in German and Dutch, as late as the seventeenth century. The earliest mentioned by Harrisse is dated 1533. The new continent was gradually receiving a larger space in the cosmographies at this period, and Franck actually assigns it a whole section, as one of the four parts of the world. The historic and geographic description of Africa occupies

Here among the greatest plotters, and in the holy city, the lesson would be most effective. It might also be claimed that the chiefs were the guilty ones, and should alone have suffered, not the citizens and soldiers; but they were also in arms, even if subordinate, and such discrimination is not observed in our own age.

Outrages equally as cruel are to-day exculpated throughout christendom as exigencies of war. If we, then, overlook such deeds, how much more excusable are they in the more bloody times of Cortés? But neither now nor then can war, with any of its attendant atrocities, be regarded by right-thinking, humane men as aught but beastly, horrible, diabolical.

the first and smallest section; Europe follows and absorbs about half the pages, while Asia receives 100 folios, and America the remainder, beginning at folio 210. The heading reads: *Von America dem vierdten teyl der welt, Anno M.CCCC.XCVII. erfunden;* but after this chapter follow several pages on Portuguese discoveries in Africa and eastward, till folio 220, when begins the voyage of Columbus, 'sunst Dauber genant,' the German translation of the admiral's name. After several chapters on the physical features, natural resources, and inhabitants of the new discoveries, comes one relating how Americus Vespucius found the fourth part of the world. This is followed by three pages of matter on Asia, as if the author, fearful of forgetting it, there and then gave his story. Several interpolations occur, but the chief portion of the remaining folios relates to Cortés' conquest of Mexico. The carelessly compiled and badly arranged material of the volume claims to be based on over sixty authorities, among which figure Apianus, Munster, Vespucci, Columbus, and Cortés. The affix Wördensi indicates that Franck was a Hollander, although he is often referred to as a German, probably because his life was passed chiefly in Germany. Here he issued, among other works, a not very orthodox chronicle, which was excommunicated at Strasburg. Franck was chased from more than one place, but enjoys the honor of standing in the first class among authors condemned by the Roman Church, and of having been deemed worthy of special refutation by Luther and Melancthon. Even the liberal-minded Bayle, after applying the term Anabaptist, refers to him as 'un vrai fanatique.' *Dict. Hist.*, ii. 1216.

CHAPTER XV.

FROM CHOLULA TO IZTAPALAPAN.

OCTOBER–NOVEMBER, 1519.

MONTEZUMA CONSULTS THE GODS—HE AGAIN BEGS THE STRANGERS NOT TO COME TO HIM—POPOCATEPETL AND IZTACCIHUATL—NEWS FROM VILLA RICA—DEATH OF ESCALANTE—RETURN OF THE CEMPOALAN ALLIES—AGAIN EN ROUTE FOR MEXICO—RECEPTION AT HUEXOTZINCO—FIRST VIEW OF THE MEXICAN VALLEY—EXULTATIONS AND MISGIVINGS—RESTING AT QUAUHTECHCATL—THE COUNTERFEIT MONTEZUMA—MUNIFICENT PRESENTS—THE EMPEROR ATTEMPTS TO ANNIHILATE THE ARMY BY MEANS OF SORCERERS—THROUGH QUAUHTECHCATL, AMAQUEMECAN, AND TLALMANALCO—A BRILLIANT PROCESSION HERALDS THE COMING OF CACAMA, KING OF TEZCUCO—AT CUITLAHUAC—MET BY IXTLILXOCHITL—THE HOSPITALITY OF IZTAPALAPAN.

ELATED by his success, Cortés again spoke to the Aztec embassadors, telling them in an aggrieved tone that proofs existed connecting Mexican troops with the recent plot, and that it would be only just for him to enter and desolate the country for such perfidy. The envoys protested their ignorance of any such complicity, and offered to send one of their number to Mexico to ascertain what ground there was for the charge. This Cortés agreed to, expressing at the same time the opinion that Montezuma, after all his friendly demeanor, could hardly have favored the treachery. He regarded him as a friend, both for the sake of his king and for himself, and it was out of deference to him that he had spared the Cholultecs from total extermination.[1]

When the envoy reached Mexico he found that his master had retired to grieve over the fate of the holy

[1] *Cortés, Cartas*, 75–6; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 96–7.

city, or more probably over the defeat of his plans, and to appeal to the incensed gods by prayers and fastings, while the priests supported the invocations with reeking human hearts.[2] But the holocaust was in vain, for a miraculous incident frightened the idols into silence. Among the victims, says a sacred chronicle, was a Tlascaltec, who, while stretched on the sacrificial stone, called loudly on the God of the advancing Spaniards to deliver him. The words were yet on his lips when a dazzling light enveloped the place, revealing a bright-clad being with diadem and large wings. The priests fell awe-stricken to the ground, while the angel advanced to cheer their victim with hopeful words of a happy future. He was told to announce to the priests that soon the shedding of human blood would cease, for those destined to rule the land were at hand. This the victim did, when the sacrifices were resumed, and with the name of God the last upon his lips his spirit rose to a brighter world.[3]

The downfall of Cholula resounded throughout the land, and the Spaniards were now almost universally confirmed as divine beings, from whom nothing could be kept secret, and whose anger was fierce and devastating. One effect was the arrival of envoys from quite a number of surrounding chieftains, bearing presents, partly with a view of gaining the good-will of the dreaded strangers, partly to offer congratulations.[4] As for Montezuma, his awe deepened into terror as the reports came in and the half threatening message of

[2] 'Sacrificassen çinco mill personas para festejar é aplacar sus dioses.' *Oviedo*, iii. 499. 'Estuuo encerrado en sus deuociones, y sacrificios dos dias juntamente con diez Papas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 61. 'Estuuo en oracion, y ayuno ocho dias.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97. 'Si ritirò al palazzo *tlillancalmecatl*, destinato pel tempo di duolo.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 69.

[3] *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 182; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 304. According to Arias de Villalobos, the idol was already stricken mute by the shadow of the approaching cross; the angel released the captive, one of 500 destined for slaughter, and he set forth to join the Spaniards. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 126.

[4] From the lord of Tepeaca came 30 female slaves and some gold, and from Huexotzinco a wooden box, bordered with gold and silver, containing jewels worth 400 pesos de oro. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii.

the invader was delivered him. It would be dangerous indeed to admit these beings; but how prevent it? Thus revolving the matter, Montezuma had recourse once more to timid entreaties. His envoy returned to Cholula within a week, accompanied by the former chief of the commission, and brought ten plates of gold,[5] fifteen hundred robes, and a quantity of fowl and delicacies, together with the assurance that he not only had had no share in the plot, but desired to see the Cholultecs further chastised for their treachery. The Mexican troops near Cholula belonged to the garrisons of Acatzingo and Itzucan provinces, and had marched to the aid of that city without his knowledge, prompted wholly by neighborly friendship. He begged the Spanish leader not to proceed to Mexico, where want would stare him in the face, but to present his demands by messengers, so that they might be complied with. Cortés replied that he must obey the orders of his king, which were to deliver to the emperor in person[6] the friendly communications with which he had been intrusted. With this object he had crossed vast oceans and fought his way through hosts of enemies. The privations and dangers depicted could not deter him, for naught availed against his forces, in field or in town, by day or by night.

Finding objections futile, Montezuma again consulted the idols. Their ruffled spirit had evidently been soothed by this time, for now came the oracle to invite the strangers to Mexico. Once there, it was added, retreat should be cut off, and their lives offered on the altar.[7] This utterance was favored by the counsellors on the ground that if the Spaniards were

[5] 'Ten thousand pesos de oro,' says Torquemada, i. 442.

[6] *Cortés, Cartas*, 75–6; *Torquemada*, i. 442. Gomara is confused about these messages between Cholula and Mexico, while Bernal Diaz ignores this attempt to keep back the Spaniards.

[7] 'Quitarnos la comida, é agua, ò alçar qualquiera de las puentes, nos mataria, y que en vn dia, si nos daua guerra, no quedaria ninguno de nosotros á vida.' This oracle came from Huitzilopochtli. The bodies should be eaten. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 61; *Oviedo*, iii. 499; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97.

opposed they and their allies might ravage the country. The emperor accordingly sent an invitation, promising that, although the situation of the capital made it difficult to provide food, he would do his best to entertain them and give proofs of his friendship. The towns en route had orders to supply all their wants.[8]

The story is not without a parallel in classic literature. As Montezuma awaited the approach of Cortés, so old King Latinus awaited the arrival of Æneas and his Trojan warriors; refusing to give battle, or to fight the destinies, and curbing his impetuous people by quoting the oracle.

Along the western horizon of Cholula, at a distance of eight leagues, runs the mountain range which separates the plain of Huitzilapan from the valley of Mexico. And like sentinels upon it stand, in close proximity, the two volcanic peaks of Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, terms signifying respectively 'the smoking mountain' and 'the white woman,' and indeed most apt, the former being suggested by the frequent eruptions, the latter by the snowy covering which falls like a tilmatli mantle from a woman's shoulders. Tradition has it that Iztaccihuatl was the wife of her neighbor, whose noise and fumes were caused by the agonies of tyrants who there underwent purification ere they could enter final rest.[9] While the Spaniards were at Cholula, Popocatepetl was in eruption, an evil omen with the Indians, foreshadowing the disturbances soon to overwhelm the country. Interested by a sight so curious and novel, and desirous of ascertaining for himself and the king the "secret of this smoke," Cortés consented to let Ordaz ascend the volcano. The Indians sought to dissuade him

[8] *Cortés, Cartas*, 77. Bernal Diaz relates that six chiefs brought this message, together with a number of gold jewels, worth upward of 2000 pesos, and some loads of robes. *Hist. Verdad.*, 62. Most authors are, like Gomara, somewhat confused about these messages.

[9] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 96. 'Algunos querian decir que era boca del infierno.' *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 180; *Torquemada*, i. 436–7.

from an undertaking which had never been attempted, and which would in their opinion surely involve the life of him who ventured on it. This made Ordaz only more eager to exhibit his daring, and joined by nine men he set out under the guidance of some citizens and carriers who had been persuaded to go part of the way. They had not climbed far into the cooler region before the quaking ground and ash-rain caused the party to halt. Ordaz and two of his men continued, however, beyond the limits of vegetation, and over the stones and bowlders which covered the sandy expanse fringing the region of perpetual snow. At one time the outburst of ashes and heated stones obliged them to seek shelter for an hour, after which they sturdily climbed onward, turning from their path for a while by the projecting rock now known as Pico del Fraile, and almost losing themselves in the ash-covered snow. One more effort they made, despite the difficulties encountered in the rarefied atmosphere of this altitude, and finally they reached the summit, more than seventeen thousand seven hundred feet above the level of the sea. A short distance to the north rose the consort peak, three thousand feet less in height, and at their feet extended the field of their future campaign, in the valley to the east. The crater was nearly half a league in width, though not deep, and presented the appearance of a caldron of boiling glass, as says Gomara. The situation was too oppressive to permit of further observations, and after securing some snow and icicles as trophies, the men hastened to retrace their steps by the already trodden path. On their return they were received with great demonstration, the natives in particular extolling their deed as something superhuman.[10]

[10] 'Vinieron muchos Indios a besarles la ropa, y a verlos, como por milagro, ó como a dioses.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 96. According to Cortés they failed to reach the summit, although coming very near to it. But this statement is open to doubt, for Cortés is not liberal in according credit to others where it might tend to call attention from himself, particularly to a man like Ordaz, who had, until quite lately, been his most bitter opponent. Gomara had evidently good authority for his statement, since he in this case failed to fol-

While preparing to leave Cholula, Cortés was startled by news from Villa Rica of a conflict with Mexicans, resulting in the death of Escalante and

low his patron's version; and Bernal Diaz, who is always ready to contradict him, and who was no friend of Ordaz, does also admit that he reached the summit. He gives him only two companions, however, and starts them from Tlascala. *Hist. Verdad.*, 55. Leading modern authors are inclined to doubt their success. Prescott, Brasseur de Bourbourg, and others, from a misinterpretation of Cortés' text, allow the ascent to be made while the army was camped on the summit of the range, en route for Mexico.

Ordaz no doubt claimed to have reached the summit, since the emperor granted him a coat of arms, wherein the achievement is commemorated by a blazing mountain. Had he not merited it, his many jealous companions would surely have raised a clamor. He became also a knight of Santiago, in acknowledgment of his services during the conquest. Having beside acquired great wealth, he might have rested on his laurels; but eager to emulate his late chief, he in 1530 petitioned for and obtained the governorship of the tract between Rio Marañon and Cabo de la Vela, in South America, with a right to extend the conquest. After suffering great hardship there he set out for Spain, two years later, to recruit his health and seek redress against rival conquerors. He died on the way. *Oviedo*, ii. 211–24; *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. x. cap. ix.; dec. v. lib. i. cap. xi. Simon has him arraigned at Española for cruelty to his men, etc. Ordaz insists on going to Spain for justice, and fearing the result, since he stood in high favor there, his enemies poisoned him during the voyage. *Conq. Tierra Firme*, 104–35. His portrait is given in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 192, and *Prescott's Mex.* (Gondra ed. of Mex.), iii. 221. 'Su familia establecida en Puebla, en donde creo que todavía quedan descendientes suyos.' *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 101. Montaño, among other conquerors, made the ascent of the volcano not long after this, and he is even said to have descended into the crater. Padre Sahagun also reached the summit. *Hist. Gen.*, iii. 317; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xviii.; *Torquemada*, i. 436–7; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. ii. The next successful ascent was not made till 1827, by Messrs Glennie. Sonneschmidt had explored Popocatepetl partially only in 1772, but had reached the summit of the consort peak. Berkbeck explored in the same year as the Glennies. Gérolt and Gros attempted the ascent in 1833 and 1834, and succeeded in reaching the summit on the second occasion. The record is given in *Revista Mex.*, i. 461–82. In 1857 the Mexican government sent up a successful exploring expedition under Sonntag and Laverrière, whose report, with drawings, is given in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, vi. 218–45. Meanwhile the observations of Gérolt and Gros had led to the examination of the crater for sulphur, an industry carried on pretty regularly since 1836. The volcano was in frequent eruption about the conquest period, as if in sympathy with the political turmoils around it. One of the heaviest discharges recorded took place in 1539–40, which covered the neighboring towns, as far as Tlascala, with ashes. Since then it has been comparatively silent, the last two outbreaks being in 1663–4 and 1697. ubi sup., 204–5; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 55; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vi. cap. xviii. The eruption of 1663–4 created great terror in Puebla, as Vetancurt relates. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. i. 26. Bustamante extends this activity to 1665. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 75.

Rude cuts of the volcanic eruption of 1519 are to be seen in the old and curious cosmographies of Sebastian Munster. This learned man, famous as a Hebrew scholar, as mathematician and cartographer, was the author of some forty printed works, and would probably have issued as many more had not the plague cut him off at Basle, in 1552, at the age of 63. His editions of Ptolemy's Geography began in 1540, and in the following year, according to *Labanoff's Catalogue*, appeared the first edition of his *Cosmographia Be-*

several soldiers. On the northern border of the Totonac territory, bathed by the Gulf of Mexico, lay the town and district of Nautla, which together with

schreibung; but this date, accepted by several bibliographers, as well as that of 1543 for a Latin edition, are evidently wrong, since Munster in his dedication of 1550, to King Gustavus I. of Sweden, remarks that 'Inn dise dritt edition' he had hoped to include a description of Stockholm and other towns under the king, but had not received a reply to his demands therefor. A few lines above this he writes equally to the point: 'Als ich aber vor sechs jaren noch mit diser arbeit vmbgieng, ist zū mir kommen E. K. M. diener, der hochgelert herr, herr Georgius Normannus, dem ich vorhin auss etlichen büchern vnder meinem namen aussgangen, bekāt wz, vnd als er besichtiget dise fürgenōmen arbeit, schetzet er sie wol wirdig, das sie vnd dem künigliche schirm E. M. an tag kāme.' Nothing could more conclusively show that the work had not appeared in print before 1544. The second edition appeared in 1545. The title of the first reads: *Cosmographia. Beschreibūg aller Lender Durch Sebastianum Munsterum. Getruckt zū Basel durch Henrichum Petri. Anno MDxliij.* The Gothic text is accompanied by marginals in Italics, and illustrated with numerous small wood-cuts, some being of the character which permits their reproduction in different chapters and for different countries. In the African division we find beings of the Anubis and Polyphemus type, and animal monsters of different form. In the dedication to Gustavus, Munster speaks of having spent eighteen years in collecting and arranging his material, on the plan of 'dē hochgelerten manū Strabōi,' which is not very flattering to that geographer, if the method before us be accepted as a specimen. He divides the volume into six books—the first devoted to mathematical geography, the next three to a general rambling description of Europe, chiefly with reference to the natural resources and settlements of the different countries. In the third book, covering two thirds of the text, and relating to Germany, each little province receives a historic notice, and every town and castle of any note its description, with rude wood-cuts attached. The next division given at some length is Asia, to which is appended half a dozen pages on America, while Africa closes with the sixth book and about three times that amount of text. The one chapter relating to our continent is headed, *Von den neuwen inseln*, and gives a vague account of the discovery, the physical features and natural products of the land, the inhabitants and their customs, illustrated with several cuts, among them a volcano in eruption and two cannibal scenes. The regular maps are grouped at the beginning of the volume, each on the verso and recto of two leaves, bearing on the first recto the title, inclosed in a border more or less ornamented with portraits, symbols, and arabesque. The mappemonde shows *Terra Florida* and *Francisia* on each side of a bay. Above this runs a wide strait marked *Per hoc fretū iter patit ad Molucas*, which issues between *Cathay regio* and *Temistitan*. Below this land are placed Hispaniola and Cuba, at the mouth of another wide strait, bounded on the south by the large island of *America seu insula Brasilij*. Further down is *Fretū Magaliani*, with a large island to the south. The map for America bears the inscription: '*Die newe weldt der grossen und vilen Inselen.*' The second edition of 1545 is considerably enlarged, the chapter on America covering nine pages. In the third edition, of 1550, the wood-cuts are increased by a number of large plans, views of towns, and other scenes by Deutsch, making this the most attractive volume for collectors. A portrait of the author in his sixtieth year is also given. The various editions in different languages, issued even in the following century, vary considerably in arrangement and extent, and that of 1614, although improved and enlarged to 1575 pages, devotes only ten to America, while previous editions contain more material thereon. The binding is provided with bosses, clasps, and vellum cover, impressed with tracery, portraits, and emblems.

its river had received from Grijalva the name of Almería.[11] This was occupied by an Aztec garrison under Quauhpopoca,[12] whose Aztec pride and loyalty to Montezuma could ill brook the independence achieved by the Totonacs, and who probably grieved over the loss of slaves and other contributions which once swelled his income. No sooner had Cortés disappeared beyond the plateau border than my lord grew audacious, encouraged no doubt by the express or tacit consent of his sovereign, and demanded from the neighboring Totonacs the customary tribute, under penalty of having their lands ravaged. They refused, pointing out that they were now the subjects of the great white king. Escalante being appealed to for protection, sent a message explaining that the independence of the people had *de facto* been recognized by Montezuma, with whom he was on friendly terms. He would allow no interference with them. Quauhpopoca replied that his answer would be given on the battle-field. Escalante, nothing loath, set out at once with fifty men, two horses, and two cannon, attended by several thousand Totonacs,[13] and reached the vicinity of Nautla, where Quauhpopoca was already committing depredations. The armies met, and a fierce battle ensued. Awed by the remembrance of former defeats at the hands of the Aztecs, the Totonacs comported themselves so poorly[14] that the brunt of the fight had to be borne by the Spaniards, of whom several were killed and wounded, while one was captured, and a horse destroyed. The enemy was put to flight, but it has been said as an excuse for their defeat the Mexican officers declared to Montezuma that the virgin bearing an infant led the Spaniards in their attack which spread

[11] Cap. iii. note 1.

[12] 'Quauhpopocatzin, señor de Coyohuacan, uno de los grandes del imperio, que asistia en Nauhtlan, y estaba á su cargo el gobierno de las costas del mar del norte.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 296.

[13] Bernal Diaz writes, 40 soldiers, 2 cannon, 2 firelocks, 3 cross-bows and 2000 natives; Cortés, 50 Spaniards and 8000 to 10,000 Indians, 'y doce tiros de pólvora.' *Cartas*, 88.

[14] 'A la primera refriega.... huyeron, y dexaron al Juan de Escalante pelesado,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 74.

terror and fearful slaughter in their ranks.[15] Escalante laid waste the district, and captured Nautla town, which was sacked and burned. This lesson finished, he hastened back to Villa Rica, and there within three days succumbed to his wounds together with several soldiers, so that the campaign cost the lives of seven or nine men.[16] From prisoners it was understood that Quauhpopoca had acted wholly under orders from Montezuma. The captured soldier was Argüello, of Leon, a young man of powerful frame, with a large head and a curly black beard. He appears to have died from his wounds on the way to Mexico, and the head was presented to the emperor. Its wild appearance, however, increased by the black, curly beard, made so bad an impression upon him that he refused to offer it to his idols, ordering it to be sent to some other town.[17]

[15] 'And Montezuma believed this to be the great lady whom we claimed for patroness.' 'Todos los soldados que passamos con Cortes, tenemos muy creido.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 74.

[16] 'Seis soldados juntamente con él.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 73. 'Nueue Españoles,' says Gomara, who assumes that two were previously assassinated by Quauhpopoca. *Hist. Mex.*, 122, 129.

[17] According to Bernal Diaz, whose version is chiefly adhered to, the death of so many soldiers caused the Spaniards to fall somewhat in the estimation of the Indians, who had looked upon them as invulnerable beings. 'Y que todos los pueblos de la sierra, y Cempoal, y su sujeto, están alterados, y no les quieren dar comida, ni servir.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 73–4. But this is probably an exaggeration, for Cortés would not have ventured to send down a new comandante almost without escort, or to have remained quietly at Mexico for months, had his rear been so threatened. Cortés, who should be regarded as the best authority, gives a curious motive for the campaign. Qualpopoca, as he calls him, sent a message to Escalante, offering to become a vassal of the Spanish king. He had not submitted before, fearing to pass through the intervening hostile country; but if four soldiers were sent to escort him, he would come with them. Believing this protestation, Escalante sent the four men, two of whom wounded returned shortly after with the story that Quauhpopoca had sought to kill them, and had succeeded in despatching their comrades. This led to the expedition of Escalante. *Cartas*, 87–8. It appears most unlikely that this officer should have so far forgotten the prudence ever enjoined on his captains by Cortés, and trusted only four men in an unknown country, in response to so suspicious a request. There was beside no need for Quauhpopoca to go to Villa Rica, since his submission through envoys would be just as binding. If he desired to see the Spanish fort, he could have gone safely by water, for large canoes were used on the coast. It is not improbable that the story was made up to justify the expedition sent against Nautla, since a campaign by a small force, merely on behalf of a wretched tribe of natives, might have been regarded as unwarranted. This story was also useful afterward, when Cortés first thought

Fearing that these tidings might dishearten the men, Cortés said nothing about the affair;[18] but it had nevertheless a bad effect, for the Cempoalan allies, who had learned a few particulars from the messengers, requested at the last moment to be dismissed to their homes, pleading not only the long absence from their families, but the fear of being treated at Mexico as rebels. Cortés sought to reassure them, declaring that no harm could reach any one under his protection. Furthermore he would enrich them. But the larger portion still insisted, and since they had served him well he did not wish to compel them. Several packs of the rich robes obtained from Mexico were accordingly divided among the leaders, two packages being destined for Chicomacatl and his nephew Cuexco, and with this parting gift all but a small body returned to Cempoala.[19]

After a stay at Cholula of nearly three weeks[20] the Spaniards set out for Mexico, attended by about six thousand natives, chiefly Tlascaltecs, with a sprinkling of Cempoalans, Cholultecs, and Huexotzincas.[21]

proper to reveal it, for rousing his men to action. Gomara follows Cortés, with the difference that Pedro de Ircio, as he wrongly calls the captain at Villa Rica, having orders from Cortés to anticipate Garay by incorporating Almería, sent an order to Quauhpopoca to tender his submission. This he agreed to do, provided the four Spaniards were sent to escort him. Gomara appears to favor the view that Quauhpopoca acted on his own responsibility, for he says that this chief sent to warn Montezuma of Cortés' intention to usurp the empire, and to urge upon him to seize the white captain. *Hist. Mex.*, 122, 129. Bernal Diaz stamps this account as false. Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. iii., assumes that the two Spaniards were slain by robbers, so that Quauhpopoca was innocent of any misdeed. Tapia's version is incomplete, but appears to favor Bernal Diaz. In Duran's native record, Coatlpopoca appears as the guide of the Spaniards. He treacherously leads them along a precipice, over which two horsemen fall with their steeds, and are killed. For this he is tried and executed. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 411–13.

[18] He reveals it only after his arrival at Mexico, and thus leads Bernal Diaz to assume that the news reached him there. In this he is followed by Herrera, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. i., and consequently by Torquemada, i. 455.

[19] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 62; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97; *Torquemada*, i. 442.

[20] The estimate varies from fourteen days, *Herrera*, to over twenty days, *Gomara*. By assuming that nineteen days were spent at Cholula, the army has a week in which to reach Mexico, and this is about the time consumed.

[21] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97. 'Saliēdo acompañarle los señores de Chulula, y con gran marauilla de los Embaxadores Mexicanos.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. 'Andauamos la barba sobre el ombro,' says Bernal Diaz, in allusion to the precautions observed. *Hist. Verdad.*, 63.

They passed through Huexotzinco by a route already followed by Ordaz, and recommended as the best and safest. The first camp was made at the Huexotzinca village of Izcalpan, over four leagues from Cholula, where they met with a most friendly reception, and received abundant provisions, together with some female slaves and a little gold. Leaving behind them the smiling plain of Huitzilapan, where they had overcome so many dangers and obtained so many proofs of good-will, on the following day they approached the mountains and came upon the regular highway which leads across the range to the valley of Mexico. The junction of the roads was at the south-west border of Huexotzinco, where the Mexicans had left a proof of their hostility toward this republic, allied to Tlascala, by blocking up the way with trees and other material.[22] These were removed, and the army began the steep ascent of the pass,

[22] Bernal Diaz relates in a confused manner that at Izcalpan the Spaniards were told of two wide roads beginning beyond the first pass. One, easy and open, led to Chalco; the other, to Tlalmanalco, had been obstructed with trees to impede the horses, and so induce the army to take the Chalco route, upon which the Aztecs lay in ambush, ready to fall upon them. *Hist. Verdad.*, 63. This finds some support in Sahagun, whose mythic account relates that Montezuma, in his fear of the advancing forces, had blocked the direct road to Mexico and planted maguey upon it, so as to direct them to Tezcuco. *Hist. Conq.*, 21. Cortés indicates clearly enough that the Mexican envoys had at Cholula recommended a route leading from that city south of Huexotzinco to the usual mountain pass, and used by their people in order to avoid this inimical territory. Upon it every accommodation had been prepared for the Spaniards. This road was not only circuitous, but had been declared by Tlascaltecs and others as hard and perilous, with deep ravines, spanned by narrow and insecure bridges, and with Aztec armies lying in ambush. *Cortés, Cartas*, 76–8; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 574. Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. ii., calls this route shorter and easier, though more dangerous. Certain remarks by Bernal Diaz indicate that the ambush had been arranged in connection with the plot at Cholula, and abandoned upon its failure. loc. cit. There could hardly have been more than one route across the range, through the pass wherein the Aztecs had erected their station for travellers, and this the Spaniards did follow. Here also accommodation was prepared for them, and here the embassy from Montezuma appeared. Hence the obstructions spoken of must have been at the junction of the Huexotzinca road with the main road from Cholula to the pass, and intended as an intimation to the Huexotzincas or to the Mexicans not to trespass. They could have been of no avail against the Spaniards, who were beside invited to enter on the main road then at hand. These are facts overlooked by Prescott, Clavigero, and writers generally who have lost themselves in the vague and confused utterances of the chroniclers, and in seeking to elaborate a most simple affair. Modern travellers follow the easier and less picturesque route north of Iztacci-

pressing onward against the chilling winds which swept down from its frozen heights, and before long they were tramping through the snow which covered the summit.

Here they were cheered by a sight which made them, for the moment at least, forget their hardships. A turn in the road disclosed the valley of Mexico—the object of their toil and suffering—stretching from the slope of the forest-clad ranges at their feet as far as the eye could reach, and presenting one picturesque intermingling of green prairies, golden fields, and blooming gardens, clustering round a series of lakes. Towns lay thickly sprinkled, revealed by towering edifices and gleaming walls, and conspicuous above all, the queen city herself, placidly reposing upon the mirrored surface of the larger water. Above her rose the cypress-crowned hill of Chapultepec, with its stately palace consecrated to the glories of Aztec domination.[23]

The first transport over, there came a revulsion of feeling. The evidently dense population of the valley and the many fortified towns confirmed the mysterious warnings of the allies against a powerful and warlike people, and again the longing for the snug and secure plantations of Cuba found expression among the faint-hearted, as they shivered in the icy blast and wrapped themselves the closer in the absence of food and shelter. In this frame of mind the glistening farm-houses seemed only so many troops of savage warriors, lurking amidst the copses and arbors for victims to grace the stone of sacrifice and the festive board; and the stately towns appeared impregnable fortresses, which promised only to become their prisons and graves. So loud grew the murmur

huatl, which skirts Mount Telapon. This was the road recommended by Ixtlilxochitl, leading through Calpulalpan, where he promised to join him with his army; but Cortés preferred to trust to his own arms and to his Tlascaltec followers. *Torquemada*, i. 442.

[23] 'Dezian algunos Castellanos, que aquella era la tierra para su buena dicha prometida, y que mientras mas Moros, mas ganancia.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii.

as to indicate mutiny; but Cortés, with his usual firm words, quieted the soldiers, supported as he was by the spirited majority.[24]

After descending for a short distance they came to the travellers' station of Quauhtechcatl,[25] whose commodious edifices afforded room for the whole army. The Mexicans had prepared for the arrival by furnishing an abundance of provisions, with fires in all the rooms, and the tired soldiers eagerly gave themselves up to repose.[26] No less exhausted than they, Cortés nevertheless could not think of rest till he had seen to the security of the camp. His prudence on this occasion came near costing him dearly, for in the darkness a sentinel taking him for a spy drew his cross-bow. Fortunately he heard the click and announced himself.[27] This promptness on the part of the guard was by no means unnecessary; during the night a dozen or more prowling natives met the fate which the general so narrowly escaped. They were supposed to have been the spies of an army hidden in the forest, which, on observing the watchfulness of the Spaniards, abandoned the premeditated attack.[28]

Montezuma's fears appeared to grow with the approach of Cortés, and so did his anxiety about the import of the message which must be delivered to him alone. Could there be a design upon his person? This must be ascertained before the invaders came too

[24] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97; *Oviedo*, iii. 500.

[25] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 295. Torquemada, followed by Brasseur de Bourbourg and others, calls it Ithualco, which appears rather to have been a general term for these stations, since ithualli, according to Molina, signifies a court. Peter Martyr and Gomara refer to it as a summer palace.

[26] *Cortés, Cartas*, 79. 'Aun que para los Tamemes hizieron los de Motecçuma choças de paja....y aun les tenian mugeres.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 97. 'Los Indios hizieron de presto muchas barracas,' says Herrera, who places this 'casa de plazer' in the plain below. dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. Tapia calls the buildings 'casas de paja.' *Relacion*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 578.

[27] Martin Lopez was the watchful sentinel. *Torquemada*, i. 443.

[28] *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 577; *Cortés, Cartas*, 80. Herrera intimates that an attack on the summit, where the Spaniards were benumbed with cold, might have succeeded in creating confusion. dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. Unless the naked Indians had been equally benumbed!

near. Among his courtiers was a noble named Tzihuacpopoca, who greatly resembled him in person and voice. Him he commanded to proceed to the Spanish camp, attended by a large retinue, and by representing himself as the emperor to ascertain from the white chief what his intentions were, and to induce him with liberal offers to turn back. The idea was based on an incident which had occurred not many years before, wherein one of the tripartite monarchs saved his life by appearing in proxy at a treacherous court. Montezuma hoped to derive from a similar trick more than one advantage.

Tzihuacpopoca arrived at the mountain camp the morning after the Spaniards had entered it, and created no little excitement by the announcement that the emperor was present in person. Preparations were made to give him a brilliant reception. Unfortunately for the envoy, his secret had too many keepers in the large suite attending him; there were also many among the allies who had been at Montezuma's court, and who looked on this sudden arrival as suspicious. They made inquiries and soon ascertained the truth. Cortés received the great man with courtesy, heralded as he was with a present of three thousand pesos de oro, but he resolved to take advantage of the discovery to impress him with his penetration. After a few moments' conversation he told the noble with a severe tone that he was not the monarch he represented himself to be.[29] He also referred to the attempts made during the night to surprise the camp, as indicated by the dead spies, and assured him that his men were always prepared against plots and deception, and any attempts against them would lead only to the discomfiture and grief of the enemy. Awed by the superior intelligence and power of the general, the envoy thought no longer of anything else than to keep such a man from entering

[29] He appealed to the Tlascaltecs by his side, and they declared that they knew him to be Tzihuacpopoca. *Torquemada*, i. 446.

Mexico. He presented among other reasons that the city could be reached only in canoes, and that provisions were difficult to obtain there. He repeated the offer already made of an annual tribute payable in treasures on the coast, and promised as a bribe for Cortés himself four loads of gold, and for each of his officers and men one load.[30] Dazzling as the offer was, Cortés regarded it as but a faint reflection of still richer treasures, the attainment of which must procure for him greater glory than he had as yet dreamed of. In his reply he accordingly pointed out how strange it must appear to turn back now that he was within view of the goal. Such conduct would disgrace any envoy. No! he dared not disobey the orders of his king, who had sent him upon a mission of great benefit to Montezuma. He would leave as soon as this was accomplished, if desired.[31]

Nothing abashed by this rebuff, Montezuma again had recourse to the black art, and sent a number of sorcerers, the native records say, to cast spells on the Spaniards. They soon returned with the report that on nearing Tlalmanalco, Tezcatlipoca had appeared to them in the guise of a drunken peasant, frightening them greatly, and saying: "Fools, return! Your mission is in vain! Montezuma will lose his empire in punishment for tyranny, and I, I leave Mexico to her fate and cast you off!" The sorcerers recognized the god, and prostrated themselves to adore him, but he spurned their devotion, rebuking them, and finally pointed to Mexico, saying: "Behold her doom!" Looking round they saw her enveloped in flames, and the inhabitants in conflict

[30] A load being at least 50 pounds, the bribe swells to over $5,000,000.

[31] Cortés and Martyr call the envoy a brother of Montezuma. *Cartas*, 79; dec. v. cap. ii.; Gomara and Herrera, a relative. *Hist. Mex.*, 98; dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii. According to Bernal Diaz, the bribe is offered by four nobles at Tlalmanalco. *Hist. Verdad.*, 64. Sahagun, who is the original authority for the story of 'Tzioacpupuca's' attempt to pass himself off for Montezuma, says that Cortés was highly indignant at the deception, 'y luego con afrenta enviaron á aquel principal y á todos los que con él habian venido.' *Hist. Conq.*, 19; *Torquemada*, i. 445–6.

with white men. On turning again to beseech the god he was gone.[32]

Montezuma was in consultation with his advisers when this report was brought. As if pierced by death's dart, the monarch bowed low his head and moaned: "We are lost! We are lost!"[33] Less impressed with superstitious fear by an incident which he regarded as concocted by the sorcerers, Cuitlahuatzin vividly presented the danger of admitting such determined and powerful intruders within the city, and he boldly urged that they be forbidden to enter, by force of arms if need be. Cacama remonstrated that after inviting them such a course would savor of fear. The emperor owed it to his exalted station and power to receive envoys. If they proved objectionable, the city should become their tomb. Surely his nobles and his armies were able to overcome so small a number, assisted by the strategic advantages of the place in its approaches and resources. To the affrighted monarch anything was acceptable that would stay prompt action, and consequently defer the ruin which he feared. He at once inclined to Cacama's advice, stipulating, however, that he, king as he was, should condescend to meet the Spaniards and sound their intentions. "May the

[32] *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 20–1; *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, 519–20; *Torquemada*, i. 447. Solis, the 'penetrating historian,' repeats and improves upon this as an account taken from 'autores fidedignos.' *Hist. Mex.*, i. 353. And with a similar belief it has been given a prominent place in *West-vnnd Ost-Indischer Lustgart*, 131. Gaspar Ens L., the author, was one of the editors of the famous set of De Bry, from which he like so many others borrowed text, if not engravings. The narrator of several individual European travels, he also issued the *Indiæ Occidentalis Historia*, Coloniæ, 1612. The German version, published at Cöllen in 1618 in a small quarto form, under the above title, has for its guiding principle the appropriate maxim of Horace, *Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*. The first part, relating to America in general, is divided into three sections, for physical and natural geography and Indian customs, followed by discovery, voyages, and conquests, and concluding with a review of political history, and an appendix on missionary progress. This arrangement, however, is nominal rather than real, and the confusion, extending into chapters as well as sections, is increased by the incomplete and undigested form of the material, enlivened, however, by an admixture of the quaint and wonderful.

[33] 'Ya estamos para perdernos....mexicanos somos, ponernos hemos á lo que viniese por la honra de la generacion....Nacidos somos, venga lo que viniere.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 21.

gods not place within your house, my lord, one who shall cast you forth and usurp the empire," was the solemn warning of Cuitlahuatzin, as he heard this resolution.[34]

The Spaniards had meanwhile descended the wooded slope from Quauhtechcatl to the cultivated district round Amaquemecan, a city which, together with its suburban villages for two leagues around, numbered over twenty thousand families.[35] The lord, Cacamatzin Teotlateuchtli, received them in his own palace, and entertained them most liberally during their two days' stay, presenting them gifts of forty female slaves and three thousand castellanos in gold. The chiefs of Tlalmanalco and other neighboring towns came to tender their respects, and encouraged by the reports of Spanish prowess they hesitated not to lay bare their grievances against the Aztecs, who oppressed them with heavy taxes, robbed them of wives and daughters, and carried the men into slavery. Cortés encouraged the chiefs with fair promises, and was not a little delighted at finding disaffection in the very heart of the empire, whose power had been so much extolled.[36]

Passing by way of Tlalmanalco through a succession of flourishing maize and maguey fields, the Spaniards reached Ayotzinco, a town at the south end of Chalco lake.[37] Here was seen the first specimen of the peculiar

[34] 'Este parecer de Cuitlahuac, abraçaron muchos de los Presentes.' *Torquemada*, i. 444-5.

[35] With seven towns and over 25,000 families, says Chimalpain, *Hist. Conq.*, 115. Herrera states that at the foot of the descent from the range felled trees obstructed the road, and appearances indicated that an ambush had been intended. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iii.

[36] *Cortés, Cartas*, 80–1. Bernal Diaz places this occurrence at Tlalmanalco, where the chiefs jointly offer eight female slaves, two packs of robes, and 150 pesos' worth of gold. They urge Cortés to remain with them rather than trust himself within Mexico. This being declined, twenty chiefs go with him to receive justice from the emperor at his intercession. *Hist. Verdad.*, 63. 'Se dieron por sus confederados.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 74.

[37] For map of route see, beside those contained in this volume, *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 201, 538, and *Alaman*, in *Prescott's Hist. Conq.* (ed. Mex. 1844), i. 337, 384. The last maps in these books illustrate the later siege operations round Mexico, and so does Orozco y Berra's, in *Ciudad México, Noticias*, 233. Prescott's route map, in *Mex.*, i. p. xxxiii., claims to be based on Humboldt's, with corrections from the chroniclers.

aquatic cities of the lake region. Half of the town stood on piles, and was intersected by canals, wherein the traffic, with canoes, was far livelier than in the streets. The other half lay at the foot of steep hills, upon one of which the Spaniards were encamped. Prompted either by curiosity or by evil purposes, a number of Indians attempted during the night to enter the Spanish quarter, only to pay with their lives for the indiscretion.[38]

In the morning messengers arrived requesting the Spaniards to await the coming of Cacama. Shortly after appeared a procession more brilliant than any yet seen. In a litter profusely ornamented with gold, silver, and feather ornaments, and even inlaid with precious stones, sat the king of Tezcuco, a young man of about twenty-five, carried by eight powerful caciques. As he stepped out, attendants proceeded to sweep the road, removing even the straws, while nobles held over his head a canopy of green feathers, studded with gems, to shield him from the sun. With stately steps the monarch advanced toward Cortés, saluting him in the customary manner.[39] He had come, he said, with these nobles, in the name of Montezuma, their master, to serve him, and to provide all that was needed. He thereupon presented a rich gift, to which Cortés responded with three fine marcasite stones[40] for himself, and with blue glass diamonds for the nobles. In order to sound him, Cacama represented that there existed almost insurmountable obstacles to his entry into Mexico, among them the fears of the populace, which had been aroused by terrible accounts of the cruelty of his followers.[41] Cortés sought to

[38] 'Mataron dellos hasta veynte.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 98. The chiefs complained in secret of Montezuma. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 578.

[39] By touching the ground with the hand and then bearing it to the lips.

[40] Cortés 'le dió tres piedras, que se llaman margaritas, que tienen dentro de si muchas pinturas de diuersas colores.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 64. A certain vagueness in the phrase has led some to translate it as a present of three fine pearls for Cortés.

[41] 'No les quedaba sino decir que me defenderian el camino.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 81. 'Dieron a entender que les ofenderiã alla, y aun defenderiã el passo y entrada.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 98.

reassure him, and declared that no obstacles were insurmountable to his men, whereupon Cacama hastened to state that Montezuma himself would willingly receive them, and did tender an invitation. He now returned to Mexico to prepare for the inevitable visit, leaving among the Spaniards the impression that if he, the inferior king, exhibited such grandeur, that of the emperor must indeed be imperial.[42]

Proceeding along the lake they entered upon a causeway in width a spear's length, leading through the waters for over a half league to "the prettiest little town which we had yet seen, both with regard to its well built houses and towers, and to its situation," as Cortés remarks. The admiring soldiers called it Venezuela, or little Venice, the native name being Cuitlahuac. It was situated on an islet, connected also with the northern shore by an extension of the causeway, and contained a population of about two thousand families, supported chiefly by floriculture, which was carried on to a great extent by means of *chinampas*, or floating gardens.[43] The chiefs came forth, headed by Atlpopocatzin,[44] and showed themselves most attentive. Here again compliants were uttered about Aztec oppression, with the warning that the Spaniards would meet with no true friendship at Mexico.[45]

The Mexican envoys suspected the disaffection of Cuitlahuac, and prevailed on the Spaniards to pass onward to Iztapalapan, where preparations had been made to receive them. As they neared the densely populated lake district, the crowds became larger and more curious, wondering at the fair hue and bushy

[42] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 64. Ixtlilxochitl contradicts himself about the place of meeting, and makes Cacama invite Cortés to Tezcuco. *Hist. Chich.*, 295; *Id., Relacion*, 411. Torquemada does the same. i. 449.

[43] *Native Races*, ii. 345–6, 575. Cortés mentions another smaller town in the lake, without land communication. *Cortés, Cartas*, 82.

[44] 'Pariente del rey de México.' *Chimalvain, Hist. Conq.*, 116. 'Prince du quartier de Ticic.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 203.

[45] 'Cortes, ca yua con determinacion de parar alli, y hazer barcas o fustas.... con miedo no le rompiessen las calçadas (to Mexico).' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 99.

beards of the strangers, and admiring the comely horses, and the glittering arms and helmets. "Surely they must be divine beings," some said, "coming as they do from where the sun rises." "Or demons," hinted others. But the old men, wise in the records of their race, sighed as they remembered the prophecies, and muttered that these must be the predicted ones who were to rule the land and be their masters.[46] To prevent the natives from mingling with his men, and creating not only disorder but diminishing the awe with which they were regarded, the horsemen in the van received orders to keep the Indians at a respectful distance. Iztapalapan was already in sight when a large force of armed warriors was seen advancing, so large that it seemed as if the armies of México had come to overwhelm them. They were reassured, however, by the announcement that it was Ixtlilxochitl with his escort, intent on having an interview with his proposed ally. The prince had urged upon Cortés to take a more northern route and join him at Calpulalpan, but finding that the general preferred the Amaquemecan road, he had hastened to meet the Spaniards on the lake. The approach of this personage had made the court of Tezcuco more pliable to one whose designs were well understood. When Ixtlilxochitl therefore came near the city, the elder brother, Cohuanacotzin, made efforts for a closer conciliation with himself and Cacama.[47] The opportunity was favorable, for the indisposition of Cortés to enter actively into the plans of the former, and his advance on Mexico, with proclaimed friendship for Montezuma, made Ixtlilxochitl not averse to the advances of his brothers, particularly since he intended this in no wise to interfere with his schemes. The result of the negotiation was that he found himself admitted with great pomp into his paternal city, wherein he

[46] *Torquemada*, i. 451; *Oviedo*, iii. 500.

[47] For an account of the dispute between Cacama and Ixtlilxochitl, see *Native Races*, v. 474–7.

hoped some day to displace Cacama. Imbued more than ever with his ambition, he hastened to intercept the Spanish captain, in order personally to promote his views and induce him to come northward to Tezcuco and to his own capital. Cortés was full of promises, but it did not just then suit him to disarrange the plan he had formed, and so Ixtlilxochitl had to wait.

It is this meeting no doubt which has been wrongly extended by several authorities into a visit to Tezcuco.[48]

As the Spaniards approached Iztapalapan,[49] Cuitlahuatzin, the brother of Montezuma and lord of the city, came forth in company with Tezozomoc, lord of the adjoining Culhuacan, and a number of other caciques and nobles,[50] to escort his guests to their quarters in his palace. The city with its ten thousand to twelve thousand houses was constructed partly on piles, and crossed by canals, on either side of which rose substantial buildings, chiefly of stone, a large proportion being, according to the conqueror, "as fine as the best in Spain, both in extent and construction." The Spaniards were awed by the beauty of the place. The palace was particularly fine and spacious, with courts shaded by awnings of brilliant colors

[48] Tezcuco was entirely out of Cortés' route, and the narratives of the march show that no such detour could have been made. Torquemada, who contradicts himself about the visit, describes with some detail the reception at this capital, where the population kneel to adore the Spaniards as children of the sun. They are entertained at the palace, and discover in one of the courtiers, named Tecocoltzin, a man of as fair a hue as themselves, who became a great favorite. i. 444. Herrera takes the army from Ayotzinco to Tezcuco and back to Cuitlahuac. dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. iv. Impressed perhaps by the peculiarity of this detour, Vetancurt, after repeating the story, expresses a doubt whether the visit was really made. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 127–8. But Clavigero brings arguments, based partly upon vague points in Cortés' later letters, to prove that it took place. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 74. Solis, 'the discriminating,' lets Cacama himself guide Cortés from Ayotzinco to Tezcuco. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 360–1.

[49] 'Yxtapalapa, que quiere decir Pueblos donde se coge Sal, ó Yxtatl; y aun hoy tienen este mismo oficio los de Yxtapalapa.' *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 56.

[50] Including Matlatzincatzin, lord of Coyuhuacan and brother of Montezuma; Tochihuitzin of Mexicaltzinco, and Huitzillatl of Huitzilopochco. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 75; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, 116; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 205.

and bordered by commodious apartments. Adjoining it, and overlooked by a large pavilion, was a vast garden, divided into four squares by hedges of plaited reeds, which were entirely overgrown with roses and other flowers. Shaded walks led out in all directions, now by beds of rare plants collected from remote parts, now into orchards temptingly laden, and again past groups of artistically arranged flowers. In ponds fed by navigable canals sported innumerable water-fowl, consorting with fishes of different species. In the centre of the garden was an immense reservoir of hewn stone, four hundred paces square, surrounded by a tiled pavement from which steps led at intervals to the water.[51]

Cortés was not only hospitably entertained, but received a present of female slaves, packs of cloth, and over three thousand castellanos in gold.[52]

The soldiers now prepared under more than usual excitement for the final march, which was to bring them to the longed-for goal. The reputed magnificence of the capital made most of the Spaniards

[51] *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. ii.; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 99; *Cortés, Cartas*, 82. What with the retreating waters and the removal of native lords in whose interest it lay to preserve the gardens and palaces, her glories are now departed. The evaporation of the lake waters had been observed before the conquest. After this it increased rapidly, owing to the thoughtless destruction of forests in the valley, as Humboldt remarks. In Bernal Diaz' time already Iztapalapan lay high and dry, with fields of maize growing where he had seen the busy traffic of canoes. *Hist. Verdad.*, 65. The fate of the lake region was sealed by the construction of the Huehuetoca canal, which drained the big lake to a mere shadow of its former self, leaving far inland the flourishing towns which once lined its shore, and shielding the waters, as it were, from further persecution by an unsightly barrier of desert salt marshes—and all to save the capital from the inundations to which blundering locators had exposed her. Humboldt has in his map of the valley traced the outline of the lake as it appeared to the conquerors, and although open to criticism it is interesting. *Essai Pol.*, i. 167, 173–5.

[52] *Cortés, Cartas*, 82. Bernal Diaz reduces it to 2000 pesos. According to Sahagun, Cortés summons the lords of the district and tells them of his mission. The common people keep out of the way, fearing a massacre. *Hist. Conq.*, 21–2. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 205–6, assumes from this that many of the chiefs promised to support Cortés against the government, which is hardly likely to have been done in a city ruled by Montezuma's brother, who was at heart hostile to the Spaniards. Here again, says Herrera, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. v., Montezuma sought to dissuade Cortés from entering the capital; *Torquemada*, i. 449. His envoy being Cacama, adds Ixtlilxochitl. *Hist. Chich.*, 295.

eager to enter; but there were others who recalled the rumors of its strength, and of the terrible plots which their timid allies declared were to encompass them. "Being men and fearing death, we could not avoid thinking of this," says Bernal Diaz, frankly, "and commending ourselves to God." And as he remembers how warnings failed to deter them, the old soldier bursts forth in self-admiration, "What men have existed in the world so daring?"[53]

[53] *Hist. Verdad.*, 64–5.

CHAPTER XVI.

MEETING WITH MONTEZUMA.

NOVEMBER, 1519.

SOMETHING OF THE CITY—THE SPANIARDS START FROM IZTAPALAPAN—REACH THE GREAT CAUSEWAY—THEY ARE MET BY MANY NOBLES—AND PRESENTLY BY MONTEZUMA—ENTRY INTO MEXICO—THEY ARE QUARTERED IN THE AXAYACATL PALACE—INTERCHANGE OF VISITS.

FROM Iztapalápan the imperial city of the great plateau could clearly be seen, rising in unveiled whiteness from the lake. Almost celestial was its beauty in the eyes of the spoilers; a dream some called it, or, if tangible, only Venice was like it, with its imposing edifices sparkling amid the sparkling waters. Many other places had been so called, but there was no other New World Venice like this.

Sweeping round in sheltering embrace were the green swards and wood-clad knolls on the shore, studded with tributary towns and palatial structures, crowned with foliage, or peeping forth from groves, some venturing nearer to the city, and into the very lake. "We gazed with admiration," exclaims Bernal Diaz, as he compares with the enchanted structures described in the Amadis their grand towers, cues, and edifices, rising in the lake, and all of masonry.

Let us glance at the people and their dwellings; for though we have spoken of them at length elsewhere, we cannot in this connection wholly pass them by.

Two centuries back, the Aztecs, then a small and

despised people, surrounded and oppressed by enemies, had taken refuge on some islets in the western part of the saline lake of Mexico, and there by divine command they had founded the city which, under the title of Mexico Tenochtitlan, was to become the capital of Anáhuac. The first building was a temple of rushes, round which the settlement grew up, spreading rapidly over the islets, and on piles and filled ground. The city was enlarged and beautified by successive rulers, and when first beheld by the Spaniards it had attained its greatest extent—one it never again approached—and was reputed to be about twelve miles in circumference. This area embraced a large suburb of several villages and towns with independent names, containing in all sixty thousand houses, equivalent to a population of three hundred thousand.[1]

Four great avenues, paved with hard cement, ran crosswise from the cardinal points, and divided the city into as many quarters, which were again subdivided into wards.[2]

Three of the avenues were connected in a straight line, or nearly so, with the main land by means of smooth causeways, constructed of piles filled up with rubble and débris. The shortest of these was the western, leading to Tlacopan, half a league distant, and bordered all the way with houses. They were wide enough for ten horsemen to ride abreast, and were provided at intervals with bridges for the free flow of water[3] and of traffic. Near their junction with the city were drawbridges, and breastworks for defence. A fourth causeway, from the Chapultepec summer palace, served to support the aqueduct which

[1] The ruins of the old city, clearly traced by Humboldt, showed that it must have been of far greater extent than the capital raised upon its site by the Spaniards. This is also indicated by the size of the markets and temple courts. The reason is to be found partly in the former prevalence of one-story houses with courts inclosed.

[2] For ancient and modern names of quarters see *Native Races*, ii. 563.

[3] Cortés believed that the waters ebbed and flowed, *Cartas*, 102–3, and Peter Martyr enlarged on this phenomenon with credulous wonder. dec. v. cap. iii.

carried water from the mountain spring in that vicinity.

Round the southern part of the city stretched a semicircular levee, three leagues in length and thirty feet in breadth, which had been constructed in the middle of the preceding century to protect the place from the torrents which after heavy rains came rushing from the fresh-water lakes of Xochimilco and Chalco. This levee was the chief resort of the people—during the day for bustling merchants and boat crews, during the evening for promenaders, who came to breathe the fresh air soft-blown from the lake, and to watch the setting sun as it gilded the summits of Popocatepetl and his consort.

Traffic, as may be supposed, was conducted chiefly by canals guarded by custom-houses, lined with quays, and provided in some places with docks. Upon these abutted narrow yet well lighted cross streets, connected by bridges, and leading to a number of open squares, the largest of which were the market-places in Tlatelulco and Mexico proper, wherein as many as one hundred thousand people are said to have found room.

Viewed architecturally and singly, the buildings did not present a very imposing appearance, the greater portion being but one story in height. This monotony, however, was relieved to a great extent by the number of temples sacred to superior and local deities which were to be seen in every ward, raised high above the dwellings of mortals, on mounds of varying elevations, and surmounted by towering chapels. Their fires, burning in perpetual adoration of the gods, presented a most impressive spectacle at night. The grandest and most conspicuous of them all was the temple of Huitzilopochtli, which stood in the centre of the city, at the junction of the four avenues, so as to be ever before the eyes of the faithful. It formed a solid stone-faced pyramid about 375 feet long and 300 feet broad at the base,

325 by 250 feet at the summit, and rose in five superimposed, perpendicular terraces to the height of 86 feet. Each terrace receded six feet from the edge of the one beneath, and the stages were so placed that a circuit had to be made of each ledge to gain the succeeding flight, an arrangement equally suited for showy processions and for defence. Surrounding the pyramid was a battlemented stone wall 4800 feet in circumference, and through this led four gates, surmounted by arsenal buildings, facing the four avenues.[4]

The pyramid was quite modern, and owed its erection to Ahuitzotl, who for two years employed upon it an immense force of men, bringing the material from a distance of three or four leagues. It was completed in 1486, and consecrated with thousands of victims. The rich and devout brought, while it was building, a mass of treasures, which were buried in the mound as an offering to the gods, and served subsequently as a powerful incentive for the removal of every vestige of the structure. The present cathedral occupies a portion of the site.[5]

The appearance of the city was likewise improved by terraces of various heights serving as foundation for the dwellings of rich traders, and of the nobles who were either commanded to reside at the capital or attracted by the presence of the court. Their houses were to be seen along the main thoroughfares, differing from the adobe, mud, or rush huts of the poor, in being constructed of porous tetzontli stone, finely polished and whitewashed. Every house stood by itself, separated by narrow lanes or by gardens, and inclosing one or more courts. Broad steps led up the terrace to two gates, one opening on the

[4] For a description of the interior see *Native Races*, ii. 582–8.

[5] Ramirez and Carbajal Espinosa define the limits pretty closely with respect to the modern outline of the city, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 226–9, and notes in *Prescott's Mex.* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. app. 103; but Alaman, in his *Disert.*, ii. 202, 246, etc., enters at greater length into the changes which the site has undergone since the conquest, supporting his conclusions with quotations from the *Libro de Cabildo* and other valuable documents.

main street, the other on the back lane or canal. The terrace platform was particularly spacious in front, where occasionally a small oratorio faced the entrance. The façade was adorned with elegant cornices and stucco designs of flowers and animals, often painted in brilliant colors. Balconies were occasionally to be seen, supported on monolith columns without base or capital, though with incised ornamentation; but they were not common, owing to the prevalence of flat roofs surrounded by battlemented and even turreted parapets. Behind them rose flowering plants, arranged in pots or growing in garden plots, and aiding to render the spot attractive for the family gathering in the evening. Flower-gardens might be seen also in the courts, with a sparkling fountain in the centre. Around ran the shady porticos, lined with suites of apartments, the larger reception rooms in front, the stores and kitchen in the rear, and other rooms and chambers, with the never failing temazcalli, or bath, arranged between them, and provided with wicker screens or curtains in lieu of doors.

Courts as well as rooms were covered with flags of stones, tessellated marble or cement, polished with ochre or gypsum; and the walls were decorated not infrequently with porphyry, jasper, and alabaster, and hung with cotton tapestry adorned with feather and other ornaments. The furniture on the other hand was scanty, consisting chiefly of mats of palm leaves, cushions, low tables, and stools.[6]

[6] For further description of streets, buildings, and people, see *Native Races*, passim. Also *Ramirez, Noticias de Mex.*, etc., in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS. no. 6, 309–50; *Dávila, Continuacion de la Crónica*, etc., MS., 296; *Viagero Univ.*, xxvi. 203–6; *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 1, 5, 11, 62, 105, 201–2; *Sammlung aller Reisebesch.*, xiii. 459–60, 464–67; *Las Casas, Hist. Apolog.*, MS., 17–27; *L'America Settentrionale*, 88–207; *Mex., Not. Ciudad*, 1–8. Venecia la Rica is the name applied to the city by some of the Spaniards. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 339.

A curious view of Mexico is given in the edition of Cortés' letters issued at Nuremberg in 1524, which exhibits six causeway connections with the mainland. Both in situation, with respect to the surrounding towns, and in the general plan, it accords very fairly with the descriptions of the conquerors. The temple of Huitzilopochtli occupies an immense square in the centre of

It was in the morning of the 8th of November that the Spaniards mustered for the entry into Mexico.

Temixtitan, as the city is called. Round the south-east corner extend the palace and gardens of the emperor, other palaces being scattered on the lake, and connected with the suburbs by short causeways. Less correct in its relative position is the view presented in the old and curious *Libro di Benedetto Bordone*, which has been reproduced in *Montanus, Nieuwe Weereld*, 81, so famous for its cuts, and, of course, with considerable elaborations which by no means promote the correctness, however much the beauty of aspect is improved.

Very similar to this is the view given in some of Solis' editions, that of Antwerp, 1704, for instance, wherein is also found a view of Mexico with its surrounding towns, as Cuitlahuac, Iztapalapan, and others, all grouped closely together within the main lake! A native plan of the capital, said to have been given by Montezuma to Cortés, accords little with Spanish descriptions, and is difficult to understand from its peculiar outline, illustrated with Aztec hieroglyphics. Alaman doubts its origin and correctness. See *Prescott's Mex.* (Mex. ed. 1844), ii. 157. A good copy of it is given in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 221.

The view in *Libro di Benedetto Bordone, Nel qual si ragiona de tutte l'Isole del mondo*, Vinegia, 1528, 73 leaves, is accompanied by an interesting description of *La gran citta di Temistitan*, remarkable from being perhaps the first sketch of any value given in a cosmographic work. It occupies the greater part of folios vi. to x., devoted to the *terra da Ferdinando Cortese*. Five more folios describe the West Indies and Venezuela region, the only por-

Not far from Iztapalapan they came upon the longest causeway, two leagues in extent, which with the ex-

tions of America known to Bordone when he wrote his book. It was completed in 1521, according to its pontifical license, although not issued till 1528. The versatile author, who figured both as artist and professor, died in 1531, and the later issues of the *Libro*, henceforth called *Isolario*, are by editors whose endeavor to keep apace with the demands of the times is instanced by the edition of 1537, wherein appears a letter on the conquest of Peru. In the mappemonde of the first edition before me, the smaller northern part of the new continent is called *terra del laboratore*, while the southern part bears the inscription *ponēti mōdo nouo*. The two are separated at the Isthmus, in about the latitude of the Mediterranean, by a long strait, at the eastern mouth of which, on the sectional map of folio vi., is written, *stretto pte del mōdo nouo*. Farther east lie the islands *Astores*, *Asmaide*, and *Brasil*. The numerous sectional wood-cut maps and plans bear the conventional outline of a series of concave segments, and of the ten referring to different parts of the new world, seven apply to the Antilles.

The clearest account of Mexico given by any of the conquerors is to be found in *Relatione d'alcvne cose della Nuoua Spagna, & della gran città di Temistitan Messicò, fatta per vn gentil'huomo del Signor Fernando Cortese*, wherein the description of the natives, their manners and customs, their towns, the resources of the country, and above all, the capital city, is to be found in concise form, arranged in paragraphs with appropriate headings, and illustrated by a cut of the great temple, which appears far more correct than those given by most subsequent writers. A view of the capital is also appended, showing the surrounding country, and according very nearly with those of the Nuremburg type, except in the faulty relative position to the neighborhood. Nothing is known of the author, who is generally referred to as the Anonymous Conqueror, but the opinion has been hazarded that he was Francisco de Terrazas, mayordomo of Cortés. His account was evidently written in Spanish, but did not see the light till Ramusio issued it in Italian under the above title. It forms one of the most valuable documents for the history of Mexico to be found in this prized collection of voyages and travels, the first large work of its class. No branch of literature obtained a greater stimulus from the discovery of Columbus. He it was who broke the barrier which had confined the ardor of voyagers, and who led the revival of maritime enterprise, creating a curiosity among the stayers-at-home that could be satiated only with repeated editions of narratives relating to expeditions and conquests. The number of these narratives became, within a few years, so large as to require their grouping into special collections for the sake of cheapness and convenience. The earliest is probably the *Paesi Nouamente retrouati, Et Nouo Mondo da Alberico vesputio;* By Fracanzo or Fracanzano da Montalboddo, Vicenza, 1507, mentioned by *Tiraboschi, Storia della literatura italiana*. This was reproduced in 1508 by Madrignani, at Milan. According to Panzer, Ruchamer issued the same year a somewhat fuller collection at Nuremberg, under the title of *Newe Unbekanthe landte Und eine Newe weldte*, with eight pieces, among them the voyages of Columbus, Ojeda, Pinzon, and Vespucci. A similar work was issued by the Italian Angiolelo, in 1519.

The best known of these early collections, and by many regarded as the first issued in German, is the *Novvs Orbis Regionvm ac Insolarvm Veteribvs Incognitarvm; Basileæ apvd Io Hervagivm, Mense Martio, anno* M.D.XXXII., 4to, 584 pages, beside unnumbered leaves. 'La plus ancienne de ces (Latin) collections,' says Boucher, *Bibl. Univ.*, i. 55. Although prepared by John Huttich, the canon of Strasbourg, it is better known under the name of Simon Grynæus, who wrote the introductory and revised it at the request of Hervagius, the publisher, a well known bookman, greatly esteemed by Erasmus. Meusel, *Bibl. Hist.*, iii. pt. i. 221, gives it with punctilious fairness the title of *Collectio*

ception of a short angle near the shore led in a straight

Huttichio-Grynæo-Hervagiana, while others apply only the middle name or the last two. The attribution to Grynæus is greatly due to his fame as a reformer, as the personal friend of Luther and Calvin, as the discoverer of Livy's lost books, and as the first of a long line of scholars celebrated under that name. It is an excellently printed volume, with quaint head-pieces, and containing as it does so many papers of which the original editions are now lost, the collection must be esteemed of great value. The nineteen pieces of original contributions, journals, and borrowed accounts, include the voyages of Columbus, Alonso, and Pinzon from *Madrignani; Alberici Vesputij nauigationum epitome*, and *nauigationes IIII.;* and *Petri Martyris de insulis*. The other narratives relate to Asia, to the Levant, and to Russia. With some copies is found a mappemonde, but the only genuine one, according to Harrisse, 294, bears the inscription *Terra de Cuba*, in the northern part of the new world, and in the south, *Parias, Canibali America Terra Nova, Prisilia*, with the word *Asia* in large type. Among the several editions the German of 1534, by Herr, is rarer than the above original, while the Dutch of 1563, by Ablijn, is the most complete.

After Huttich the voyage collections increased rapidly in number and size, till they reached the fine specimen of Ramusio, forming not only the first large work of this class, but, for a long time, the most extensive which bears on America. Harrisse, 457, very justly observes that 'the publication of Ramusio's *Raccolta* may be said to open an era in the literary history of Voyages and Navigation. Instead of accounts carelessly copied and translated from previous collections, perpetuating errors and anachronisms, we find in this work original narrations judiciously selected, carefully printed, and enriched with notices which betray the hand of a scholar of great critical acumen.' The first issue appeared as *Primo Volvme Delle Navigationi et Viaggi. In Venetia appresso gli heredi di Lvcantonio Giunti, 1550*, folio, 405 leaves. 'Les Juntes (le) publièrent.... sous la direction de Jean-Baptiste Ramusio.' *Camus, Mém. Coll. Voy.*, 7. Neither in this, nor in the third volume, issued in 1553, nor in the second edition of the first volume, 1554, does the name of Giambatista Ramusio, Rannusio, or Rhamusio, appear as author, and it is only in the second volume that the publisher, Tommaso Giunti, resolves to set aside the modesty of his friend, and to place his name upon the title-page. The publication of this volume had been delayed till 1559, owing to the death of the author and to the burning of the printing establishment.

In the preface Giunti refers to the close friendship between them, and extols Ramusio as a learned man, who had served in foreign countries, acquiring in this way a perfect knowledge of French and Spanish. He had long been a devoted student of history and geography, inspired to some extent by the travels of his uncle, the celebrated Doctor Girolamo Ramusio. As secretary to the powerful Venetian Council 'de Signori Dieci,' he was in a position to maintain correspondence with such men as Oviedo, Cabot, Cardinal Bembo, and others, part of which is to be found in *Lettere di XIII. Huomini illustri*, Venetia, 1565. All this served him in the formation of the great work upon which he labored during the last 34 years of his life. He died at Padua, July 10, 1557, 72 years of age.

The first volume relates chiefly to Asia and Africa, but contains *Lettere due* and *Sommario* by Vespucci, and four papers on Spanish and Portuguese circumnavigation. The contents of the set have been somewhat changed and increased during the several republications, but the best editions are those of 1588, 1583, and 1565, for the first, second, and third volume respectively. Vol. ii. of this set relates chiefly to Asia, but is of interest to American students for its narrative of the much doubted voyages of the brothers Zeno. Its small size indicates the loss it sustained by the events above referred to. 'Et nō vi marauigliate, se riguardando gli altri due, non uedrete questo Secōdo volume, si pieno & copioso di scrittori, come il Ramusio già s'haueua pposto di fare, che la morte ui s'interpose.' ii. 2.

line northward to the heart of the city.[7] They passed several towns, some on the shore, others touching the causeway,[8] and supported to a great extent by the manufacture of salt from the lake water. The causeway had been reserved for the passage of the troops, out of deference to the desire manifested to keep the natives at a respectful distance,[9] but both sides were lined with canoes bearing an eager crowd of sight-seers. About half a league from the city the causeway formed a junction with the road from Xochimilco and Coyohuacan, at a spot called Acachinanco,[10] where a stout battlemented wall, fully ten feet in height, and surmounted by two towers, guarded the two gates for entry and exit.

Entering here the Spaniards were met by a procession of over one thousand representative people from the capital,[11] richly arrayed in embroidered robes, and with jewelry of pendent stones and gold.

The third volume is entirely devoted to America, and contains all the most valuable documents known up to the time of its first issue, such as the relations of Martyr, Oviedo, Cortés, and his contemporaries in Mexico, Pizarro, Verazzano, Carthier, the *Relation di Nvnno di Gvsman*, in several parts, and the valuable *Relatione per vn gentil'huomo del Signor Fernando Cortese*. The volume begins with a learned discourse by Ramusio on ancient knowledge of a land to the west, and of causes leading to the discovery. At the end of the 1565 edition is a map of America, showing Lower California as a wide peninsula, and *Terra del Fuego* joined to the land of the *Circolo Antartico*. The comparative crudeness of the wood-cuts and maps has not made the work much esteemed by collectors, but its value even now, for reference, is unquestioned. The set was dedicated to Hieronimo Fracastoro, the great poet and physician, born mouthless, yet so eloquent. *Scaliger, Arœ Fracastoreæ*. At the end of the *Discorso sopra Perv*, iii. 371, Ramusio says: 'Et questa narratione con breuità habbiamo voluto discorrere per satisfattione de i lettori, laquale piu distintamente legeranno nel quarto volume.' According to Fontanini, *Bibl.*, 274, the material for this volume lay prepared in manuscript, only to perish in the disastrous fire of November, 1557.

[7] It is still one of the main roads, known under Spanish dominion as Calzada de Iztapalapan, now as S. Antonio Abad.

[8] Cortés names the well built Mexicaltzinco, Niciaca, and Huchilohuchico (now Churubusco), to which he gives respectively 3000, 6000, and 4000 to 5000 families. *Cartas*, 83–4. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 99, names Coioacan instead of Niciaca, and this change is generally accepted, for the latter name is probably a mistake by the copyist or printer. *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. iii.

[9] 'Mandò que vn Indio en lengua Mexicana, fuesse pregonando que nadie se atrauessasse por el camino, sino queria ser luego muerto.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. v.

[10] Also referred to as Fort Xoloc. 'En donde hoy la garita de *San Antonio Abad*,' says Ramirez, in *Prescott* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. 104.

[11] Herrera, who is usually moderate, swells the figure to 4000.

These passed before the visitors in a file, touching the ground with their hand and carrying it to the lip in token of reverence. This ceremony occupied an hour, after which the march was resumed. At the junction of the causeway with the main avenue of the city was a wooden bridge ten paces wide, easily removable, inside of which Cortés halted to await the emperor, then approaching.[12] On either side of the street, closely along by the houses, came processions of nobles, headed by lords and court dignitaries, all of whom marched with bare feet and bowed heads. This humility was owing to the presence of the emperor, who in almost solitary grandeur kept the centre of the road, borne in a richly adorned litter on the shoulders of his favorite courtiers, and followed by a few princes and leading officials.[13] Three dignitaries preceded him, one of whom bore aloft three wands, signifying the approach of the imperial head of the tripartite alliance, so that all persons in sight might lower their heads in humble reverence till he had passed.

On nearing the Spaniards Montezuma stepped from the litter, supported on either side by King Cacama and Cuitlahuatzin, his nephew and brother, and followed by the king of Tlacopan and other princes. Four prominent caciques held over his head a canopy profusely covered with green feathers set with gold and silver, and precious stones, both fixed and pendent, and before them attendants swept the road and spread carpets, so that the imperial feet might not be

[12] The avenue is now called el Rastro. The suburb here bore the name of Huitzitlan. '*Vitzillan* que es cabe el hospital de la Concepcion.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 23. At Tocititlan, says Duran, *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 439. 'Junto de la Hermita de San Anton.' *Torquemada*, i. 450. 'Segun una antigua tradicion conservada en el hospital de Jesus, el punto en que le encontró fué frente á éste, y por recuerdo del suceso se hizo la fundacion en aquel parage.' *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 103; and *Ramirez*, note in *Prescott* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. 103. The previous authorities indicate, however, that the meeting took place farther from the centre of the city.

[13] Chimalpain mentions among others Tetlepanquezatl, king of Tlacopan, Yzquauhtzin Tlacochcalcatl, lord or lieutenant of Tlatelulco, captain-general Atlixcatzin, son of Ahuitzatl, and Tepehuatzin, son of Titotzin. *Hist. Conq.*, 125. Sahagun differs slightly in the names. *Hist. Conq.*, 24–5.

soiled. The monarch and his supporters were similarly dressed, in blue *tilmatlis* which, bordered with gold and richly embroidered and bejewelled, hung in loose folds from the neck, where they were secured by a knot. On their heads were mitred crowns of gold with *quetzal* plumes, and sandals with golden soles adorned their feet, fastenings embossed with gold and precious stones.[14]

Montezuma was about forty years of age, of good stature, with a thin though well-proportioned body, somewhat fairer than the average hue of his dusky race. The rather long face, with its fine eyes, bore an expression of majestic gravity, tinged with a certain benignity which at times deepened into tenderness. Round it fell the hair in a straight fringe covering the ears, and met by a slight growth of black beard.[15]

With a step full of dignity he advanced toward Cortés, who had dismounted to meet him. As they saluted,[16] Montezuma tendered a bouquet which he had brought in token of welcome, while the Spaniard took from his own person and placed round the neck of the emperor a showy necklace of glass, in

[14] For dress, see *Native Races*, ii. 178 et seq. Cortés gives sandals only to Montezuma, but it appears that persons of royal blood were allowed to retain them before the emperor, as Ixtlilxochitl also affirms. *Hist. Chich.*, 295; *Oviedo*, iii. 500; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1121.

[15] 'Cenzeño.... y el rostro algo largo, è alegre.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 67. 'Motecçuma quiere dezir hõbre sañudo y graue.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 103; *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, 502–3. It is from this, probably, that so many describe him as serious in expression. A number of portraits have been given of the monarch, differing greatly from one another. The best known is Prescott's, taken from the painting for a long time owned by the Condes de Miravalle, the descendants of Montezuma; but this lacks the Indian type, and partakes too much of the ideal. Clavigero's, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 8, appears more like him, though it is too small and too roughly sketched to convey a clear outline. Far better is the half-size representation prefixed to *Linati, Costumes*, which indeed corresponds very well with the text description. The face in *Armin, Alte Mex.*, 104, indicates a coarse Aztec warrior, and that in *Montanus, Nieuwe Weereld*, 244–5, an African prince, while the native picture, as given in *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 6, is purely conventional. The text description, based chiefly on Bernal Diaz, is not inappropriate to the weak, vacillating character of the monarch. Clavigero makes him nearly 54 years old, and Brasseur de Bourbourg 51; but 40, as Bernal Diaz calls him, appears to be more correct.

[16] 'Ellos y él ficieron asimismo ceremonia de besar la tierra.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 85.

form of pearls, diamonds, and iridescent balls, strung upon gold cords and scented with musk.[17] With these baubles, which were as false as the assurances of friendship accompanying them, the great monarch deigned to be pleased, for if every piece of glass had been a diamond they would have possessed no greater value in his eyes. As a further expression of his good-will, Cortés offered to embrace the monarch, but was restrained by the two princes, who regarded this as too great a familiarity with so sacred a person.[18] The highest representative of western power and grandeur, whose fame had rung in the ears of the Spaniards since they landed at Vera Cruz, thus met the daring adventurer who with his military skill and artful speech had arrogated to himself the position of a demi-god.

After an interchange of friendly assurances the emperor returned to the city, leaving Cuitlahuatzin to escort the general.[19] The procession of nobles now filed by to tender their respects, whereupon the march

[17] 'De margaritas y diamantes de vidrio.' *Id.* 'Que se dizen margagitas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 65.

[18] Solis assumes that Cortés was repelled when he sought to place the necklace on Montezuma. The latter chides the jealous princes, and permits him. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 370. 'Pareceme que el Cortès.... le daua la mano derecha, y el Monteçuma no la quiso, è se la diò à Cortès.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 65. This phrase, which applies equally to offering the right hand, has been so understood by those who notice it; but as this would be confusing, Vetancurt, for instance, assumes improbably that Marina offers her right hand to Montezuma, which he disregards, giving his instead to Cortés. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 129.

[19] *Cortés, Cartas*, 85. Ixtlilxochitl has it that Cacama was left with him; and Bernal Diaz, that the lord of Coyuhuacan also remained. According to Cortés, Montezuma accompanied him all the way to the quarters in the city, keeping a few steps before. Gomara and Herrera follow this version. But Bernal Diaz states explicitly that he left the Spaniards to follow, allowing the people an opportunity to gaze; and Ixtlilxochitl assumes that he goes in order to be ready to receive him at the quarters. *Hist. Chich.*, 295. It is not probable that Montezuma would expose himself to the inconvenience of walking so far back, since this involved troublesome ceremonies, as we have seen, not only to himself but to the procession, and interfered with the people who had come forth to gaze. The native records state that Montezuma at once surrendered to Cortés the throne and city. 'Y se fueron ambos juntos á la par para las casas reales.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 23–4. Leading Cortés into the Tozi hermitage, at the place of meeting, he made the nobles bring presents and tender allegiance, while he accepted also the faith. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 440–1.

was resumed to the sound of drums and wind instruments. At the head were scouts on horseback, followed by the cavalry, under Cortés, who had by his side two large greyhounds; then came the infantry, with the artillery and baggage in the centre; and last, the allies.[20] The streets, which had been deserted by the people out of deference to the emperor and to the requirements of his procession, were now alive with lookers-on, particularly in the entrances to the alleys, in the windows, and on the roofs.[21]

At the plaza, wherein rose the great pyramidal temple surrounded on all sides by palatial edifices, the procession turned to the right, and Cortés was led up the steps of an extensive range of buildings, known as the Axayacatl palace, which faced the eastern side of the temple inclosure.[22] Here Montezuma appeared, and through a court-yard shaded by colored awnings

[20] About 6000 in all. 'Nosotros aun no llegauamos á 450 soldados.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 65. Prescott places the number at about 350.

[21] According to Sahagun not a soul was to be seen, either upon the causeway or along the streets, the people having taken this manner to express their indignation at the semi-forcible entry of the Spaniards. Montezuma came to receive them purely out of a feeling of humanity. Startled at this solitude, Cortés fears dangers, and vows, if all goes well, to build a church. This was the origin, says Bustamante, of the Hospital de Jesus. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. Mex. 1840), 79–84. See note 12, this chapter. Brasseur de Bourbourg accepts this view. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 212–13. Still Sahagun describes the interview with Cortés as most cordial. He is in fact contradictory, and it is evident that the order issued to the people to keep the narrow causeway clear, and the etiquette which required them to give way to the emperor, have been hastily interpreted by the chronicler into 'deserted streets' and 'popular indignation.' Had the citizens objected to receive the strangers, the bridges could have been raised against them.

[22] 'Au coin de la rue *del Indio triste* et de celle de Tacúba,' says Humboldt, *Vues*, i. 58, prudently, without attempting to give its extent. Ramirez and Carbajal do so, however, and in allowing it about the same length as the temple inclosure, they place it right across the eastern avenue of the city, which like the other three is admitted to have terminated at one of the temple gates. *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 222; *Ramirez*, notes in *Prescott's Mex.* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. app. 103. 'Donde hoy las Casas de el Marqués del Valle,' says Lorenzana, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 86, a statement disputed by later writers. Prescott quotes Humboldt, but evidently does not understand him, for he places the palace 'facing the western gate,' which is not only on the wrong side, but across the western avenue. *Mex.*, ii. 79. 'Adonde.... tenia el gran Monteçuma sus grandes adoratorios de idolos....nos lleuaron á aposentar á aquella casa por causa, que como nos llamauã Teules, é por tales nos tenian, que estuuiessemos entre sus idolos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 66. The idea of being regarded as a god seems to have pleased the old soldier immensely.

and cooled by a playing fountain he conducted him by the hand into a large hall. An attendant came forward with a basket of flowers, wherein lay "two necklaces made of the shell of a species of red crawfish," so they said, and "much esteemed by the natives, from each of which hung eight crawfish of gold, wrought with great perfection, and nearly as large as the span of a hand."[23] These the emperor placed round the neck of the general, and presented at the same time wreaths to his officers. Seating him upon a gilt and bejewelled dais,[24] he announced that everything there was at his disposal; every want would be attended to. Then with delicate courtesy he retired, so that the Spaniards might refresh themselves and arrange their quarters.

The building contained several courts, surrounded by apartments, matted and furnished with low tables and *icpalli* stools. Everything about the place was neat and of a dazzling whiteness, relieved by green branches and festoons. The finer rooms were provided with cotton tapestry, and adorned with figures in stucco and color, and with feather and other ornaments set with gold and silver fastenings. Here and there were vases with smouldering incense diffusing sweet perfume. So large was the place that even the allies found room. The halls for the soldiers, accommodating one hundred and fifty men each, were provided with superior beds of mats, with cotton cushions and coverlets, and even with canopies. Cortés was glad to find the building protected by strong walls and turrets, and after arranging the men according to their corps, he ordered the guns to be planted and the sentinels posted, issuing also instructions for the considerate treatment of the natives, and for inter-

[23] They doubtless formed a double necklace, with gold setting and pendants. Cortés writes that on the way to the palace Montezuma halted to place them round his neck. *Cartas*, 85; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 100–1; *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 23.

[24] 'A throne of gold,' is Peter Martyr's bricfer yet grander term. dec. v. cap. iii.

course generally. Meanwhile the servants had spread a dinner, which Bernal Diaz describes as sumptuous.[25]

In the afternoon Montezuma reappeared with a large suite. Seating himself beside Cortés,[26] he expressed his delight at meeting such valiant men, whose fame and deeds had already aroused his interest during their visits in the two preceding years at Potonchan and Chalchiuhcuecan. If he had sought to prevent their entry into the capital, it was solely because his subjects feared them, with their animals and thunder; for rumors had described them as voracious beings, who devoured at one meal what sufficed for ten times the number of natives, who thirsted for treasures and who came only to tyrannize. He now saw that they were mortals, although braver and mightier than his own race, that the animals were large deer, and that the caged lightning was an exaggeration. He related the Quetzalcoatl myth,[27] and expressed his belief that they were the predicted race, and their king the rightful ruler of the land. "Hence be assured," said he, "that we shall obey you, and hold you as lord lieutenant of the great king, and this without fail or deceit. You may command in all my empire as you please, and shall be obeyed. All that we possess is at your disposal."[28]

Cortés expressed himself as overwhelmed with these kind offers and with the many favors already received,

[25] *Hist. Verdad.*, 65–6; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. v.; *Sahagun*, *Hist. Conq.*, 25–6.

[26] Bernal Diaz states that the emperor always addressed him as Malinche, and, indeed, it was common among Mexicans to address persons by a name given them in later life in connection with some peculiarity, deed, or incident. Hence Cortés, as master of the prominent female interpreter, received a name implying that relationship.

[27] For which see *Native Races*.

[28] *Cortés, Cartas*, 86. This is in substance the speech of Montezuma, as given by native as well as Spanish records; yet it appears improbable that the emperor should have been so ready, at the first interview, and in presence of his courtiers, to humble himself so completely before a few strangers whom he regarded as mortals. See note 19. 'Myself, my wife and children, my house, and all that I possess, are at your disposal,' says the Spaniard, even in our day, to the guest whom he wishes to impress with his hospitality. Perhaps Montezuma was equally profuse with hollow words, which have been recorded as veritable offers.

and hastened to assure the emperor that they were not misplaced. He and his men came indeed from the direction of the rising sun, and their king, the mightiest in the world, and the ruler of many great princes, was the one he supposed. Hearing of the grandeur of the Mexican monarch, their master had sent the former captains, brethren of theirs, to examine the route, and to prepare the way for the present commission. He had come to offer him the friendship of their great king, who wished in no wise to interfere with his authority, but rather that his envoys should serve him and teach the true faith.

The reference to Montezuma's grandeur led the emperor evidently to suppose that the rumors concerning him current in the outlying provinces might have reached the ears of the Spanish king, for he now alluded to the tales which raised him to a divine being inhabiting palaces of gold, silver, and precious stones. "You see," he added with a sad smile, wherein seemed to linger regrets arising from his departing glory, "that my houses are merely of stone and earth; and behold my body," he said, turning aside his vestment, "it is but of flesh and bone, like yours and others. You see how they have deceived you. True, I possess some gold trinkets left me by my forefathers; but all that I have is yours whenever you may desire it."[29]

Cortés' eyes sparkled with satisfaction as he expressed his thanks. He had heard of Montezuma's wealth and power, and had not been deceived in the expectation, for a more magnificent prince he had not met with during his entire journey. Such fine words must be rewarded. At a sign the attendants came forward with a rich collection of gold, silver, and feather ornaments, and five thousand to six thousand pieces of cloth, most fine in texture and embroidery.[30]

[29] *Cortés, Cartas*, 86–7. Bernal Diaz introduces this paragraph during the next interview.

[30] *Id.* 'Á cada vno de nuestros Capitanes diò cositas de oro, y tres cargas de mantas de labores ricas de plumas, y entre todos los soldados tambien nos diò á cada vno á dos cargas de mantas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 66; *Gomara*,

Being asked what relationship the men bore to one another, Cortés said that all were brothers, friends, and companions, with the exception of a few servants.[31]

Montezuma afterward elicited from the interpreters who the officers and gentlemen were, and in conferring favors he sent them more valuable presents through the mayordomo, while the rest obtained inferior gifts by the hand of servants.[32] At his departure from the Spanish quarter the soldiers with redoubled alacrity fell into line to salute a prince who had impressed them both with his gentle breeding and his generosity, and the artillery thundered forth a salvo, partly to demonstrate that the caged lightning was a fearful reality.[33]

The following forenoon Cortés sent to announce that he would make a return visit, and several officers came to escort him. Arrayed in his finest attire, with Alvarado, Velazquez de Leon, Ordaz, Sandoval, and five soldiers, he proceeded to the residence of Montezuma, in the new palace as it has been called, situated in the south-east corner of the great temple plaza.[34] If they had admired the palace forming their own

Hist. Mex., 101–2; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. iii.; *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 441–2; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. vi.; *Torquemada*, i. 452–3; *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 296; *Peralta, Not. Hist.*, 107–8. Acosta implies that Cortés now reconciled the Tlascaltecs with the Aztecs. *Hist. Ind.*, 521.

[31] 'Eramos hermanos en el amor, y amistad, é personas mui principales,' is the way Bernal Diaz expresses it. *Hist. Verdad.*, 66.

[32] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 102–3. 'Los haçia proveer luego, assi de mugeres de serviçio, como de cama, é les daba á cada uno una joya que pessaba hasta diez pessos de oro.' *Oviedo*, iii. 500–1.

[33] *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 129. Sahagun, followed by Acosta, Brasseur de Bourbourg, and others, states that the artillery was discharged at night to startle the natives. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 85.

[34] It is so depicted in the old Nuremberg view of the city, already referred to. Ramirez, Carbajal Espinosa, and Alaman give the extent, and the latter enters into quite a lengthy account of its situation with respect to present and former outlines of the quarter. *Disert.*, ii. 202, etc.; *Carbajal Espinosa, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 221–2; *Ramirez*, notes in *Prescott's Mex.* (ed. Mex. 1845), ii. app. 103. Humboldt places it opposite the southern half of the western temple side, *Essai Pol.*, i. 190, but that site is assigned by all the above historians to the old palace of Montezuma, so called—not the Axayacatl where Cortés was quartered. The mistake is probably owing to his ignorance of the fact that the residence of the Cortés family stood first on the site of the new palace of Montezuma, whence it was moved to that of the old palace when the government bought the former.

quarter, how much more charmed were they with this, "which has not its equal in Spain," exclaims Cortés.

The exterior presented an irregular pile of low buildings of *tetzontli*, raised upon high foundations, and communicating with the square by twenty doors, over which were sculptured the coat of arms of the kings of Mexico. The buildings were so arranged as to inclose three public squares, and contained an immense number of rooms and halls, one of them large enough to hold three thousand men, it is said. Several suites were reserved for royal visitors, envoys, and courtiers, while others were assigned for the emperor's private use, for his harem and his attendants. Large monoliths adorned the halls or supported marble balconies and porticos, and polished slabs of different kinds of stone filled the intervening spaces or formed the floors. Everywhere, on projections and supports, in niches and corners, were evidences of the artist's skill in carvings and sculptures, incised and in relief.

After being conducted through a number of courts, passages, and rooms, partly for effect, the Spaniards were ushered into the audience-chamber, and removed their hats as Montezuma advanced to receive them. Leading Cortés to the throne, he seated him at his right hand, the rest being offered seats by the attendants. Around stood with downcast eyes a number of courtiers, who in accordance with etiquette had covered their rich attire with a coarse mantle and left their sandals outside the room.[35] The conversation fell chiefly on religious topics, the favorite theme with Cortés, who aside from his bigotry was not averse to use the faith as a means to obtain a secure hold on the people. In any case it afforded a shield for other objects. He explained at length the mysteries of Christianity, and contrasted its gentle and

[35] The Spaniards were also 'costretti a scalzarsi, ed a coprirsi gli abiti sfarzosi con vesti grossolane,' says Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 83, but that is unlikely.

benevolent purposes with those of the idols, which were but demons intent on the destruction of their votaries, and trembling at the approach of the cross. Aware of the inefficiency of himself and his interpreters as preachers, indicated indeed by the passive face of the proposed convert, Cortés concluded by intimating that his king would soon send holy men, superior to themselves, to explain the truths which he had sought to point out. Meanwhile he begged the emperor to consider them, and to abandon idols, sacrifices, and other evils. "We have given him the first lesson, at any rate," said Cortés, turning to his companions.[36]

The ruler of a superstitious people, himself a high-priest and leader of their bloody fancies, was not to be touched by this appeal of Cortés. The prejudices of a lifetime could not be so easily disturbed. He had well considered the words, he replied, transmitted already from the sea-shore by his envoys, and had found many of the points identical with those held by his people; but he preferred not to dwell on the subject at present. The god depicted was doubtless good; so were their own, for to them they and their forefathers owed health and prosperity. Suffice it that he believed his guests to be the men predicted to come. "As for your great king," he added, "I hold myself as his lieutenant, and will give him of what I possess." As a tangible proof thereof, he again before dismissing them distributed presents, consisting of twenty packs of fine robes and some gold-ware worth fully one thousand pesos.[37]

[36] 'Con esto cumplimos, por ser el primer toque.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 67.

[37] 'Á nosotros los soldados nos diò á cada vno dos collares de oro, que valdria cada collar diez pesos, è dos cargas de mantas.' The rest went to their officers. *Id.*

CHAPTER XVII.

CAPTURE OF THE EMPEROR.

NOVEMBER, 1519.

CORTÉS INSPECTS THE CITY—VISITS THE TEMPLE WITH MONTEZUMA—DISCOVERY OF BURIED TREASURE—PRETENDED EVIDENCES OF TREACHERY—CORTÉS PLANS A DARK DEED—PREPARATIONS FOR THE SEIZURE OF MONTEZUMA—WITH A FEW MEN CORTÉS ENTERS THE AUDIENCE-CHAMBER OF THE KING—PERSUASIVE DISCOURSE—WITH GENTLE FORCE MONTEZUMA IS INDUCED TO ENTER THE LION'S DEN.

CORTÉS failed not to make diligent inquiries and examinations into the approaches, strength, and topography of the city, but he longed for a view from one of the great temples which, rising high above all other edifices, would enable him to verify his observations. He also desired to obtain a closer insight into the resources of the place. With these objects he sent to Montezuma for permission to make a tour through the town to the Tlatelulco market and temple.[1] This was granted; and attended by the cavalry and most of the soldiers, all fully armed, Cortés set out for that suburb, guided by a number of caciques. It was here that the largest market-place in the city was situated.[2]

[1] They had now been four days in Mexico, without going farther than the palace, says Bernal Diaz. A page named Orteguilla, who had already acquired a smattering of Aztec, was sent with the interpreters to ask this favor. *Hist. Verdad.*, 69.

[2] Soldiers who had been in Rome and Constantinople declared that never had they seen so large and orderly a market, with so large an attendance. Bernal Diaz indicates the site of the plaza to have been where the church of Santiago de Tlatelulco was erected, and this still remains under the same name, over a mile north-west-by-north of the central plaza of Mexico. *Hist. Verdad.*, 70–1. The old maps of Mexico already spoken of give the same site, and Alaman's investigations point out correctly the street which led and leads to it, although he has failed to notice the above authorities, which give the very site. *Disert.*, ii. 282–5.

From this centre of trade the Spaniards proceeded to the lofty temple, which occupied one end of the Tlatelulco market-place,[3] and whither Montezuma had already gone to prepare for their reception, and to propitiate the idols for the intrusion by prayers and sacrifices. He hoped, no doubt, that his presence would prove a check upon the impulsive hands and tongues of the guests. Dismounting at the gate, the riders advanced with most of the soldiers through the temple court, and climbed the one hundred and more steps which led to the summit. Some priests and chiefs had been sent by Montezuma to assist Cortés to ascend, but he preferred to trust to himself. This pyramid, unlike that in Mexico proper, appears to have had but one continuous stair-way leading up the western slope.[4] The first sight which met the Spaniards on reaching the summit was the sacrificial cage for holding victims, and a large snake-skin drum, whose sombre tones gave appropriate effect to the horrible rites enacted around it.

Montezuma came out of one of the chapels to welcome them, expressing a fear that they must have been fatigued by the ascent, but Cortés hastened to assure him that Spaniards never tired. Calling their attention to the view here afforded of the city and its surroundings, he stood silent for a while to let the beauteous vision work its own enchantment. Around on every side spread the lake and its connecting waters, bordered with prairies and fields. Forests and towns intermingled on the green carpet, and extended far away till they disappeared in the shadows of the hills. The soldiers recognized the settlements and

[3] It has been generally accepted that the temple in the centre of the city was visited, but Bernal Diaz, who is the only narrator of this excursion, states distinctly, in several places, that the pyramid ascended was situated in the Tlatelulco market-place, 'adonde está aora señor Santiago, que se dize el Taltelulco.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 70–1. The description of the temple court and interior is somewhat confused, and evidently combines points which belong to the central temple.

[4] Hence the contradictions between descriptions and views furnished by different chroniclers, which have so greatly puzzled modern writers.

towns which they had passed, and saw the causeways which on three sides connected with the mainland. Beneath them lay a vast expanse of terraced roofs, intersected by streets and canals teeming with passengers and canoes. Here and there rose palatial edifices and towering temples, interspersed with open squares, and with gardens shaded by trees and relieved by the silvery jets of the fountain. At their feet lay the market through which they had just passed, alive with busy Lilliputians, whose talk and cries reached their ears in a confused murmur. Cortés could not fail to be impressed by scenes so varied and so attractive, but the æsthetic aspect was in him speedily overshadowed by the practical sense of the military leader. Then rose on high his soul as he thought to secure for Spain so rich an inheritance as the great city with its vast population, and turning to Father Olmedo he suggested that the site ought to be obtained for a church; but the prudent friar remonstrated that the emperor appeared to be in no mood to listen to such a proposal.

Cortés accordingly contented himself with asking to see the idols, and after consulting the priests Montezuma led them past the piscina with the vestal fire into the chapel. Withdrawing a tasselled curtain he displayed the images, glittering with ornaments of gold and precious stones, which at first drew the attention of the beholders from the hideous form and features. Before them stood the stone of sacrifice, still reeking with gore, and around lay the instruments for securing the human victim and for tearing open the breast. On one altar could be seen three hearts, and on the other five, offered to the idols, and even now warm and palpitating with life. The interior walls were so smeared with human blood as to obscure their original color, and to emit a fetid odor which made the Spaniards glad to reach the open air again.

Forgetting his prudence, Cortés expressed his won-

der to Montezuma that so great and wise a prince should worship abominable demons like these. "Let me but plant a cross on this summit," he said, "and within the chapel place an image of the virgin, and you shall behold the fear of the idols." The eyes of the priests were at this aflame with anger, and the emperor could hardly suppress his indignation as he replied, "Malinche, had I suspected that such insults were to be offered, I would not have shown you my gods. They are good; they give us health, sustenance, victory, and whatever we require. We adore them, and to them make our sacrifices. I entreat you say not another word against them." Observing the effect his remarks had produced, Cortés thought it best to restrain himself, and to express regrets at his hastiness. Then with a forced smile he said that it was time to depart. Montezuma bade them farewell. As for himself, he must remain to appease the idols for the insult offered.[5]

Not at all abashed by his rebuff at the temple, Cortés asked Montezuma to let him erect a church in his own quarters. Glad probably at finding the Spanish pretensions in this respect so modified, he not only assented, but gave artisans to aid in the work. This was concluded within three days, and services henceforth held therein, at which the Indians were always welcomed. A cross was also erected before the entrance, so that the natives might be impressed by the devotion of their visitors.

This effort in behalf of the faith was not to go unrequited. While looking for the best site for the altar, says Bernal Diaz, Yañez, the carpenter, discovered signs of a door-way recently closed and plastered over. Cortés was told of this, and ever on the guard against plots, he ordered the wall to be opened. Aladdin on entering the cave could not have been more surprised

[5] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 70-1. Sigüenza y Góngora, the well-known Mexican scholar of the seventeenth century, follows Bernal Diaz. *Anotaciones Crit.*, MS., 1-2.

than the Spaniards were on stepping into the chamber there revealed. The interior fairly blazed with treasures; bars of gold were there, nuggets large and small, figures, implements, and jewelry of the same metal; and then the silver, the rare bejewelled and embroidered fabrics, the prized chalchiuite and other precious stones! Cortés allowed the favored beholders to revel in the ecstasy created by the sight, but to their greed he set a check. He had reasons for not disturbing the treasures at this time, and gave orders to restore the wall, so that no suspicions might be aroused that the deposit had been discovered.[6]

One reason with Cortés for not touching the treasures was to hold out an alluring bait to those who, more prone to listen to the warnings of timid allies than to the ambitious promptings of their leader, were ever ready to take alarm and urge withdrawal from a position which they regarded as dangerous. Unbending in his resolution, the general had nevertheless grasped all the perils of their position. Hitherto no firm ground existed for alarm. They had been a week in the capital, and were still receiving from all hands the kindest treatment and the most generous hospitality. Cortés was aware, however, that this depended on the favor of the emperor, whose power over the submissive people resembled that of a

[6] 'No dexarian de quedar aprobechados....y satisfacer a su necesidad,' says Vetancurt, who knew the avarice of his countrymen too well to believe in denials. *Teatro*, pt. iii. 131. Bernal Diaz says that Yañez, as the servant of Velazquez de Leon and Lugo, revealed the discovery to them, and they told Cortés. The soldiers all heard of it, and came quietly to gaze on the treasures, which rumor had already located somewhere in the palace. 'Being then a young man,' says the old soldier, 'and having never seen such wealth, I felt sure that there was not anything like it in the world.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 72; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. ii. Tapia and Gomara state that Cortés discovered the door-way as he was walking in his room one evening, pondering on his plans for seizing Montezuma. 'Cerro la puerta....por no escandalizar a Motecçuma, no se estoruasse por esso su prisiõ.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 123; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 579. Duran intimates that on hearing of the existence of treasures in the palace, the Spaniards, including the 'Santo Clérigo,' occupied themselves more in searching for them than in promoting the faith. They did not find them, however, till Montezuma revealed the hiding-place, under the pressure of questions and, it seems, of hunger. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 445–6.

god, and whose person appeared to them as sacred as his will was absolute. He had also learned that this monarch was a man affrighted by his superstitions, and often influenced by trifling circumstances; ready to strike where he had fawned the moment before, and little bound by words or pledges, particularly when they involved his own sovereignty. One misstep by the Spanish leader or any of his men, ill-behaved and importunate as they were, according to his own statement, might precipitate the change. The presence of the hated Tlascaltecs was itself a burden, and the drain for supporting the self-invited guests would soon be felt. The religious topic had already created a momentary irritation, which might rankle and grow under the promptings of the priests, who must naturally object to rival interference.

Emperor and subjects were evidently restrained only by the military prestige of the Spaniards, and to some extent by the belief in their divine mission; but they were also aware that, whatever might be the prowess of the visitors and the power of their weapons and steeds, they were mortals, for this had been proved quite lately by the unfortunate defeat of Escalante, and in the Nautla campaign. The soldiers of Montezuma had but to raise the bridges of the causeways and cut off retreat, then stop supplies and reduce them by starvation. True, there was the fate of Cholula before the Mexicans; but they had gained experience, and could mass vastly more warriors and arms, while the Spaniards would have no allies in reserve to operate in the rear. Besides, what mattered the destruction of a part, or even of the entire city, when thereupon depended the safety of the throne, menaced by a horde of cruel, avaricious monsters!

Cortés had considered all these points, and knew the expediency of resolute action. He had undertaken an enterprise wherein one bold move must be supported by another, and to these all means had to be subordinate. He had not come all this way to place

himself within the power of a suspicious and vacillating despot, nor to waste his time in waiting for what events might bring forth, while his enemies, headed by Velazquez, were arranging for his overthrow. He had formed his plans long beforehand, as indicated in his first letter to the king, wherein he promised to have the great Montezuma "a prisoner, a corpse, or a subject to the royal crown of your Majesty."[7] Conquest, followed by settlement and conversion, was his aim. It would not pay him to play for a smaller stake.

Just now rumors began to circulate tending to stir anew the fears which Montezuma's friendly and hospitable demeanor had soothed. One was that the nobles had actually prevailed on the emperor to break the bridges, to arm the whole city, and to fall on the Spaniards with all available strength.[8] Soldiers were readily found who fancied that the mayordomo was less obsequious than formerly, and that he gave scantier supplies. It was also understood from Tlascaltecs that the populace appeared less friendly during the last day or two. These reports may have sprung wholly from timid minds still agitated by the warnings uttered by Tlascaltecs before the departure from Cholula, or they may have been

[7] He refers to this promise in the second letter to the king, saying, 'porque certifiqué á V. A. que lo habria preso ó muerto ó súbdito.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 52.

[8] 'En la verdad era así é lo tinien acordado,' affirms Tapia, *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 579. 'Estas nueuas, falsas, o verdaderas,' is the non-committing phrase of Gomara. *Hist. Mex.*, 123. Ixtlilxochitl takes firmer ground. 'According to an original letter in my possession, signed by the three heads of New Spain, and written to his Majesty the emperor, our master, they exculpate Motecuhzoma and the Mexicans of this and other charges, declaring them inventions of the Tlascaltecs and of some Spaniards who feared that they would never see the hour when they might leave the city and place in security the riches they had obtained.' *Hist. Chich.*, 296. Clavigero adopts the view that Cortés called for such testimony from certain chiefs among his allies, whose dislike of the Mexicans would be sure to prompt it. 'Per giustificar vieppiù il suo attentato, e muovere i suoi Spagnuoli ad eseguirlo, fece chiamar parecchie persone principali de' suoi alleati (la cui informazione dovrebbe sempre essergli sospettosa).' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 90–1. Vetancurt has a story that, a drought prevailing at the time, the Spaniards induced the heavens by means of masses and prayers to send rain. This made the priests and idols jealous, and the emperor was prevailed on to rid himself of the Spaniards. The Tlascaltecs learned of the plot and reported it. *Teatro*, pt. iii. 130.

promoted by Cortés himself in furtherance of his plans. He at any rate seized the pretence to hold a council, composed of Alvarado, Leon, Ordaz, and Sandoval, together with twelve soldiers whose advice he most valued, "including myself," says Bernal Diaz. His chief reason was to persuade them of the necessity for the measure he had resolved on, and to win their hearty coöperation. Laying before them the current rumors which confirmed the warnings formerly received, and representing the unreliable and suspicious character of Montezuma, his great power, and the peculiar position and strength of the city, he concluded by proposing the daring venture of seizing the emperor and holding him a hostage.[9]

Here was folly run mad! Four hundred men, after penetrating formidable barriers and gaining the very heart of a great empire, whose vast armies could oppose a thousand warriors to every Spaniard there, coolly propose to take captive the worshipped monarch of this vast realm, and then to defy its millions of subjects! The wildest tales of mediæval knights hardly equal this project. Reckless as was the conception, it was the fruit of yet greater audacity. Cortés reared his structure of folly insensate upon the platform of still greater insensate folly. If it was true that he had practically placed himself in the position of a captive, then he would cut the knot by capturing the captor. And yet, foolhardy as might appear the scheme when coolly viewed from the isle of Cuba, situated as the Spaniards were, it was doubtless the best they could do; it was doubtless all they could do. The efficiency of hostages had been fre-

[9] According to Bernal Diaz the members of this council suggested not only the seizure but the reasons for it. Cortés responded that he had not been oblivious of the danger, but saw not how the seizure could be effected. The captains proposed to beguile the prince to their quarter and detain him. If Cortés hesitated they were willing to undertake the task. The old soldier is evidently misled, as he was in the scuttling affair, to assume too much credit for himself and his fellow-soldiers. Cortés had no doubt adopted his common tactics, so frequently admitted by Bernal Diaz himself, of inspiring his comrades to suggest what he had resolved on. This is proved by the promise made to the emperor in his first letter, four months before, to capture Montezuma.

quently tried by the conquerors in the Antilles, and the opportune seizure of the Cempoalan lord had not been forgotten; but this had been effected under the impulse of the moment, while the chieftain was surrounded by Spaniards. Here was required not only a calm resolution, unflinching to the end, but a well laid stratagem. Cortés stood prepared with both.

Producing the letter from Villa Rica, which had been kept secret all this time, he gave an account of the unfortunate successes at Almería, describing in exaggerated terms the treachery of Quauhpopoca, and consequently of Montezuma as his master, and stirring the feelings of the council by an appeal to avenge their comrades.[10] Here was a pretence[11] which served also to set aside the suggestion that the emperor would be only too glad to let them depart in peace, for it was argued that a retreat now, since the Spaniards stood revealed as mortals, would draw upon them not only the contempt of allies and countrymen, but a general uprising, with the most fatal results. Retreat meant also the surrender of all hopes of wealth, preferment, and honor, to be followed by punishment and disgrace for their irregular proceedings so far. With Montezuma in their power, they possessed a hostage whose sacredness in the eyes of his subjects insured their safety, and made the people pliable to their will, while disaffected vassals could be secured by alliances, or by the promise of reforms. Should the seizure result in the monarch's death, the succession would doubtless become the cause of division and dissension, in the midst of which the Spaniards might influence affairs in their own interest. Thus were answered the various objections raised.

[10] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 73, followed by a number of other writers, states that the letter was received at Mexico the morning after this meeting, but it has been shown that he must be wrong. He mentions as one of the statements in the letter that the Totonacs were in revolt, and it is probable that Cortés may have said so to show the soldiers that retreat was cut off, and that seizure was the only recourse.

[11] As both Peter Martyr and Gomara call it.

As for the manner of seizure, the safest plan would doubtless be to inveigle Montezuma to their quarters and there detain him; but this would cause delay, and might arouse suspicion,[12] and, since prompt action was considered necessary, the best way would be to seize him in his own palace. This was agreed upon, and the same evening the facts and arguments were effectively presented to the men and preparations made.

"All night," writes Bernal Diaz, "we passed in earnest prayer, the priests devoutly imploring God to so direct the undertaking that it might redound to his holy service."[13]

In the morning Cortés sent to announce that he would visit the emperor. He then despatched a number of small parties as if for a stroll, with orders to keep themselves in and near the palace, and on the way to it, ready for any emergency. Twenty-five soldiers were told to follow him, by twos and threes, into the audience-chamber, whither he preceded them with Alvarado, Sandoval, Velazquez de Leon, Francisco de Lugo, and Ávila.[14] All were armed to the teeth,[15] and as the Mexicans had been accustomed to see them thus equipped no suspicions were aroused. Montezuma proved on this occasion to be particularly gracious, and after a brief chat he offered several presents of finely wrought gold, and to Cortés he presented one of his daughters, the captains being given women of rank from his own harem, which

[12] The neglect of this less speedy plan does indicate that the rumors of danger were credited to a great extent at least.

[13] *Hist. Verdad.*, 74. Cortés in his quiet way writes to the king that, after passing six days in the great city, and finding that for various reasons 'it suited the royal interest and our safety to have this lord in my power, and not wholly at liberty, lest he change in the proposal and desire manifested to serve Y. H....I resolved to seize and place him in the quarter where I was.' *Cartas*, 88-9.

[14] 'Mandó que su gente dos á dos ó cuatro á cuatro se fuesen tras él....é con él entramos hasta treinta españoles é los demas quedaban á la puerta de la casa, é en un patio della,' says Tapia, who appears to have been one of those who entered. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 579.

[15] 'Cō armas secretas,' says Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 123, and probably they did bear extra weapons beneath their cloaks.

was a mark of great favor.[16] Cortés sought to decline for himself the favor, on the ground that he could not marry. Montezuma nevertheless insisted, and he yielded not unwillingly.[17]

Assuming a serious tone, the latter now produced the letter from Villa Rica, and informed the emperor that he had received an account of the outrageous conduct of Quauhpopoca, resulting in the death of some of his men, and that he, the sovereign, had been accused of being the instigator. Montezuma gave an indignant denial,[18] and Cortés hastened to assure him that he believed the charge to be false, but as commander of a party he had to account for the men to his king, and must ascertain the truth. In this Montezuma said he would aid him; and calling a trusted officer, he gave him a bracelet from his wrist bearing the imperial signet—a precious stone graven with his likeness[19]—bidding him to bring Quauhpopoca and his accomplices, by force, if necessary.[20] Cortés expressed himself pleased, but added that, in order to cover his responsibility as commander, and to convince his men

[16] 'Y otras hijas de señores á algunos de mi compañía.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 89. But the customary mark of favor was to give them from his harem. See *Native Races*, ii.

[17] 'Per non dar disgusto al Re, e per avere occasione di farla Cristiana,' is Clavigero's excuse for the acceptance. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 93. Brasseur de Bourbourg, and some other writers, assume that Cortés declined; but the original authorities all say or intimate that he accepted. Even Cortés himself writes in his letter to the emperor, 'después....de haberme él dado algunas joyas de oro y una hija suya,' etc. *Cartas*, 89. 'Le persuadió,' says Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, 296. Gomara is even more explicit, and Herrera says that Montezuma insisted, 'porque queria tener nietos de hombre tan valeroso.' dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. ii. The affair is perhaps less important in itself than as index to the character of Cortés, who could accept so intimate an offer with one hand while he prepared a blow with the other. It might also be made to indicate that Montezuma could have had no base designs against him when he made the uncalled-for offer of intrusting a daughter (if such she was) to his keeping. Still the imperial character would not have suffered had it been shown that this was but an artifice to lull his intended victim into a false security.

[18] Some authors, like Herrera and Torquemada, say that he denied all knowledge of the occurrence, calling it an invention of enemies.

[19] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 297. 'Q tenia la figura de Vitzilopuchtli,' *Gomara*, 123; and so says Bernal Diaz. Tapia states that Montezuma told Cortés to send two Spaniards with the messengers; but he doubtless declined to risk two lives on such a trip. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 583–4.

[20] 'Ingrato rey!' exclaims Gallo, in commenting upon this surrender of a devoted officer. *Hombres Ilust. Mex.*, i. 318.

that the emperor was indeed as innocent as Cortés believed him to be, it would be advisable for him to come and stay at their quarters till the guilty parties had been punished.[21]

Montezuma was dumfounded at this unhallowed impudence. He, the august sovereign, before whom even princes prostrated themselves, at whose word armies sprang into existence, and at whose name mighty rulers trembled, he to be thus treated by a score of men whom he had received as guests and loaded with presents, and this in his own palace! For a moment he stood mute, but the changing aspect of his countenance revealed the agitation within. At last he exclaimed that he was not the person to be thus treated. He would not go. They could always find him at his palace.

Cortés pleaded that his presence among the soldiers was necessary, not merely as a declaration of his innocence, but to allay the rumors which had reached them that he and his people were plotting for their destruction. Montezuma again made an indignant denial; but added that, even if he consented to go, his people would never allow it. His refusal, insisted the general, would rouse the worst suspicions of his men, and he could not answer for their acts. Mexico might meet the fate of Cholula, and he with it.[22]

Montezuma now began to implore, and offered to surrender his legitimate children as hostages if he were but spared the disgrace of being made a prisoner. This could not be, was the reply. The Spanish quarter was his own palace, and he could readily persuade his subjects that he went there for a short time of his own accord, or at the command of the gods.[23]

[21] Bernal Diaz makes Cortés accuse the emperor of perfidy, and of having instigated the Cholula massacre. *Hist. Verdad.*, 74. But this he would hardly do, since his purpose was clearly to persuade, not to arouse anger.

[22] 'No querria començar guerra, ni destruir aquesta Ciudad.....que si alboroto, ò vozes daua, que luego sereis muerto de aquestos mis Capitanes, que no los traigo para otro efeto,' is Bernal Diaz' blunt version. *Hist. Verdad.*, 74.

[23] 'Auia tenido platica de su idolo Huichilobos....que convenia para su salud, y guardar su vida, estar con nosotros.' *Id.*, 75.

He would be treated with every consideration, and should enjoy his usual comfort, surrounded by favorites and councillors. The plan involved no change beyond that of residence, to a place where he would be under secret surveillance.

Montezuma still objected, and time was passing.[24] The companions of Cortés becoming nervous at this delay, Velazquez de Leon exclaimed in his stentorian voice: "Why so many words, your worship? Let us either carry him off or despatch him. Tell him that if he calls out or creates a disturbance we shall kill him!"[25] Turning in alarm to Marina, Montezuma inquired what was meant. Full of pity for the troubled monarch, she told him that the men were becoming impatient at his delay. She besought him, as he valued his life, to accede to their wishes and go with them. He would be treated with all the honor due to his rank. A glance at the frowning faces of the Spaniards confirmed the mysterious words of the interpreter, and chilled him to the heart. He had heard too many accounts of the resolution and cruelty of these men not to believe them capable of anything. Were he to call for aid they would no doubt kill him and destroy the city; for few as they were they had proved themselves equal to hosts of natives.

The unhappy monarch yielded, since it was so decreed—by the sublime audacity of this score of adventurers. The spirit of Axayacatl had evidently not survived in the son, and the prestige of his early career as military leader had dwindled to a mere shadow in the effeminate lap of court-life.[26] Summoning his attendants, he ordered a litter brought.

[24] 'Estuuieron mas de media hora en estas platicas.' *Id.*, 74. Tapia and others say four hours, which is unlikely.

[25] 'Porque mas vale que desta vez asseguremos nuestras vidas, ò las perdamos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 75.

[26] 'Era, ó muy falto de ánimo, ó pusilánime, ó muy prudente.' *Oviedo*, iii. 289. 'En él se cumplió lo que de él se decia, que todo hombre cruel es cobarde, aunque á la verdad, era ya llegada la voluntad de Dios.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Rel.*, 411.

Everything had been quietly conducted, and since none ventured to question the emperor, his command was silently obeyed; but the mysterious interview and his agitation roused their suspicions, and the rumor spread that something extraordinary was about to happen. Wondering and murmuring crowds had already collected along the route between the two palaces when the emperor appeared. On seeing the sorrowing faces of the favorites who bore him, and observing how closely it was surrounded by the Spanish soldiers who acted as guard of honor, their fears became confirmed. The distance to the quarters was too short, however, and the news had not yet travelled far enough, to allow a serious demonstration.[27] But not long after the plaza in front

[27] Bernal Diaz intimates clearly enough that no demonstration was made till after his arrival. *Hist. Verdad.*, 75. And so does Cortés. 'Llorando lo tomaron en ella [the litter] con mucho silencio, y así nos fuimos hasta el aposento donde estaba, sin haber alboroto en la ciudad, aunque se comenzó á mover. Pero sabido por el dicho Muteczuma, envió a mandar que no lo hubiese; y así, hubo toda quietud.' *Cartas*, 90. Ixtlilxochitl, however, allows Montezuma to stay long enough in his palace, after ordering the litter, to enable the lords and nobles to come and offer their services. A delay like this, which the Spaniards certainly never could have permitted, might have given time for the tumultuous gathering which he describes. *Hist. Chich.*, 297. Prescott, in following this version, makes the emperor so far overstep his usual dignity as to 'call out' to the people to disperse. 'Tambien detuvieron consigo á *Itcuauhtzin*, gobernador del Tlatilulco,' says Sahagun, while the leading nobles 'cuando fue preso Mocthecuzoma le desampararon y se escondieron.' *Hist. Conq.*, 25.

The seizure has, like the equally prominent episodes of the massacre at Cholula, and the scuttling of the fleet, aroused no little comment in justification or condemnation. 'Now that I am old,' says Bernal Diaz, 'I stop to consider the heroic deeds then performed, and I do say that our achievements were not effected by ourselves, but were all brought about by God; for what men have existed in the world who, less than 450 soldiers in number, dared to enter into so strong a city as Mexico, larger than Venice, and so remote from Castile, to seize so great a lord?' *Hist. Verdad.*, 76. 'Never Greek or Roman, nor of other nation, since kings exist, performed a like deed, only Fernando Cortés, to seize Motecçuma, a king most powerful, in his own house, in a place most strong, amid an infinity of people, while possessing but 450 companions.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 124. Commenting on this, Torquemada adds that 'it was indeed a deed for daring never seen, and must be attributed to God rather than to human heart.' i. 458. Solis of course fails not to extol the genius and daring of his hero, whose deed 'appears rather in the light of a fable' than in consonance with simple history. *Hist. Mex.*, i. 448. 'A deed which makes one tremble even to conceive, and much more to carry out. But God had so determined it.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 296. 'History contains nothing parallel to this event, either with respect to the temerity of the attempt, or the success of the execution,' etc. *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, ii. 60. 'An expedient, which none but the most daring spirit, in the most desperate ex-

of it was blocked with an excited multitude, and a number of leading personages and relatives made their way into the presence of their sovereign, asking with tearful eyes and knitted brows how they might serve him. They were ready to lay down their lives to rescue him. He assured them with a forced smile that there was no cause for alarm. Too proud to disclose his pusillanimity, he readily echoed the words of Cortés, that he had come of his own free-will, and at the intimation of the gods, to stay awhile with his guests. He told them to calm the people with this assurance, and to disperse the gathering.

tremity, would have conceived.' *Prescott's Mex.*, ii. 159. 'An unparalleled transaction. There is nothing like it, I believe, in the annals of the world.' *Helps' Cortés*, ii. 351. Clavigero is less carried away by the incident, for he sees therein the hand of God. Nevertheless, he sympathizes with Montezuma. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 95, etc. Pizarro y Orellana finds the deed eclipsed by the similar achievement, with a smaller force, under his namesake Pizarro. *Varones Ilvstres*, 89–90. And later Mexican writers, like Bustamante, see, naturally enough, nothing but what is detestable in the incident, for according to the native records which form their gospel, Montezuma was guiltless of any base intents. Unfortunately for them, these very records paint him a blood-thirsty despot who punishes the slightest offence against himself, even when merely suspected, with the most atrocious cruelty; one who is continually seeking his aggrandizement at the expense of inoffensive, peace-loving tribes, who oppresses not only conquered peoples, but his own subjects, with extortionate taxes and levies to satisfy his inordinate appetite for pomp and for new conquests. These records also admit that he had repeatedly sent sorcerers, if not armies, to entrap and destroy the Spaniards. He who looked calmly on hecatombs of his own subjects, slaughtered before his very eyes, would not hesitate to condemn strangers for plotting against the throne which was dearer to him than life itself. The Spaniards may have anticipated events considerably, but there is no doubt that numerous personages, from Cuitlahuatzin downward, were bitterly opposed to their enforced guests, and they would sooner or later have realized the rumors which the allies began to circulate. Placed as he was, Cortés' duty to himself, to the men intrusted to him, to his king, and to the cause of religion, as then regarded, required him to give heed to such rumors, and, after weighing their probability, to take the precautionary measure of seizing the monarch, since retreat not only appeared fraught with disaster and dishonor, but would be regarded as a neglect of opportunity and of duty. With Cortés, naught but the first steps in assuming the conquest, and in usurping certain credit and means, can be regarded as crimes, and the former of these was forced upon him by circumstances of his age and surroundings. Every project, then, conceived by him for the advancement of his great undertaking must redound to his genius as soldier and leader. Of course, among these projects appear many which did not advance the great object, and which must be condemned. But where do we find greatness wholly free from stain?

CHAPTER XVIII.

DOUBLY REFINED DEALINGS.

1519-1520.

HOLLOW HOMAGE TO THE CAPTIVE KING—MONTEZUMA HAS HIS WIVES AND NOBLES—HE RULES HIS KINGDOM THROUGH THE SPANIARDS—THE PLAYFUL PAGE—LIBERALITY OF THE MONARCH—THE SACRED TREASURES—CORTÉS RESENTS THE INSULTS OF THE GUARD—DIVERSIONS—QUAUHPOPOCA, HIS SON AND OFFICERS, BURNED ALIVE—PLANTATIONS FORMED—VILLA RICA AFFAIRS—VESSELS BUILT—PLEASURE EXCURSIONS.

A POMPOUS reception was accorded the imperial prisoner. With no small ceremony was he conducted to apartments adjoining those of Cortés, as selected by himself, and there surrounded by all accustomed comforts and every show of greatness. At hand were his favorite wives, his most devoted servants; he held court daily, received ambassadors, issued orders, and with the aid of his learned jurists administered justice. To outward appearance the monarch was as absolute as ever; yet Montezuma knew that his glory had departed, that the continued forms of greatness were hollow, and that his power was but the power of a puppet. He was wise enough to know that a strong man is not to be trusted who is officiously kind to a weak one.

Henceforth the power of the nation, in the hands of these insidious strangers, was to be directed against himself. It was a cunning policy, craftily conceived and deftly executed.

Cortés took care that everything round the prisoner should move smoothly, and that his presence in the Spanish quarters should appear to the natives a

voluntary rather than an enforced visit. To his more intimate lords and subjects, however, who knew better his condition, and who sometimes urged him to return to his palace, the poor captive would say, "Ah, no! it is the will of the gods that I remain with these men and be guided by their counsel." But on no account must the imperial influence be allowed for the present to decline before the people. The deception must be continued, and the dignity of the sovereign upheld by a deferential attention as profound as that which was shown before his imprisonment. Daily, after prayers, the Spanish general came to pay his respects, attended by several of his captains, more frequently Alvarado, Velazquez, and Ordaz, and to receive the imperial commands with respect to his comforts, pleasures, and duties. On these occasions, and indeed whenever he appeared before the emperor, says Bernal Diaz, Cortés set the example to his followers by doffing his hat and bowing low, and never did he presume to sit in the royal presence until requested to do so.

Yet a most unpleasant reminder to the monarch of his circumscribed authority was the ever present guard in and around his apartments.[1] This was under the command of Juan Velazquez de Leon, who enforced the strictest watch, particularly when it became known that Montezuma's courtiers lost no opportunity to urge escape, and that he lent them a not unwilling ear, despite the professed desire to remain with the Spaniards. Among the several schemes with this object are mentioned bored walls, tunnels beneath the palace, and an attempt by the emperor himself to leap from the summit of the building into a safe receptacle prepared for him.[2]

[1] 'Le dió en guarda á un capitan, é de noche é de dia siempre estaban españoles en su presencia.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 580. This captain appears to have been Juan Velazquez, whose place was taken by Olid, when required. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 77, 86.

[2] 'Se quiso echar de vna açutea de diez estados en alto, para que los suyos le recibiessen, sino le detuuiera vn Castellano.... Denoche y de dia procuraua de sacarle, oradando a cada passo las paredes, y echando fuego por las azuteas.'

Espionage was also established on the emperor in his intercourse with courtiers, by placing in the apartment the page Orteguilla, who had acquired a fair knowledge of Aztec. Of prepossessing appearance, agreeable and sprightly in manner, the youth became a favorite with the captive king. Among other things, the little spy gave the monarch an insight into Spanish customs and proceedings at home and abroad, into the power and grandeur of the Castilian king, and into the mysteries of the faith. Being constantly together they grew familiar, Montezuma delighting to play pranks on the boy, throwing aloft his hat, and laughing at his efforts to regain it. These tricks were always followed by a liberal reward.[3]

Montezuma was indeed most liberal with all who came in contact with him, as became the character of a great and rich prince. Not only jewels, robes, and curiosities, but male and female slaves, were freely dispensed, partly no doubt with a view to secure good treatment from the guard. A considerate thoughtfulness and gentle manner added to his popularity, and "whenever he ordered," says the old soldier, "we flew to obey." The inconsiderate pride and selfishness of the independent monarch seems to have disappeared in the prisoner, yet like the captive hawk he was submissive only to his masters. Orteguilla kept him informed of the rank and character of the men, and became the recognized medium for his favors. He represented, for instance, that Bernal Diaz longed to be the master of a pretty maiden, and Montezuma, having noticed the exceeding deference of the soldier, called him, saying that he would bestow on him a

The result was an increase of the guard, Alvarez Chico being placed with 60 men to watch the rear of the quarters, and Andrés de Monjarraz the front, with the same number, each watch consisting of twenty men. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. iii. Bernal Diaz intimates that the guarding of Montezuma proved a severe strain on the soldiers; but, situated as they were, vigilance was ever required, and still greater must have been the danger had he not been in their power.

[3] Herrera calls him Peña, which may have been one of his names. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. v. Bernal Diaz assumes that Montezuma asked Cortés to give him the page, after the execution of Quauhpopoca. *Hist. Verdad.*, 75.

fine young woman, whom he must treat well, for she was the daughter of a chief. He also gave him three quoits of gold and two loads of robes.[4] The gift came from the emperor's harem, from which he frequently drew to please those whom he delighted to honor. The vacancies thus created were filled from noble families, who like those of more advanced countries regarded it an honor for a daughter to occupy the position of royal concubine. After his imprisonment Montezuma seems to have disposed of his wives quite rapidly, a number of them falling to leading Spaniards.[5] To Cortés he offered for the second time a daughter, prettier than the one given him on the day of his capture, but in this instance the gift was declined in favor of Olid, who accepted her, together with any number of presents, and was henceforth treated as a relative by her imperial father. Both she and the sister with Cortés were baptized.[6]

The soldiers generally were by no means forgotten in the distribution of women and other gifts, and in course of time the quarter became so crowded with male and female attendants that Cortés found it nec-

[4] The bride was named Francisca. *Hist. Verdad.*, 77. As an instance of Montezuma's eagerness to gratify the Spaniards, and at the same time to exhibit his own power, it is related that one day a hawk pursued a pigeon to the very cot in the palace, amid the plaudits of the soldiers. Among them was Francisco the dandy, former maestresala to the admiral of Castile, who loudly expressed the wish to obtain possession of the hawk and to tame him for falconry. Montezuma heard him, and gave his hunters orders to catch it, which they did. *Id.*; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 125.

[5] Duran states that the soldiers discovered a house filled with women, supposed to be wives of Montezuma, and hidden to be out of the reach of the white men. He assumes that gratitude would have made the Spaniards respect them; or, if the women were nuns, that respect for virtue must have obtained.

[6] Cortés' protégée being named Ana. Quite a number of the general's followers declare in their testimony against him, in 1528, that he assumed the intimate protectorship of two or even three of Montezuma's daughters, the second being called Inés, or by others Isabel, the wife of Grado, and afterward of Gallego. 'Tres fijas de Montezuma e que las dos dellas an parido del e la otra murio preñada del quando se perdio esta cibdad.' *Tirado*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 39, 241, 244; i. 63, 99, 221, 263. Intrigues are mentioned with other Indian princesses. Vetancurt assumes that two noble maidens were given, one of whom Olid received. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 133; *Torquemada*, i. 462. Bernal Diaz supposes that this is the first daughter offered by Montezuma, and he believes evidently that Cortés accepts her, to judge by a later reference. *Hist. Verdad.*, 85, 102.

essary to issue an order reducing the number to one female servant for each man. Informed of this, Montezuma instructed his mayordomo to provide good accommodation and sustenance for them elsewhere.[7]

Encouraged by this generosity, Cortés approached him one day regarding the secreted treasures, which had been so long respected, but which he desired to have in his possession. He regretted to say that his graceless soldiers had come upon the treasure-chamber, and regardless of his instructions had abstracted a number of jewels. The emperor hastened to reassure him; perhaps he understood the hint. The contents of the chamber belonged to the gods, he said; but the gold and silver might freely be taken so long as the rest was left.[8] He would give more, if required. Cortés did not scruple to avail himself of the permission, by appropriating for himself and his intimate friends a large share. So charged the discontented soldiers, but the main portion appears to have been reserved for the general distribution not long after. Although the most valuable part of this collection had been freely surrendered, the soldiers hesitated not to seize also upon other effects, such as liquid amber and several hundred loads of cotton fabrics. Cortés wished to restore them, but Montezuma declined, saying that he never received anything back.[9] On another occasion the Spaniards discovered the imperial warehouse for cacao beans, the most common currency of the country, and for some time

[7] Herrera states that Cortés' order was prompted by a consideration for the heavy expense to Montezuma. The latter remonstrated at this economical fit, and commanded that double rations should be provided for the exiled. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. iv.

[8] *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 580. 'Purchè non tocchino disse il Re, le immagini degli Dei, nè ciò che è destinato al loro culto, prendano quanto vogliono,' is Clavigero's free interpretation of Ojeda's version. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 97; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 125.

[9] 'Lo q̄ vna vez daua no lo auia de tornar a recibir.' 'Las caxas donde la ropa estaua, eran tan grandes que llegauan a las vigas de los aposentos, y tan anchas, q̄ despues de vacias, se alojauā en cada vna dos Castellanos. Sacaron al patio mas de mil cargas de ropa.' *Herrera*, ii. viii. iv.

made nightly raids on it with their Indian carriers. Cortés proposed to mete out punishment for this, but finding that Alvarado was a leading culprit, he dropped the matter with a private reprimand.[10]

Montezuma's good nature was imposed upon in more ways than one, and with all his kindness he could not command consideration from the rougher soldiers and sailors. One of the guard, after being requested, with a gift, to discontinue certain unseemly acts, repeated the offence in the hope of receiving another bribe; but Montezuma now reported him to his captain, and he was removed. Cortés, who was determined to enforce respect for the captive, inflicted severe punishment on offenders in this respect. Tired of patrol duty, Pedro Lopez said one day in the hearing of Montezuma, "Confusion on this dog! By guarding him constantly, I am sick at stomach unto death!" Told of this, the general had the man lashed in the soldiers' hall, and this regardless of his standing as a good soldier and an archer of great skill. Another who showed insolence to the emperor was ordered hanged, but escaped with a lashing at the intercession of the captains and of Montezuma.[11] This strictness insured respect not only for the emperor, but for Cortés, so that the quarter became most exemplary for its good order.[12]

The Spaniards united heartily with the native courtiers to entertain the captive and to remove so far as possible whatever might remind him of his lost liberty. He found great delight in their military exercises, which recalled the faded prowess of his youth

[10] 'Casa de Cacao, de Motecuhçuma, adonde avia mas de quarenta mil Cargas, que era Gran Riqueça, porque solia valer cada Carga quarenta Castellanos.' Alvarado alone emptied six jars of 600 loads. *Torquemada*, i. 472.

[11] The man had insisted that Montezuma should have a search made for two of his missing female attendants. The emperor did not wish Spaniards punished for pilfering, as he told Cortés, only for offering insult and violence. In such cases he would have his own courtiers lashed. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. v.

[12] 'Tinie el marques tan recogida su gente, que ninguno salie un tiro de arcabuz del aposento sin licencia, é asimismo la gente tan en paz, que se averiguó nunca reñir uno con otro.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 586.

and exhibited the tactics which contributed so powerfully to Spanish supremacy over native arms. He also enjoyed sports, and among games the *totoloque* was his favorite. This consisted in throwing small golden balls at pieces of the same metal set up as targets at a certain distance. Five points won the stakes. Cortés often played it with him, and Alvarado, who kept count for the general, usually marked more points than he was entitled to. Montezuma playfully protested against such marking, although what Cortés won he gave to the Mexican attendants, while Montezuma presented his gains to the Spanish guard.[13]

Montezuma was at times allowed to visit his palaces, and to enjoy the hunting-field, but these trips were of rare occurrence, owing to the danger of popular demonstrations.[14] On such occasions, says Cortés, the escort of prominent Mexicans numbered at least three thousand. The first time Montezuma requested this privilege it was for the purpose of offering prayer and sacrifice at the great temple, as required by his gods, he said; and although Cortés did not like the arrangement, his prisoner convinced him that this public demonstration was necessary, in order to show the people that he was not kept in compulsory confinement, but remained with the

[13] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 77. 'Un giuoco, che gli Spagnuoli chiamavano il *bodoque*.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 97. Bodoque signifies balls in this connection. When Alvarado lost, he with great show of liberality paid in chalchiuites, stones which were highly treasured by the natives, but worth nothing to the Spaniards. Montezuma paid in quoits, worth at least 50 ducats. One day he lost 40 or 50 quoits, and with pleasure, since it gave him the opportunity to be generous. B. V. de Tapia testifies that Alvarado used to cheat in playing cards with him and others. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 51–2. Another way of gratifying this bent was to accept trifles from the Spaniards and liberally compensate them. Alonso de Ojeda, for instance, had a silk-embroidered satchel with many pockets, for which Montezuma gave him two pretty slaves, beside a number of robes and jewels. Ojeda wrote a memoir on the conquest, of which Herrera makes good use. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. v.

[14] 'Fué muchas veces á holgar con cinco ó seis españoles á una y dos leguas fuera de la ciudad.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 92. Both the times and the number of the Spaniards are doubtful, however. 'Quando salia a caçar....Lleuaua ocho o diez Españoles en guarda de la persona, y tres mil Mexicanos entre señores, caualleros, criados, y caçadores.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 124; *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 297.

strangers at the order of the deity he was about to consult. Four captains were appointed to escort him with a guard of one hundred and fifty soldiers, and he was warned that any attack upon them, or any attempt at rescue, would result in his own death. He was carried in a rich litter, attended by a brilliant procession of nobles, and preceded, according to custom, by a dignitary bearing the triple wand which indicated that the emperor was approaching and demanded loyal veneration.

On reaching the temple the imperial worshipper stepped forth, leaning on the arms of his relatives, and was assisted to the summit. Human sacrifices had been forbidden, and Father Olmedo came to watch over the observance of the order; but it appears that four captives had been offered during the night, and despite the remonstrances of the friar the attendant rites went on.[15] The captains thought it prudent not to exceed a protest, and congratulated themselves when the ceremony was ended and the emperor safely back in their quarters.

A fortnight after the seizure of Montezuma, Quauhpopoca arrived in the capital, accompanied by his son and fifteen of his staff. He made his entry with the pomp befitting a powerful governor and a relative of the sovereign, and hastened to the palace. As was customary with subjects who were about to appear in the imperial presence, the rich robes were covered with a coarse cloak, in token of humiliation. His master received him with a stern countenance, and signified his displeasure at the proceedings which under pretext of his authority had caused loss of Spanish life. No attention was paid to explanations, and he was surrendered with his followers to the Spaniards, to be dealt with as they thought fit.[16] Cortés held a trial:

[15] Bernal Diaz intimates that more sacrifices were made in their presence. 'Y no podiamos en aquella sazon hazer otra cosa sino dissimular con èl.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 78.

[16] Bernal Diaz admits that he knows not what occurred between governor

he was a shrewd inquisitor, and his sentence was sure to accord with his own interests. "Are you a vassal of Montezuma?" he asked of Quauhpopoca. "What else could I be?" was the reply. "Did you attack Spaniards by his order?" The prisoner was in a most serious dilemma. At first he refused to implicate the emperor, but finding that his fate was sealed he confessed having acted under his orders.[17] This could not avail him, however, for in obeying his master he had injured the subjects and outraged the laws and majesty of the Spanish king, who was sovereign of all, and this demanded punishment.

The fact was that Spanish prestige, on which so much depended, had suffered through the machinations of the governor, and it was considered necessary to restore it. Therefore it was decreed that Quauhpopoca, with his son and officers, should be burned alive in the plaza, before the palace. Cortés availed himself of the opportunity to seize all the arms in the arsenals,[18] and therewith build a pyre worthy such noted offenders.

When all was ready Cortés presented himself before the emperor, and announced with a severe tone that the evidence of the condemned showed their acts to have been authorized by him, and as a life called for a life, according to Spanish laws, he deserved death. Cortés, however, loved him—for himself, his generosity, and services he loved him too dearly to let justice have

and monarch, but Herrera claims to be better informed. Barefooted, and with eyes upon the floor, Quauhpopoca approached the throne and said: 'Most great and most powerful lord, thy slave Quauhpopoca has come at thy bidding, and awaits thy orders.' He had done wrong, was the reply, to kill the Spaniards, and then declare that he had orders so to do. For this he should suffer as a traitor to his sovereign and to the strangers. He was not allowed to make any explanations. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. ix. It is not unlikely that Montezuma commanded him not to reveal anything that might implicate his master, hoping that Cortés would out of regard for his generous host inflict a comparatively light punishment.

[17] 'Examinaron los segunda vez, con mas rigor, y amenazas de tormento, y sin discrepar todos confessaron,' says Herrera, loc. cit.

[18] 'En vna de las casas reales dicha Tlacochalco.' *Herrera*, loc. cit. 'É serien mas que quinientas carretadas.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 584.

its course, and would take on himself to appease its demands by a nominal punishment.[19] He then turned on his heel, while one of the soldiers clasped a pair of shackles round the prisoner's ankles, and the mighty emperor of the Aztecs was ironed. For a moment Montezuma stood rooted to the floor. Then he groaned with anguish at this the greatest indignity ever offered his sacred person. He trembled with apprehension at what might yet follow. His courtiers were no less afflicted, and with tears in their eyes they knelt to lessen the weight at least of the shameful bonds, and with bandages to relieve the imperial limbs.[20]

Meanwhile the troops formed an imposing cordon in front of the palace to prevent a rescue of the condemned as they were led out and tied to the stake. Writhing with pain, yet mute as became brave warriors, with the ascending smoke from Aztec shields and darts they rendered up their anguished souls. It was rare strategy thus with the offenders to destroy the means of offence. Supposing that the execution was by imperial sanction, the populace tacitly assented, gazing on the horrid spectacle with pallid faces and bated breath. Though accustomed to scenes like this in connection with their religious festivals, it appeared terrible when perpetrated by foreigners, to the dreary sound of muffled drums.[21]

[19] 'Me has negado no auer mãdado a Couatlpopocà q̄ matasse a mis compañeros, no lo has hecho como tan gran señor que eres, ... porque no quedes sin algun castigo, y tu y los tuyos sepays quanto vale el tratar verdad, te mãdare echar prisiones.' Herrera implies with this that Cortés laid more weight on the disregard for truth than on the authorization of the outrage. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. ix. 'Que ya que aquella culpa tuuiesse, que antes la pagaria el Cortès por su persona, que verse la passar al Monteçuma.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 75.

[20] 'Esto hizo por ocupar le el pensamiento en sus duelos, y dexasse los ajenos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 129. 'Todo à fin de espantarle mas.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 298.

[21] Solis seems to say that the bodies were burned after execution, *Hist. Mex.*, i. 461–2, but Cortés and others are frank enough about the actual burning, which was not regarded in that cruel age with the same aversion as by us. Instances are to be found in the *Native Races*, ii.–iii., where this ordeal was undergone by criminals as well as temple victims among the Aztecs. Bernal Diaz gives the names of two of Quauhpopoca's companions in misfortune, Quiabuitle and Coatl. *Hist. Verdad.*, 75. Prescott, *Mex.*, ii. 173, states that the execution took place in the court-yard; but this is probably a misprint, to judge by his own text.

All being over, Cortés reëntered the apartments of Montezuma with his captains, and kneeling down he himself took off the fetters, declaring that he felt deeply grieved at the infliction, for he loved him as a brother. The monarch became almost hysteric with joy at this deliverance, and with falling tears he expressed himself in abject terms of gratitude, like the dog licking the hand which has chastised it. Every fresh incident reveals some new trait in the character of this unhappy man which calls for pity or contempt. "Yet further," continued Cortés, "to show my deep regard and confidence, you are now at full liberty to return to your own house." But Montezuma understood well enough that these were but words, an empty offer; indeed he had been informed by the well prompted page that, although the general might wish to release him, the Spanish captains would never permit it.[22] He accordingly expressed his thanks, and said that he preferred to remain with him, giving as a reason that, were he free, the importunities of his relatives and nobles to attack the Spaniards might prevail over his friendship for them and their king, and this would entail not only loss of life on both sides, but the ruin of the city. Thereupon Cortés embraced him with every appearance of deep devotion, and said, "Next to my king you shall be king; vast as are your possessions, I will make you ruler of more and greater provinces.[23]

We can imagine the words by which the Spaniards might justify to themselves the death of Quauhpo-

[22] 'Á lo que entendimos, é lo mas cierto, Cortés auia dicho á Aguilar la lengua, que le dixesse de secreto, que aunque Malinche le mandasse salir de la prision, que los Capitanes nuestros, è soldados no querriamos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 75.

[23] 'Fué tanto el buen tratamiento que yo le hice, y el contentamiento que de mí tenia, que algunas veces y muchas le acometi con su libertad, rogándole que fuese á su casa, y me dijo todas las veces que se lo decia, que él estaba bien allí,' etc. *Cortés, Cartas*, 91. 'No osaua, de miedo que los suyos no le matassen.... por auer se dexado prender,' is one of the suppositions of Gomara, who calls him a man of little heart. *Hist. Mex.*, 129–30. Peter Martyr appears to be moved rather by pity for him. dec. v. cap. iii. 'Non gli conveniva ritornare al suo palagio, mentre fossero nella Corte gli Spagnuoli.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 102.

poca, but we cannot understand the object in degrading the emperor in the eyes of his subjects—an act which they had hitherto been so careful to avoid—unless it was to lift themselves in their own esteem and that of the natives, far above the highest American princes and powers, and to impress the sacredness of their persons on the minds of the Indians. Further than this, they seemed to think some punishment of the emperor necessary, either because he had authorized the Nautla outrage, or because he had countenanced it by neglecting to reprimand the perpetrators. At all events, the effect was salutary, so much so that Spaniards were to be seen wandering singly about the country without fear of molestation.[24]

This effect, which extended also to adjoining independent provinces, enabled Cortés to carry out the long-cherished project of gathering information on the condition of the country, particularly its political feeling and its mineral resources. Montezuma readily gave the aid requested by providing maps and officials to guide the exploring parties. The first investigations were directed to the upper parts of Rio Zacatula and to Miztecapan, some eighty leagues south of the capital, and to the northern branches of the Papaloapan, whence most of the gold was said to come.[25] The

[24] 'Como este castigo se supo en todas las Prouincias de la Nueua-España, temieron, y los pueblos de la costa, adonde mataron nuestros soldados, bolvieron á servir.' Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 75–6, comments upon the daring of the Spaniards in carrying out these and similar high-handed acts. For a short time after this, says Herrera, the soldiers were ordered to sleep on their arms, in case of any demonstration. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. ix. Clavigero regards the burning as unjustifiable, since the emperor was regarded as having authorized it. If he was not guilty, the Spaniards were ungrateful to treat him as they did. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 101. Robertson finds some excuse for Quauhpopoca's punishment, but calls the humiliation of Montezuma a wanton display of power. *Hist. Am.*, ii. 63, 453–4. Prescott, on the other hand, regards the humiliation as politic, on the ground that by rendering the monarch contemptible in the eyes of his subjects, he was obliged to rely more on the Spaniards. *Mex.*, ii. 177. But this would hardly have been necessary since he was in their power, and considering that the object of keeping him so was to control the country, it would have been better not to degrade him.

[25] 'Donde mas oro se solia traer, que era de vna Provincia que se dize, Zacatula....de otra Provincia, que se dize Gustepeque, cerca de donde desembarcamos....è que cerca de aquella Provincia ay otras buenas minas, en

Zacatula party was headed by Pilot Gonzalo de Umbría, in compensation perhaps for the loss of his feet at Villa Rica. He returned before the other parties, within the forty days allowed for the trip, and brought about three hundred pesos' worth of gold dust, washed out in dishes from three rivers, by order of the cacique. Two chiefs accompanied him, bearing gold presents of nearly the same value as the dust, and offering allegiance to the Spaniards in the name of their caciques.[26] Small as was the treasure, it afforded a substantial proof of the glowing report of Umbría. He had passed through three beautiful and fertile provinces, filled with towns containing buildings equal to any in Spain. He described a fortress finer in appearance and stronger than the castle of Búrgos, and the people of Tamazulapan as most superior in dress and intelligence.[27]

Another party, under one Pizarro,[28] proceeded southeastward, through Tochtepec and Malinaltepec, both of which yielded them gold dust to the value of about three hundred pesos. Descending along the northern fork of Papaloapan, they reached the country of the Chinantecs, hostile to the Aztecs who had taken some of the border towns. Their independence had not otherwise been affected, owing to their mountain fastnesses, their warlike spirit, and their formidable weapons, which were pikes about twenty feet in length.

parte que no son sujetos, que se dizen, los Chinatecas, y Capotecas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 81. Montezuma detailed two persons for each of four provinces where gold was to be had, and Cortés gave two Spaniards for each couple. The provinces named were Cuzula, Tamazulapa, Malinaltepeque, Tenis. *Cortés, Cartas*, 92-3. Of the eight Indians, four were miners or goldsmiths, and the others guides. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 130. Chimalpain names the provinces: Tamazólan, in upper Miztecapan, Malinaltepec and Tenich, both on the same river, and Tututepec, twelve leagues farther, in the Xicayan country. *Hist. Conq.*, i. 254-5.

[26] 'Con tal, que los de Culùa no entrassen en su tierra.' They were reassured and dismissed with presents. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. i.

[27] 'Cortés se holgô tanto con el oro como si fueran treinta mil pesos, en saber cierto que avia buenas minas.' Bernal Diaz intimates beside that Umbría and his two companions had provided themselves with plenty of gold. *Hist. Verdad.*, 81-2.

[28] A young man of 25 years, whom Cortés treated as a relative. With him went four Spaniards who understood mining, and four chiefs. *Id.*

They invited the Spaniards to enter, but would not allow the Mexican escort to cross the boundary. The guides warned Pizarro not to trust himself to what they termed a treacherous people, but after a brief hesitation he advanced and received a hearty reception. Aid was given to search for gold, of which seven hundred pesos' worth was obtained from several

rivers, most of it in rough grains.[29] On his return he brought two chiefs, who bore presents of gold from their chief cacique Cohuatlicamac, and tendered his allegiance on condition that the Aztecs should not be allowed to enter the country. Finding the inhabitants so friendly and the province rich in resources, Pizarro left four of his small party behind to establish cacao and maize plantations and to search for more gold.[30]

[29] 'En granos crespillos, porque dixeron los mineros, que aquello era de mas duraderas minas como de nacimiento.' *Id.*, 82.

[30] Bernal Diaz names them, 'Barriētos, y Heredia el viejo, y Escalona el

The project appears to have found favor with Cortés, who besought Montezuma to form plantations for the king also in his adjoining province of Malinaltepec. This was at once attended to, and within two months four substantial houses and a vast reservoir had been constructed, and a large tract of land brought under cultivation, the improvements being valued at twenty thousand pesos de oro.[31]

Another important object was to find a better harbor than Villa Rica, and the emperor being consulted, he at once ordered a map to be made, which showed very accurately not only the rivers and inlets already known to the Spaniards, between Pánuco and Tabasco, but the yet unknown Rio Goazacoalco, beyond the Mexican border. This being said to have a large and deep entrance, Cortés availed himself of Ordaz' offer to examine it. Ten men, chiefly sailors and pilots, and some guides, accompanied him, and authority was given to take escorts from the frontier garrisons. He proceeded to Chalchiuhcuecan or San Juan de Ulua, and thence followed the coast examining the inlets.

On reaching the frontier complaints became numerous against the native garrisons by reason of raids and outrages, and supported by the chiefs who attended him he reprimanded the commanders, threatening them with the fate of Quauhpopoca unless they restrained the troops. They used to extend their raids into the Goazacoalco province, but were at present somewhat

moça, y Cervantes el chocarrero,' and says that Cortés, displeased at soldiers being left to raise fowl and cacao, sent Alonso Luis to recall them. *Hist. Verdad.*, 82; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. i. He is evidently mistaken, as shown by his own later text, for Cortés himself states that he sought to form plantations in that direction. The recall was made later and for a different reason.

[31] 'Estaban sembradas sesenta hanegas de maíz y diez de frijoles, y dos mil piés de cacap [cacao]....hicieron un estanque de agua, y en él pusieron quinientos patos.. .y pusieron hasta mil y quinientas gallinas.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 94; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. iii. Oviedo writes that farms were established for the king in two or three provinces, one in Chimanta [Chimantla]. The two Spaniards left in the latter were saved, but elsewhere, subject to the Aztecs, they were killed during the uprising originated by Alvarado. iii. 376. Tapia refers to an expedition at this time against a revolted province, 80 leagues off. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 584.

guarded, owing to a repulse wherein a number of comrades had perished.[32]

Ordaz' proceedings served him well, for Tuchintlec, the cacique of this province, sent a deputation of leading men to extend a welcome, and furnished canoes and men to aid in sounding the river. The bar was found to be at least two fathoms and a half deep at low water, and above this, for twelve leagues, the soundings showed fully five fathoms, with a prospect of an equal depth for some distance, whereupon the pilots expressed the opinion that the channel might be a strait leading to the southern sea.[33] Ordaz received not only presents of gold and pretty women for himself, but brought with him messengers bearing jewels, tiger-skins, feathers, and precious stones for Cortés, together with an offer of allegiance and tribute similar to those already tendered by the neighbors of Tabasco. His report, which extolled the agricultural resources as well as the port, induced the general to send with the returning messengers another party to examine these features more thoroughly and to test the disposition of the inhabitants. They again sounded the river, selected a town site, and reported in favor of a settlement. The cacique also expressed himself eager to receive settlers, and offered to begin at once the construction of houses. This decided Cortés to establish a colony on the river, and in April Juan Velazquez and Rodrigo Rangel set out with one hundred and fifty men to carry out the project. This, however, was not destined to be so speedily accomplished.[34]

Meanwhile Villa Rica had been a source of no small anxiety to Cortés. He had appointed Alonso de Grado

[32] 'Por aquella causa llaman oy en dia, donde aquella guerra passò, Cuilonemiqui.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 82.

[33] *Herrera*, loc. cit. 'Creyan lo que desseauan,' remarks Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 131.

[34] *Cortés, Cartas*, 95, 116; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 131–2. Bernal Diaz throws boubt on the expedition of Velazquez, but is evidently forgetful. *Hist. Verdad.*, 81–2. 'El señor de la provincia.... luego hiço seys [casas] en el assiento é parte que para el pueblo se señaló.' *Oviedo*, iii. 293. Peter Martyr calls these buildings 'Tributaries' houses.' dec. v. cap. iii.; *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 6, 49.

to fill the vacant place of Escalante, as commander of the fortress, and as his lieutenant in the district. Grado was a man of agreeable presence and conversation, and with some fame among his comrades as a writer and musician, but more of a braggart than a soldier, with decided sympathies in favor of Velazquez. Indeed, Bernal Diaz charges him with having been the ringleader of the mutinous demonstration at Tlascala. Cortés was well acquainted with the character of the man; but his glib tongue had evidently overcome the prudence of the general, or else he preferred a less bold spirit than Escalante's at this post. "Now, Señor Grado," said he in handing him his commission, "here is the fulfilment of your long felt desire of going to Villa Rica. Take care of the fort, treat the Indians well, and do not undertake any expeditions like that of Escalante, or you may meet his fate." "In saying this," adds Bernal Diaz, "he gave us soldiers a wink, which we readily enjoyed, knowing well enough that Grado would not venture to do so, even under penalty of disgrace." The office of alguacil mayor, held by the former commander, was not included in the present commission, but was given to Sandoval, and when Grado remonstrated he was promised compensation in due time.

On reaching Villa Rica the evil nature of the man came to the front. He assumed pompous demeanor, and expected the settlers to serve him as a great lord, while the Totonacs were pressed for gold and female slaves. The fort and the duties connected with it were neglected, and the commander spent his time in gormandizing and gambling, not to mention the secret efforts to undermine his general's influence and to gain adherents for Velazquez. This soon reached the ears of Cortés, who felt not a little annoyed at having trusted such a fellow. He recognized the necessity of intrusting this district to one thoroughly devoted to himself, since a fleet from Cuba might at any moment arrive and create mischief. Therefore he sent Sandoval,

who was brave and prudent, as well as loyal, and with him Pedro de Ircio, a former equerry, of insinuating manners and gossiping tongue, whom Sandoval elevated to a commanding position.[35]

Grado was immediately sent up to Mexico under a native guard, and when he arrived, with hands tied and a noose round his neck, the soldiers derided him, while Cortés felt half inclined to hang the fellow. After a few days' exposure in the stocks he was released, and soon his smooth persuasion paved once more a way to the favor of his general, with whom he became so reconciled as to obtain the office of contador not long afterward.

Among the instructions to Sandoval was one to send to Mexico two shipwrights with ship-building implements, also chains, iron, sails, rope, compass, and everything needful to fit out four vessels which had been placed on the stocks shortly after the seizure of the emperor.[36] The object was to afford a means for the ready movement of troops and for escape in case of an uprising, when the bridges would doubtless be raised. In asking Montezuma for aid to fell and prepare timber, it was pretended that it was for pleasure-boats wherewith to entertain him. Under the able direction of Martin Lopez aided by Alonso Nuñez, the master carpenters, they were completed within a few weeks, and provided with four guns and tiers of oars, affording transport for three hundred men.

[35] He had served as equerry in the noble houses of the Conde de Ureña and Pedro Giron, of whose affairs he was always prating. His propensity for tale-telling lost him many friends, but he managed to keep intimate with Sandoval, whose favors he afterward repaid with ingratitude. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 76, 246. Gomara insists on naming him as the comandante, but this dignity he attained only after Sandoval and Rangel had held it. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 256; *Torquemada*, i. 456.

[36] 'Luego que entré en la dicha ciudad di mucha priesa á facer cuatro bergantines.... tales que podian echar trecientos hombres en la tierra y llevar los caballos.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 103; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. iv. 'Quatro fustas.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 146. 'Dos vergantines.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 76. The cedars of Tacuba, numerous enough at this period, yielded much of the timber, and the slopes of Iztaccihuatl and Telapon the harder portion for masts, keels, etc. *Mora*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, ix. 301.

A hunting-trip to one of the imperial reserves across the lake was at once arranged.[37] The largest vessel had been provided with awnings and other comforts for the reception of Montezuma, his suite, and a strong guard, while other notables were accommodated in the other craft. A volley from the guns announced their arrival, and did more probably to inspire respect than even the presence of majesty. The vessels were accompanied by a fleet of canoes, some holding forty or more courtiers, hunters, or attendants. All were curious to see how the winged water-houses would behave, for their immense size was supposed to render them slow and clumsy. A fair breeze was blowing, however, and as the large sails unfurled, the vessels bounded forward with a speed that in a few moments left the occupants of the canoes far behind. Montezuma was delighted, and the trip was repeated. Hunting parties were likewise formed; for the royal captive enjoyed the chase and used the blow-pipe with great skill.[38]

[37] 'En la laguna á vn peñol, que estaua acotado, q̄ no ossauan entrar en èl á montear, por muy principales que fuessen, so pena de muerte.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 78.

[38] *Native Races*, ii. 411. 'Quádo yua a caça de monteria, le lleuauan en ombros, con las guardas de Castellanos, y tres mil Indios Tlascaltecas.... Acompañauanle los señores sus vassallos.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. iv.

CHAPTER XIX.

POLITICS AND RELIGION.

1520.

GROWING DISCONTENT AMONG THE MEXICANS—CACAMA'S CONSPIRACY—HE OPENLY DEFIES BOTH MONTEZUMA AND CORTÉS—THE COUNCIL OF TEPETZINCO—SEIZURE OF CACAMA—THE TEZCUCAN RULER DEPOSED—CUICUITZCATL ELEVATED—MONTEZUMA AND HIS PEOPLE SWEAR FEALTY TO THE SPANISH KING—GATHERING IN THE TRIBUTE—DIVISION OF SPOILS—THE SPANIARDS QUARREL OVER THEIR GOLD—UNCONTROLLABLE RELIGIOUS ZEAL—TAKING OF THE TEMPLE—WRATH OF THE MEXICANS.

WITH their hand so securely on the spring that moved a mighty empire, there is little wonder that these Spanish adventurers became somewhat insolent toward the people they so injured. The Mexicans were not slow to mark this, and there were those among them, and others beside them, who began to think of taking matters into their own hands, of destroying the invaders and releasing the emperor.

Montezuma's occasional appearance in public, and the assertion that he remained with the Spaniards of his free-will, and because the gods desired it, had for a time satisfied the nobles; but the hard irons on his limbs and the cruel burning of patriotic men had opened their eyes somewhat to the true state of affairs. No one knew when his turn might come. Life was insecure enough subject to the caprice of their own sovereign, but the dark uncertain ways of these emissaries of evil were past finding out. These things were thought of and talked of in high places. Race aversions and the political systems of the tripartite alliance caused more than one party to be formed,

each with aspirations that could not be entertained by the others. The most prominent leader at this time was Cacama, who had at first favored the strangers in their character as envoys. And now he began the endeavor to direct the movement of the Aztec nobility, but jealousy of Acolhua influence rose uppermost, and his efforts tended only to create a reaction in favor of abiding by the will of the emperor.[1]

Although there were enough of sympathizers in Mexico for his purpose, Cacama found that he must rely almost wholly on the northern provinces, and in connection with Cuitlahuatzin, Totoquihuatzin II. of Tlacopan, his own brothers, and others, he organized a conspiracy which had for its aim the expulsion of the Spaniards and the release of his uncle. Beneath this was harbored a design upon the Aztec throne, which would probably become vacant; and even if Cacama was not sure of gaining this for himself, he had at least the expectation of assuming the leadership of the Anáhuac confederacy.[2] He presented to the council in the most dismal aspect the purposes of the Spaniards, who evidently sought to become absolute masters and reduce them all to slavery. It was time to rise for religion and liberty. Their honor and welfare demanded it, and this before the Spaniards rendered themselves too powerful by reinforcements and alliances. With heedless confidence he vaunted that Mexico should be his within a few hours after setting out against her, for there were many of her citizens ready to aid in such a work. The Spaniards were overrated, and could effect little, surrounded as they were on all sides, and without other supplies than those provided by the Mexicans.

[1] 'Visto por el rey Cacama el poco ánimo y determinacion de los Mexicanos, se salió de la ciudad y se fué á la de Tezcuco, para juntar sus gentes.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 298, and *Torquemada*, i. 459. But it is doubtful whether he remained many days in Mexico after the seizure of his uncle, if indeed he was there then.

[2] Bernal Diaz assumes, naturally enough for a Spanish conqueror, that one of the main objects of Cacama was to rescue the imperilled treasures at Mexico. *Hist. Verdad.*, 79–80.

The motives and the necessity were recognized, though the means proposed met with some objections; but when the question of spoils and rewards came forward there were still greater differences. Among others, the brave and powerful lord of Matlaltzinco advanced pretensions, founded in part on his close relationship to Montezuma, which Cacama above all could not admit. The result was disagreement, followed by the withdrawal of several members.[3]

No attempt had been made to keep the movement, or its ostensible motive, a secret from Montezuma, nor could it have been kept from him who was the still powerful ruler of a servile race; but, even if the deeper lying aim was not revealed him, he could not fail to foresee the troubles that might arise, particularly under such a leader. He still hoped the Spaniards would soon leave, or that his release might be effected by other means, for he dreaded a conflict with the powerful invaders, involving perhaps the destruction of the city and his own death. He sent to tell the conspirators that they need not concern themselves about his imprisonment. The Spaniards had more than once proposed that he should return to his own palace, but the gods had decreed it otherwise. He could not allow his people to be needlessly exposed to war, or his capital to destruction. Remember Cholula. Their stay would not be long.

This message was not without its effect even among the Tezcucans, for, although the fate of the Aztec capital and king may have concerned them but little, there were many who could not forget that the impetuous and proud Cacama had obtained the throne by favor of Montezuma, to the prejudice of an elder brother, Tetlahuehuetquizitzin. Their father, Nezahualpilli, had died in 1515, without naming a successor, and the choice devolving on the royal council, in

[3] 'Aun dezian, que le venia de derecho el Reyno, y señorio de Mexico.' However that may be, he laid a claim to the Aztec throne, and Cacama replied that to himself alone should that belong. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 79–80.

conjunction with the rulers of Mexico and Tlacopan, Cacama was elected. Cohuanacoch, the third brother, acquiesced, but the youngest, the fiery Ixtlilxochitl, protested in favor of the eldest heir, and denounced the selection as due to Montezuma, who hoped to mould the new king to his own will and so again to control. He even resorted to arms in support of his views, and enlisting the northern provinces in his favor, after a short campaign he obliged Cacama to consent to a division of the kingdom with himself.[4]

His ready success proved that Cacama had no very great hold on the people, and now, when came the warning of Montezuma, more than one chief counselled prudence from other motives than fear. But the king stamped all these objections as cowardly, and appears even to have placed under restraint several of those whose want of sympathy he had reason to suspect.[5] His blood was hot, and relying on the promises of his supporters, he considered himself strong enough to bid defiance to his opponents. He sent word to his uncle that if he had any regard for the dignity of his station and the honor of his person and ancestry, he would not quietly submit to the bondage imposed by a handful of robbers, who with smooth tongue sought to cover their outrages against him and the gods. If he refused to rise in defence of his religion, throne, and liberty, Cacama would not.[6]

This outspoken utterance of the nephew whom he had assisted to rulership amazed Montezuma as much as it wounded his pride, and he no longer hesitated to take counsel with Cortés, who had already obtained an inkling that something was stirring.[7]

[4] See *Native Races*, v. 474.

[5] 'Mandó echar presos tres dellos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad*, 80.

[6] 'Cacama le respondio muy agramente, diziendo que si el tuuiera sangre en el ojo, ni estario preso, ni catiuo de quatro estranjeros,' etc. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 133.

[7] According to Bernal Diaz and Gomara, Cortés was informed by Montezuma before he and Cacama exchanged the severe messages referred to, and that the Spaniard sent the first remonstrance, but the emperor, as master, and as the person whom the revolt immediately concerned, had naturally to take the initiative.

With characteristic promptness the latter suggested that, since Cacama's real object was evidently to usurp the throne, a Mexican army should be given to aid the Spaniards in laying waste the territory of the conspirators and in capturing them. The emperor had probably entertained a hope that the news would frighten his guest and make it safe to urge a retreat from Mexico, thus ending the whole trouble. He was therefore somewhat startled by this proposal, the true tenor of which he well understood. He feared a fratricidal war of doubtful result, wherein he would appear as arrayed against the defenders of national religion and liberty; and being now weak and cowed he hesitated to arm at all, preferring peaceful measures. To this Cortés was not averse, for he recognized on second thought that aggressive steps might become the signal for a general uprising which would overwhelm him, since Aztec troops could never be relied on.

He accordingly sent messages to Cacama, reminding him of their friendly intercourse, and representing the danger of offending the Spanish king by proceedings which could only react on himself and lead to the destruction of his kingdom. Montezuma supported this by asking the king to come to Mexico and arrange the difficulty. Cacama had not gone so far to be restrained by what he termed an empty threat, and regardless of the warnings from a timid minority he replied that he knew not the king of the Spaniards, and would never accept the friendship of men who had oppressed his country and outraged his blood and religion. He had had enough of their promises, but would declare his determination when he saw them.[8] To Montezuma he sent word that he would

[8] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 79. He would not hold friendship with him who took away his honor and kingdom. The war was for the good of his subjects, and in defence of their land and religion. Before laying down arms he would avenge his uncle and his gods. He knew not who was the king of the Spaniards, nor would he listen to him, much less know him. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 132.

come, "not with the hand on the heart, however, but on the sword."[9]

There was considerable meaning in this threat, for Cacama had with great energy set about to mass his forces at Oztoticpac, and they in conjunction with those of his allies would make a formidable host.[10] Cortés was aware of this, and seeing that no time was to be lost he firmly represented to Montezuma the necessity of securing the person of the king, openly or by stealth; and when he still hesitated, the significant hint was given that the Spaniards would regard a refusal with suspicion. This decided him, and he promised that it should be done, if possible. Cortés broke forth in expressions of good-will, and again offered him that freedom which Montezuma well knew he would never grant.

In placing Cacama on the throne, the emperor had seized the opportunity to introduce into the Acolhua government offices several creatures of his own, who were paid to maintain Aztec influence in the council[11] and to watch operations. To these men he sent an order, weighted with presents, to seize the king and bring him to Mexico.[12] They accordingly prevailed on their victim to hold a council at Tepetzinco for finally arranging the campaign. This palace was situated on the lake, near Tezcuco, and approached by canals. Here Cacama was seized and thrown into a boat prepared for the occasion, and carried to the Aztec capital.[13]

[9] 'Con hechizos le teniamos quitado su gran coraçon, y fuerça; ò que nuestros Dioses, y la gran muger de Castilla.... nos dá aquel gran poder.' In this last he did not err, remarks Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 80.

[10] Over 100,000 men. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 299.

[11] 'Tenia en su tierra del dicho Cacamazin muchas personas principales que vivian con él y les daba su salario.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 97.

[12] According to Bernal Diaz, six chiefs were sent with the imperial signet, which was to be given to certain relatives and dignitaries discontented with Cacama, and they were to seize him and his council. *Hist. Verdad.*, 80.

[13] 'Tambien truxeron otros cinco presos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 80. 'Prendieron al Cacama vn dia, estando con ellos y otros muchos en consejo para cõsultar las cosas de la guerra.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 133. According to Ixtlilxochitl, when Cacama left Mexico, partly out of fear lest the Spaniards should seize him for promoting a revolt there, his brothers Cohuanacoch and Ixtlilxochitl, all now reconciled, pretended to fall into his views. Ixtlil-

Ashamed, perhaps, of his share in the transaction, and unwilling to face the taunts of the captive, Montezuma refused to see him, and he was surrendered to Cortés, who, regardless of royalty, applied the fetters as the surest means against escape.[14] This seizure scattered the conspirators and their schemes to the winds, and the demoralization was completed by the arrest of several of the more important personages, such as the king of Tlacopan and the lords of Iztapalapan and Coyuhuacan, who were also shackled.[15] Thus we see that Montezuma's captivity did not greatly affect his power, since he could so readily place under restraint the confederate kings, in their own provinces; and it was not wholly unwelcome to him to find his misfortune shared by other prominent men, since this made his disgrace less conspicuous.

xochitl recommended Tepetzinco as the place best suited for beginning operations on Mexico, and while proceeding to the place in a canoe he was carried on to Mexico by his faithless brothers. Without Ixtlilxochitl's aid Montezuma and Cortés could never have been able to overcome the powerful Cacama, concludes the author. *Hist. Chich.*, 298–9. In his *Relaciones*, 389, 412, the same author states that Cacama was seized not for plotting, but because Cortés desired to secure so powerful a personage. Brasseur de Bourbourg follows the former version, and believes that Montezuma favored the conspiracy as a means to oblige the Spaniards to depart. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 258. There may be some truth in this belief, so far as the beginning of the plot is concerned, but it must be considered that Montezuma would have preferred not to intrust such a movement to a probable rival, the ruler of a people jealous of Aztec supremacy, and the ally of his most hated enemy, Ixtlilxochitl. If, again, Cacama was his tool, the emperor would not have had him seized, to be executed for all he knew, when he could have warned him to flee or to defend himself. Had Ixtlilxochitl surrendered the king, Cortés would not be likely to give the credit to Montezuma, as he does. *Cartas*, 97–8.

[14] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 133. Yet Bernal Diaz assumes that Montezuma examined him and the other prisoners, 'y supo Montecuma de los conciertos en que andaua, que era alçarse por señor.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 80. 'Y à cabo de pocos dias le dieron Garrote secretamente,' adds Torquemada, i. 470, erroneously. Had Cortés fallen into his hands, the stone of sacrifice would speedily have received him, and the captive must accordingly have regarded himself as mercifully treated. The general knew the value of such prominent hostages. The leniency gained him besides great credit, as Solis rightly assumes. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 21–2.

[15] 'En ocho dias todos estuuieron presos en la cadena gorda.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 80. This author includes the lord of Matlaltzinco, who escaped his pursuers the longest, and when finally brought before the emperor spoke his mind so freely that he would have been consigned to the executioner had not Cortés interfered. Duran adds the lord of Xochimilco instead of the last two. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 444. 'Pigliò ancora il Re di Tlacopan, i Signori d'Iztapalapan, e di Cojohuacan, fratelli tutti e due del Re Motezuma, due figliuoli di questo medesimo Re, Itzquauhtzin Signor di Tlatelolco, un Sommo Sacerdote di Messico, e parecchj altri.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 107.

He now resolved, with the approval of Cortés, to depose the Tezcucan ruler, as a rebel against his authority, and to place on the throne a more dutiful subject, a younger natural brother of Cacama, named Cuicuetzcatl,[16] whom his ill-treatment had driven to Mexico for protection. The nomination was for the sake of appearance submitted for ratification to a convention of loyal Tezcucan chiefs, many of whom hoped no doubt to obtain greater influence under this youth. The new king was escorted to the gates of Mexico by Cortés and Montezuma, and received at Tezcuco with triumphal arches and processions.[17]

And now, with the three confederate rulers and a number of leading caciques in his power, the great king-maker thought the time had come to exact a formal acknowledgment of Spanish sovereignty. He reminded Montezuma of his promises to pay tribute, and demanded that he and his vassals should tender allegiance. Instead of the objections expected, Cortés was surprised to hear a prompt acquiescence. Montezuma had evidently been long prepared for the demand, and said that he would at once convene his chiefs for consultation. Within little more than a week the summoned dignitaries had arrived, and at a meeting, attended by no Spaniards save the page, he intimated to the leading personages, so far as he dared before this witness, that the concession demanded of them was to satisfy the importunate jailers. "The gods, alas! are mute," concluded Montezuma; "but by and by they may signify their will more clearly,

[16] 'Se llamò Don Carlos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 80; at a later period, most likely. 'Surnommé Tocpaxochitl....bâtard de Nezahualpilli.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 258. Cortés calls him a son of Cacama, *Cartas*, 98, but this he afterward corrects. The native records, in *Sahagun, Hist. Gen.*, ii. 277, and in *Ixtlilxochitl*, ignore him. The latter, indeed, assumes that Cacama continued to reign, though captive like Montezuma. *Hist. Chich.*, 299 et seq.

[17] Herrera gives the speeches on the occasion. dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. iii. 'Era mas bien quisto, que no Cacama....Y Cortes hazia reyes, y mandaua con tanta autoridad, como si ya vuiera ganado el imperio.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 133. Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes that Cohuanacoch and Ixtlilxochitl at once managed to obtain control of the weak youth and of the government.

and I will then say what further is to be done."[18] All declared sorrowfully that they would do as he bade, and Cortés was informed that on the following day the required ceremony would take place.

On this occasion the chiefs mustered in force before Montezuma, who was seated on a throne having on either side the new king of Tezcuco and he of Tlacopan.[19] All being prepared, the Spanish general entered with his captains and a number of soldiers. The emperor now addressed his vassals, reminding them of the relation so long and happily maintained between them—as dutiful subjects on the one side, and a line of loving monarchs on the other. Comparing the Quetzalcoatl myth and other indications with the advent of white men from the region of the rising sun, he showed that they must be the long expected race, sent to claim allegiance for their king, to whom the sovereignty evidently belonged. The gods had willed it that their generation should repair the omission of their ancestors. "Hence I pray that as you have hitherto held and obeyed me as your lord, so you will henceforth hold and obey this great king, for he is your legitimate ruler, and in his place accept this captain of his. All the tribute and service hitherto tendered me give to him, for I also have to contribute and serve with all that he may require. In doing this you will fulfil not only your duty, but give me great pleasure."[20]

His concluding words were almost lost in the sobs which his humiliated soul could no longer stifle. The chiefs were equally affected, and the sympathies even of the flint-hearted Spaniards were aroused to a degree which moistened many an eye. With some of the lately arrived dignitaries, who had not had time to

[18] 'El tiempo andando veremos si tenemos otra mejor respuesta de nuestros Dioses, y como vieremos el tiempo assi harémos....presto os dirè lo que mas no conuenga.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 81.

[19] The latter had probably tendered his submission in order to retain the throne. Ixtlilxochitl names Cacama as the Tezcucan king present.

[20] *Cortés, Cartas*, 98–9. 'Demos gracias a los dioses, q̃ an venido en nuestros dias los q̃ tàto desseauamos,' et seq. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 134.

fully grasp the situation at the capital, indignation struggled with grief at the dismal prospect. Others recalled the prophecy that the empire would terminate with Montezuma, whose very name appeared fraught with evil omen,[21] and were quite reconciled to the inevitable. So were most of them, for that matter, either through belief in the myth or from a sense of duty to their master. One of the eldest nobles broke the oppressive silence by declaring his sorrow at witnessing the grief of their beloved sovereign and hearing the announcement of coming changes. But since the time had come for the fulfilment of divine decrees, they, as devout and dutiful subjects, could only submit. Again their grief broke forth, though many a bitter glance was called up by the allusion to changes in store for them. Observing the bad impression, Cortés hastened to assure them that Montezuma would not only remain the great emperor he had always been, and his vassals be confirmed in their dignities and possessions, but that their domain and power would be increased. The changes proposed were merely intended to stop wars, to enlighten them on matters with which they were as yet unacquainted, and to promote general welfare. One after another, beginning with Montezuma, they now swore allegiance, and gave promise of service and tribute, after which they were dismissed with thanks for their compliance.[22]

[21] 'Tenia del oraculo de sus dioses respuesta muchas vezes....q̃ perderia la silla a los ocho años de su reynado, y q̃ por esto nunca quiso hazer guerra a los Españoles,....Bien que por otro cabo lo tenia por burla, pues auia mas dezisiete años q̃ era rey.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 134–5; *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, 502–3.

[22] *Cortés, Cartas*, 91, 98–9; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. ҫap. iv.; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 580–1. The allegiance was tendered before Secretary Pedro Fernandez. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 81. Solis assumes that Montezuma of his own accord offered allegiance and tribute, in the hope that this would fill the measure of the Spaniards' expectations and cause them to depart. In that case the general grief must have been well counterfeited. He regards this act as giving legality to the conquest. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 23–32. Prescott supposes that the submission was prompted less by fear than by conscience—conscientious obedience to the myth. *Mex.*, ii. 198. Oviedo looks on the tears as evidence of unwillingness, and thinks that either the emperor was very pusillanimous, or the will of God clearly manifest. iii. 297. Ac-

The submission of the sovereigns appears to have been quietly accepted throughout the country, and the impunity with which even single Spaniards moved about shows that no hostility had been aroused by the act, in the provinces at least. Evidently the people hovered between fear of men who so few in number could yet perform so great achievements, and awe of divine will as indicated by the prophecies and traditions. Cortés was not slow in making use of his new power by representing to the emperor that, his king being in need of gold for certain projects, it would be well for the new vassals to begin tribute payments as an earnest of their loyalty. Montezuma had expected this, and it was readily agreed that he should send officers, accompanied by Spaniards, to the different provinces and towns of the empire for contributions.[23] These demands were met with more or less alacrity, and in poured gold and silver, in dust, and quoits, and leaves, and trinkets, which formed to a certain extent a medium for trade. Many towns remote from the mines had nothing to offer save a few jewels, which were perhaps heirlooms among the chiefs.[24]

cording to Ixtlilxochitl the kings and caciques were required to leave hostages for the observance of their oath. 'Cacama, y con él sus dos hermanos, Cohuanacochtzin y Ixtlilxochitl, segun las relaciones y pinturas de Tezcuco, dieron en rehenes á cuatro hermanos suyos y otras tantas hermanas.' He names the brothers, and states that Montezuma also had to leave sons and brothers. *Hist. Chich.*, 299–300. Brasseur de Bourbourg supposes, from a resemblance in the surname of the new king of Tezcuco to that of one of his brothers' hostages, that he had already been forced to abdicate in favor of Cohuanacoch and Ixtlilxochitl, and surrender himself to the Spaniards. One of his sisters, baptized as Doña Juana, became the mistress of Cortés, as Ixtlilxochitl observes, and 'périt dans la nuit de la retraite, enceinte du fait de Cortès.' *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 262. The readiness with which Spaniards ventured, often singly, all over the country to exact tribute and to inquire into resources and the condition of affairs, would indicate that the prudent general had taken the precaution of obtaining living guarantees.

[23] 'Luego mandó que le diese los españoles que queria enviar, y de dos en dos y de cinco en cinco los repartió para muchas provincias y ciudades.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 100.

[24] According to the Tezcucan records, twenty Spaniards were sent with two of the king's brothers, Nezahualquentzin and Tetlahuehuezquititzin, to collect the tribute of that city. As they were leaving Mexico, Montezuma despatched a messenger to the former prince, enjoining him to treat the Spaniards well and to obtain a large sum. This whispered advice was assumed by the Spaniards to hide a plot, and laying violent hands on the prince, the leader carried him to Cortés, who had him hanged at once. The king was of

When the collectors returned, Montezuma summoned the Spanish leaders, and surrendered what they had brought. In addition to this, he offered them the treas-

course deeply grieved, but dared not say anything. Guided by another brother, Tepacxochitzin, the Spaniards reached Tezcuco, and behaved outrageously. With the aid of Ixtlilxochitl they seized the contents of the royal treasury, filling with the gold a chest two fathoms in height and length, and one in width. After this they compelled the chiefs to contribute as much more. Ixtlilxochitl assumes that Cacama is the king, and that the deed occurred before allegiance was sworn, and seven weeks after the Spaniards' arrival at Mexico. *Hist. Chich.*, 298; *Id.*, *Rel.*, 388–9, 411–12. Brasseur de Bourbourg repeats this story in substance, though he corrects it by stating that Montezuma interfered and saved the prince. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 252–3. Herrera writes that 'the servant' sent to guide the Spaniards disappeared on the way. He was caught and hanged by order of Cacama, who gave them a more trusty attendant. They were received at Tezcuco with great pomp, and presented with female slaves. A large amount of gold, pearls, and other valuables was obtained, and 80 carriers were sent to Mexico laden with honey, which Cortés distributed, while he kept the treasures. dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. i. According to Vazquez de Tapia, 15,000 pesos in gold were obtained from Tezcuco, beside some jewels and cloth. Not satisfied with this, Cortés sent Cacama in charge of Alvarado to exact more. But little being obtained, boiling pitch was applied to the stomach of Cacama before he was sent back to Mexico. Alvarado denies this outrage. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 3, 35–6, 65.

Fernando de Alva Cortés Ixtlilxochitl claims our attention as a native historian who has labored zealously to vindicate the glorious antecedents of his race, particularly the Acolhuas, whose loyal devotion to the Spanish invaders he advocates with an enthusiasm as unblushing as it is inconsistent. The chief hero of the theme is his ancestor and namesake, King Ixtlilxochitl, his great great grandfather, according to Muñoz' genealogic list. Little good was derived from this calculated zeal, for at Alva's birth, in about 1568, the family estate had dwindled to small proportions, while the tribute exemption which testified to royal descent expired not many years later. After a course at the Santa Cruz College Alva figured as interpreter to the native tribunal of the viceroy. The death of the eldest brother brought lawsuits which threatened to impoverish him, but urgent representation procured, in 1602, a cedula recognizing him as heir to the family property. *Florencia, La Estrella*, 103 etc.; *Bezerra Tanco, Felicidad Mex.*, 49; *Guadalupe, Col.*, 551; *Panes, Teatro Nueva-España*, MSS. The requirements of the suit called forth more than one of his writings, which had in view to establish both his own title and the claims of his family. Their research and style attracted the attention of the viceroy, who encouraged him to continue a task for which he was so well fitted, not only by his Spanish and Aztec studies, but as a native to whom his countrymen would readily communicate their views and traditions, and as the possessor of a vast family archive. The command accorded with his inclination and improved fortune, and a number of pieces were produced, which after his death, about 1648, passed to the Jesuit college, *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, i. 10, and thence to the Archivo General, where they form volumes iv. and xiii.

The most complete list of his works is given in *Dicc. Univ.*, iv.; that by Boturini is nearly as full, *Catalogo*, 2 etc.; Beristain, *Bibl.*, 'Alva,' gives it less so, and Clavigero's is still briefer, while Pinelo, *Epitome*, ii. 608, makes merely a general allusion. Kingsborough, on the other hand, offers an almost complete reproduction of the writings in volume ix. of his *Mex. Antiq.* The longest and most important is the *Historia Chichimeca*, dedicated to the viceroy, in 95 chapters, of which the first 76 treat of the rise and progress of the Chichimec empire, represented at the conquest by the Acolhuas, and of

ures kept in his own palace, regretting that he had not more to give; but previous offerings had diminished what he possessed. "When you transmit it to your king," he said, "tell him that it comes from his good

its glories as inherited by his ancestors, the kings of Tezcuco. The remaining 19 chapters relate to the conquest by the Spaniards, and are incomplete. It is the most carefully written of the series, elaborated partly from previous manuscripts, partly from fresh researches, while the account of the conquest rests also on the testimony of eye-witnesses, reinforced by additions from Gomara and other sources, as he admits on pp. 300, 303. An allusion to Torquemada shows that it could not have been completed before 1615, and it was probably his last work. More than one copy is extant, from one of which Ternaux-Compans printed a French translation, while the best issue, that of Kingsborough, is after a copy from Veytia. The material has been largely used, and Veytia's *Hist. Ant. Mej.* may be said to rest upon it. The more important of the other writings are, *Sumaria Relacion de todas las cosas en la Nueva-España, y que los tultecas alcanzaron*, in 5 relations, which treat of the mythical period from the creation of the world, according to native tradition, to the fall of the Toltecs; *Historia de los Señores Chichimecas*, in 12 relations, which brings the history down to the Spanish conquest; *Noticias de los pobladores y naciones de Nueva España*, in 13 relations; the first 12 quite short, and relating to native peoples; the last of considerable length, and dwelling on the conquest. Cárlos María de Bustamante published the 13th relation in separate form, to which, under an excess of patriotic zeal, he gave the abnormal title of *Horribles Crueldades de los Conquistadores*, Mexico, 1829. Notes were appended, and considerable liberties taken with text, so as to increase the odium against the conquerors. Ternaux-Compans included a French translation of it in his collection. Kingsborough has printed eleven shorter pieces by Ixtlilxochitl, and a few more are attributed to his pen, as a translation of Nezahualcoyotl's poems, a fragment of the same king's biography, and a history of the Virgin of Guadalupe; but the last two are doubtful. Several of the pieces are mere repetitions and summaries under different titles, connected with the author's pleadings, while the 13th relation may be termed a cleverly prepared biography of his great namesake, from the exaggerated prominence given to his services for the Spanish cause. Prescott's several blunders on this and other points are probably due as much to a want of access to sufficient material as to a hasty study.

Throughout these writings are evidences of the patriotic spirit which prompted Ixtlilxochitl in the study and translation of the painted records of his people; and every now and then gleams forth a very natural hatred of the Spanish oppressor, so marked indeed as once to call forth the condemnation of an official censor. Otherwise the narrative of events connected with the conquerors are closely masked; for the sake of private aims and the common fear of the white masters. As a consequence many troublesome facts are hidden and many questions smoothed to the detriment of history. The narratives are also extremely confusing in dates, and to a great extent in arrangement, while the interest is diminished by trivial details and improbable stories. But these were the faults of his time rather than of himself. He did wonderfully well in grappling with misty traditions, enveloped as they were in the intricate mazes of hieroglyphics. And he is justly entitled to our admiration, and to the gratitude of his countrymen, for rescuing from now unattainable sources so large a mass of material to illustrate the glories of his race. His style indicates a scholar from whom even his Spanish contemporaries might have taken lessons, for the language is exceedingly clear for this period, and full of graceful sentences and striking descriptions, rendering him not unworthy to be called the Livy and the Cicero of Anáhuac, as Prescott and Bustamante respectively entitle him.

vassal, Montezuma." He requested that certain fine chalchiuite stones, each valued at two loads of gold, and some finely chased and inlaid blow-pipes, should be given to the king alone.[25] This liberality evoked the most profound protestations of gratitude, as may be supposed, for they had not expected so great an addition to the glittering heaps already in their possession. Tapia and another officer were despatched in all haste with the imperial mayordomo to receive the treasure. It was stored in a hall and two smaller chambers of the aviary building,[26] and consisted of gold, silver, and precious stones, in setting and in separate form, with feathers, robes, and other articles, all of which were transferred to the Spanish quarters.[27]

These valuables, together with the collections from the provinces and the previously surrendered treasures of Axayacatl, were given to Cortés, who placed them in charge of the treasurer, Gonzalo Mejía, and the contador, Alonso de Ávila. The famed smiths of Azcapuzalco were called in to separate the gold and silver settings from the jewels of less delicacy and beauty, which it had been determined to melt. This took about three days. They were then melted into bars, three fingers in breadth, and stamped with the royal arms.[28] Iron weights were made of one arroba and downward, not very exact, it seems, yet suitable for the purpose, and with these the value of the melted gold was found to be somewhat over 162,000 pesos de oro, according to Cortés' statement; the silver

[25] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 83, gives a description of these and other presents.

[26] 'Que se llamaba *Totocalco*.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 26.

[27] *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 581; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 135; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. iv. Bernal Diaz assumes that the Axayacatl treasures were those now given; but the testimony of the eye-witnesses, Tapia and Ojeda, confirmed and accepted by Gomara and Herrera, shows that they were given on a previous occasion already referred to. Still, Bernal Diaz does mention that after the melting of the rougher jewels new presents came from Montezuma. *Hist. Verdad.*, 82–3. He is very confusing, however, in his account of the treasures generally; and Clavigero, Prescott, and others, have allowed themselves to follow him too closely in this and other instances.

[28] 'Como de vn Real, y del tamaño de vn toston de a quatro.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 83.

weighed over 500 marcos, and the unbroken jewels and other effects were estimated at over 500,000 ducats, not counting the workmanship.[29] The jewels were set with feathers, pearls, and precious stones, fashioned chiefly in animal forms, "so perfect as to appear natural." A number of trinkets for the royal share had also been fashioned by the goldsmiths after designs by the Spaniards, such as saintly images, crucifixes, bracelets, and chains, all made with wonderful fidelity to originals. The silver for the same

[29] *Probanza de Lejalde*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 421–2. Cortés, *Cartas*' 100–1, is not so explicit with regard to the latter figure, saying merely that he had set apart for the king unbroken jewels and other objects valued at over 100,000 ducats; but, since this figure comes in connection with the account of one fifth of all the treasures reserved for the sovereign, it may be assumed that the 100,000 formed also a fifth of the unbroken lot. This, consisting to a great extent of precious stones, pearls, cotton, and other effects, could not have all been reserved for the king. It seems besides improbable that so large a proportion of treasure as 100,000 ducats should a second time have been taken from the soldiers, even if Montezuma had destined them especially for their ruler. All the treasures and gifts acquired were obtained by the efforts of the expedition, and were always regarded as a part of its fund. Yet Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 135–6, who had the statements of Cortés and others at his disposal, writes that the 100,000 lot was selected from the treasures, previous to melting, in order to form a present for the king in connection with the one fifth. Bernal Diaz writes confusedly that the heaps of unmelted gold from which feathers and other settings had been removed were valued at 600,000 pesos. 'This did not include the plates, quoits, and dust of gold, nor the silver and other treasures.' A few lines further he says that the royal officials declared the gold, melted, and in quoits, dust, and jewels, to be worth over 600,000 pesos, beside the silver and many jewels not valued. From these lots the distribution was made for king and expedition. Many soldiers declared that the original amount was larger, one third having been abstracted by the leaders. *Hist. Verdad.*, 83. The marginal print in this authority calls the above sums pesos de oro, which increases the value three times. Confusing as this version is, it confirms at any rate the supposition that the unbroken jewels were also divided among the members of the expedition. Prescott estimates the whole treasure in the money value of his time at $6,300,000, which may be accepted as sufficiently approximate. See *Mex.*, ii. 202–5. Robertson accepts Bernal Diaz' last estimate in pesos, which is equivalent to about two fifths of Prescott's. The small proportion of silver indicates how little the natives understood and resorted to mining, and how insignificant a portion of the metallic wealth of the country was represented by the treasures so far acquired. Gold was obtained from loose and shallow alluvial deposits in and near the rivers, and it was only in the extraction of tin and copper that the Indians exhibited an advance in the art of mining. Robertson is wrong in assuming that gold was not used as a trade medium; still, it was only partly so, and it was chiefly sought for ornaments. The rarity of silver made this metal far more valuable than in Europe, and the stones most esteemed were regarded by the Spaniards as so many pebbles. For an account of mines, metals, and money among the Aztecs, see *Native Races*, ii. In vol. i. chap. iii. note 8 of the Central American division of the present work is given information on the currency of this period.

share was made into plates, spoons, and similar articles. The feathers presented a brilliant variety of colors and forms, and the cotton, some of the most delicate texture and color, was both plain and embroidered, and made into robes, tapestry, covers, and other articles. Turquoises, pearls, toys, and trinkets were also among the treasures.[30]

Cortés proposed to defer the distribution till more gold and better weights were obtained; but the men, who with good reason, perhaps, suspected that a delay might diminish rather than increase the treasures, clamored for an immediate division. The troops were accordingly called, and in their presence the partition was made: first of the royal fifth;[31] then of the fifth promised to Cortés when appointed captain-general; after this a large sum was set apart to cover expenditures by Cortés and Velazquez on the fleet and its outfit, and the value of the horses killed during the campaign,[32] and another sum for the expenses and shares of the procuradores in Spain, while double or special shares were assigned to the priests, the captains, those owning horses, and the men with fire-arms and cross-bows.[33] After all these deductions but little remained for the rank and file—a hundred pesos, if we may credit Bernal Diaz.[34] This, many indignantly

[30] For a description, see *Cortés, Cartas*, 100–1; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 135–6; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. iv.; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. iii.; *Oviedo*, iii. 298–9.

[31] Consisting of 32,400 and odd pesos de oro of melted gold; 100,000 ducats' worth of unbroken jewels, feathers, etc.; and 100 and more marcos of silver. *Cortés, Cartas*, 100–1. 'Lo dieron é entregaron á Alonso de Escobar.' *Probanza de Lejalde*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 422.

[32] The expenditures were represented largely by a number of unpaid notes of hand issued by the captain-general to the owners of vessels, provisions, and arms, and held for the most part by captains and leading members of the party. Many of the names and claims are given in *Probanza de Lejalde*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 411 et seq.

[33] Bernal Diaz appears to say that all these men, from priests to archers, received double rates, *Hist. Verdad.*, 83–4, and Herrera so accepts it, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. v.; but this seems unequal. In the *Probanza de Lejalde*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 411 et seq., a number of special payments are mentioned, and also wages for sailors.

[34] 'Soldados huuo q tomaron sus partes a cien pesos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 84. But this sum may mean pesos de oro, which according to the calculation accepted represents nearly $1200.

refused to accept; others took it, but joined in the clamors of the discontented.

It is almost too much to ask of vultures not to quarrel over their prey. The murmur against the royal fifth was loud enough, but the second fifth for Cortés raised quite an outcry. "Are we to have a second king?" they asked. Others inquired, "For whose fleet are we paying?" They further wished to know whether the fame and promotion acquired for the general by his men could not satisfy some of his claims, for the present, at least. They had once before surrendered hard-earned money to please him and to promote his credit with the king, and now, when they had been led to expect reward, it was again snatched from them. Some said that a large proportion of the treasures had been secured by Cortés and his favorites before the distribution began; and the value of the heavy gold chains and other ornaments displayed by them was significantly pointed at as out of proportion to their share.

The suspicion was confirmed by a quarrel which occurred shortly after between Velazquez de Leon and Treasurer Mejía respecting the payment of the royal fifth on certain unbroken jewels found in Velazquez' possession, and received by him before the apportionment. It was enough, said Mejía, for Cortés to appropriate unassessed treasures. Velazquez refusing to comply, they came to blows, and if friends had not interfered there might have been an officer or two less in the camp. As it was, both received slight wounds, and subsequently shackles. Mejía was released within a few hours; but his antagonist retained the fetters for two days, persuaded to submit with grace thereto by Cortés, it was said, in order to allay suspicions and to show that the general could be just, even when it affected a friend.[35]

[35] 'Cortes, so color de hazer justicia, porq todos le temiessemos, era con grandes mañas.' It appears that Mejía, on hearing the men complain, spoke

Finding that the murmurs were becoming serious, Cortés brought his soothing eloquence to bear upon the troubled spirits. He represented that all his thoughts, efforts, and possessions were for the honor of his God, his king, and his companions. With them he had shared every danger and hardship, and for their welfare he had watched, rendering justice to all. The division had been fairly made in accordance with previous arrangement. But he was not avaricious; all he had was theirs, and he would employ it for them as might a father. He would surrender the fifth which had been assigned him, if they wished it, retaining only his share as captain-general; and he would also help any one in need. The treasure thus far secured was insignificant compared to what lay before them. What mattered a few hundred pesos more or less in view of the rich mines, the large tracts, and the immense number of towns, which were all theirs, so long as they held loyally together? "I will make a lord of every one of you," he concluded, "if you will but have peace and patience."[36] And to give greater effect to this harangue he bribed with gifts and promises the more influential to sound his praises; whereupon the murmurs died away, though rancor still remained with many, awaiting opportunity.[37]

to Cortés about missing gold, and thenceforth they were not very friendly. Noticing that Velazquez was in fetters, Montezuma asked the general for the cause, and was told that, not satisfied with his share of gold, he wished to make a tour of the towns to demand more, and perhaps to commit excesses. The emperor asked that he be allowed to go, and Cortés consented with apparent reluctance. A sentence seems to have been passed for the culprit to leave camp, and he proceeded with a Mexican official to Cholula, whence he returned with more gold a few days later. So runs the story of Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 84–5. B. V. de Tapia declares that Cortés kept him 'muchos dias en una casylla pequeña e con guardas.' *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 40–1.

[36] *Id.*, and *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. v.

[37] Among those who took most to heart the disappointing distribution was Juan de Cárdenas, a pilot and sailor of Triana, who had a wife and children in Spain. Tired of struggling with poverty at home he had come to seek a better lot with the conquerors in America. The first sight of the treasures to be divided had inspired him with an ardent hope of being able to return to his family, for an equal division would have given him quite a little fortune. Finding his dream of happiness shattered he became almost raving. Cortés gave him 300 pesos, and promised that he should be sent home by the first opportunity. Cárdenas appeared to be satisfied, but on reaching Spain he

A large proportion of the soldiers imitated the example of the heavy sharers in the spoils by converting their allotment, with the aid of Azcapuzalcan goldsmiths, into chains, crosses, and other adornments for their persons, so that the display of wealth became quite dazzling. Others yielded to the infatuation for gambling, then so prevalent, and lost without a murmur the hard-earned share.[38]

But one thing now remained to complete the triumph of the conqueror. The manacled kings were subservient, and the people displayed their loyalty by pouring tribute into his coffers. But his god was not theirs, and this the pious pilferer could not endure. He and his priests had lost no opportunity to preach the faith to emperor and subjects;[39] but the hearts of the natives were obdurately fixed on the idols of the pyramid. He never beheld the temple without being tempted to lay low the effigies of Satan, and it was owing only to Father Olmedo's prudent counsel that the temptation was resisted. Repeatedly had he urged on the weak emperor to begin the great work by some radical reform, but could obtain only the promise that human sacrifices would be stopped. Finding that even this was not observed, he consulted with his captains, and it was agreed to demand the surrender of the great temple for Christian worship, so that the natives might be made to feel the holy influence of its symbols and rites. Montezuma was prepared with excuses, but the deputation declared with fierce vehemence that

came forward as a bitter opponent of the general. *Bernal Díaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 84. Solis speaks up in behalf of his hero, and condemns the men as avaricious and ungrateful for demanding more than their share. The leaders and best men deserved larger gains. As for Bernal Díaz, 'Habla mas como pobre soldado, que como historiador.' *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 35. The share for Villa Rica was sent to Tlascala, says Bernal Diaz, whither rumor had it that large sums were forwarded for Cortés and others, who claimed afterward that they had been lost during the uprising. 'Las piedras bajas y plumages, todo lo tomaron los Indios de Tlaxcala.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 26.

[38] The cards, made by Pedro Valenciano from drumskins, were as neatly painted as those of Spain. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 84.

[39] Herrera gives lengthy specimens of the warrior preacher's effusions, occupying more than one chapter. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. vi.–vii.

if this were refused they would forcibly remove the idols and kill the priests who resisted. "Malinche," exclaimed the monarch in alarm, "do you then seek the destruction of the city? Our gods are incensed against us, and the people imbittered. Even your lives will not be safe. Wait, I entreat you, till I call the priests for consultation."[40]

Cortés saw that nothing more could then be attained, but with the indiscreet zeal for religion which often blinded him he determined that there should be no further delay. He apprehended no uprising among a people which had so patiently submitted to all exactions, yet he feared that the priests, if warned, might prevent an entry into the temple, and so he resolved to anticipate them, and to demonstrate the impotency of their gods. Giving orders for a strong force to follow after a short interval, he went forward with hardly a dozen men in order not to arouse suspicion.[41] Entering the sanctuary, and finding that he could not draw aside the costly curtain with its golden pellet fringe which shielded the bejewelled idols from profane gaze, he had it cut asunder. The reason for the obstruction now became apparent. The idol showed traces of fresh human blood. At this evidence of broken promises and disregarded orders Cortés began to rave. "Oh God!" he cried, "why dost thou permit the devil to be thus honored in this land? Let it appear good that we serve thee."

Turning to the temple attendants, who had followed with apprehensive mien, he upbraided them for their blind adherence to a bloody worship, and compared the evil of idolatry with the saving rites of Christianity. He was determined, he said, to remove the idols and install an image of the virgin. They

[40] According to Bernal Diaz Cortés made a sign that he and Olmedo desired to speak privately to Montezuma. He now proposed that in order to prevent tumult his captains might be persuaded to rest content with a space in the great temple for an altar and cross. *Hist. Verdad.*, 85.

[41] Tapia leaves the impression that he called casually at the temple, and afterward sent for more troops.

must take away all within the sanctuary and cleanse it. The priests shook their heads at such an insane idea. All the city and country around adored these gods, and they would die rather than see them desecrated. They further intimated that the deities would themselves know how to chastise the sacrilegious. This reply only fired the fury of Cortés, and unable further to restrain himself, he seized a bar, dashed at the idol, and striking it a blow which caused the golden mask to fall off, he exclaimed, "Shall we not do something for God?" Captain Andrés de Tapia, one of the dozen Spaniards present on the occasion, testifies to the rash proceeding: "I swear by my faith as a gentleman and by God that it is true. It seems as if I now see the marquis springing with excitement and striking at the idol."[42]

When the real intentions of Cortés had first become apparent to the priests, they sent to warn Montezuma, as emperor and high-priest, that some outrage might be perpetrated. Suspecting that the recent threat was about to be carried out, he despatched a messenger to the general asking permission to come to the temple, and imploring him meanwhile to respect the idols. The message arrived before much damage was done, and with the advice of his followers Cortés was induced to yield. He recognized that the attitude assumed might lead to more serious results than had been at first supposed. The rumor had spread of extraordinary proceedings on the temple summit, and armed and threatening crowds were gathering at the foot, impeded only by the Spanish reserve escort[43] from ascending to defend their gods. Why should not they fight for their religion as well as others? Seeing that the emperor's presence was necessary to calm them, Cortés permitted him to come. He soon arrived, under a strong guard, and pointing to the excited masses he reasoned with Cortés upon

[42] In *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 585.
[43] Of 30 or 40 men, says Tapia.

the uselessness and danger of his hasty project. The latter stubbornly insisted, and after a consultation with the priests it was agreed to surrender both the summit chapels of Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca to Christian worship,[44] on condition that the idols

[44] 'Fice limpiar aquellas capillas....y puse en ellas imágenes de nuestra Señora y de otros santos.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 106. Andrés de Tapia is still more explicit in relating how Cortés insisted on having both chapels cleared of idols. 'El marques hizo hacer dos altares, uno en una parte de la torre, que era partida en dos huecos, é otro en otra.' *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 585–6. In testifying to the proceedings in the temple previous to the massacre by Alvarado, B. V. de Tapia states that the Indians intended to restore Huitzilopochtli to the tower, 'donde solia estar por que lo habia quitado de alli D. Hernando e puesto a nuestra Señora.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 36. Alvarado confirms this in different words. *Id.*, 66–7. The only other eye-witness who refers with any detail to the above is Bernal Diaz, and he accords only a space on the summit to the Christian emblems. But his different allusions to the temple are confused and contradictory; yet he has been followed by modern writers: first, because the preceding three testimonies have not been accessible till late years; and second, because they have been content to copy Prescott, who adopts Bernal Diaz in only too many instances. The mistake appears also to rest on the finding of Huitzilopochtli's image in one of the summit chapels when it was recaptured by the Spaniards during the later siege. It is only natural that the Aztecs, on obtaining possession of their temple, should have reinstalled the war god. Peter Martyr does assume that one image was too large to be removed. dec. v. cap. iv. And Gomara intimates that idols remained. 'Pusierõ cruzes e imagines....entre sus ídolos.' *Hist. Mex.*, 128. The phrase can apply to those in the court, although his statement may be founded on Martyr, as that of Ixtlilxochitl is on him: 'Y dió [Montezuma] permiso que en la capilla del templo mayor....se pusiesen entre los dos ídolos de Huitzilopochtli, un crucifijo, una imagen de Nuestra Señora y una cruz.' *Hist. Chich.*, 297. As regards the casting-down of idols, Prescott, in common with most modern writers, assumes this to be a mere boast on the part of Cortés; but a careful investigation, supported by the 'solemn' assurance of Tapia, not accessible to them, confirms this statement in the main. The general probably exaggerates somewhat in saying: 'Los mas principales destos ídolos....derroqué yo de sus sillas y los fice echar por las escaleras abajo.' *Cartas*, 106. This probably strikes Oviedo, who, while repeating the account, expresses a doubt about its truth: 'Bien pudo Dios dar lugar á ello; pero para mí yo tengo por maravilla, é grande, la mucha paçiençia de Monteçuma é de los indios.' iii. 303. Solis even doubts that altar and cross were ever erected in so unclean a spot, amid idols and idolatrous priests: it would have been sacrilege; besides the Mexicans would never have permitted the intrusion. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 9–12. The doubt expressed against Cortés' boast rests chiefly with Bernal Diaz, whose faulty account states that Montezuma by mere persuasion sent for the priests, and after consulting with them had a space on the temple summit quietly assigned to the Spaniards. *Hist. Verdad.*, 85. Gomara devotes several pages to the casting down of the idols, which he justly regards as a memorable feat: 'Mas honra y prez gano Cortes con esta hazaña Christiana, que si los venciera en batalla.' He applies it, however, to the occasion of the imperial prisoner's first visit to the temple. Montezuma stops Cortés in the midst of his destructive work and checks the fury of the crowd, which the general thereupon appeases with a long profound speech on theologic mysteries, carefully prepared by Gomara. *Hist. Mex.*, 126–8. The preceding points assume importance when it is considered that the usurpation of the great pyramid by Christian emblems gave the strongest impulse to the uprising soon to follow.

within might be removed by the reverent hands of priests alone. This was effected while the emperor remained on the summit. The chapels were then whitewashed, a cross was planted, and two altars rose, on which were placed the image of the virgin and of a saint whom Tapia calls San Cristóbal.[45]

Preparations were next made to consecrate the sanctuary, now festive with garlands and flowers. The Spaniards marched in procession through the streets, to the chant of psalms, headed by the two priests who bore the crucifix and images. Crowds of wondering natives lined their path, and remained to watch the cross winding its way round the pyramid in a sanctifying orbit. Cortés was the first to kiss the installed crucifix, while tears of joy rolled down his cheeks. Mass followed the consecration, and with a swelling Te Deum the soldiers rendered thanks to the supreme being for the triumph accorded them over paganism.

It was but a partial victory, however, for in the court the priests were even then gathered in adoration of the chief idol, bewailing their own impotency, and imploring it to rise and avenge its outraged majesty and their humiliation. An old soldier was left as guard to keep the candles burning, and to prevent intrusion from temple attendants, save to clean the

[45] 'É puso en una parte la imágen de Nuestra Señora en un retablico de tabla, é en otro la de Sant Cristóbal, porque no habie estonces otras imágines.' *Rel.*, loc. cit. It is generally assumed by the faithful that the virgin's image is identical with the one now known as the Virgen de los Remedios, in its celebrated shrine near Mexico. It had been given to Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte by his brother, an Augustine friar, when he departed for the Indies. During the uprising in June, 1520, the image is believed to have of its own accord taken flight to the site where a shrine afterward rose in its honor. *Medina, Chrón. de San Diego de Mex.*, 30; *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 106–25; *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 138 et seq.; *Bustamante, Mem. Piedad Mex.* Unfortunately for this belief, Tapia's testimony describes the image as a picture on a board, while the Remedios image is a little battered doll. The testimony is contradicted by nothing but pious supposition. In preparing the site for altars the Spaniards noticed that the walls were of unusual thickness. Breaking them open they found a number of jewels. Gold was also obtained from tombs on the summit platform, and the curtain pendants and other valuables were of course appropriated. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, 586; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. vi.

place for the frequent services which were henceforth held here.[46]

Taking advantage of the step thus gained, the priests and their followers sought to impress upon the natives the superiority of their faith,[47] and numbers were convinced, says Tapia, although few accepted baptism out of fear of their countrymen.[48] There was a drought prevailing at the time, and the priests, having in vain appealed for a remedy, ascribed the evil to the anger of the gods at the presence of the worshippers of strange deities and their hateful symbols. A few days after the consecration of the altars a deputation of natives appeared at the Spanish quarters, bearing withered corn-stalks, and demanding that, since the Europeans had removed the idols to whom they prayed for rain, they should ask their god for it, so that the people might not die of hunger. Cortés reassured them,[49] and ordered a general prayer for relief. "The following day," says Tapia, "we marched in procession to the temple, under a blazing sun." While mass was being said a cloud might be seen gathering on Mount Tepcaquilla, and "on our way back the rain fell so heavily that we had to wade in water up to our ankles." The rain continued for several days, and the harvest turned out abundant.[50] Each party claimed the meteorological display as a direct answer to its prayer, for the Mexicans were hardly

[46] Montezuma received the returning procession with a forced welcome, and gave orders to destroy a series of brothels in Tlatelulco, containing over 400 women, whose iniquity, he said, had brought the present evil upon the city. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. vi.

[47] Herrera devotes five columns to Cortés' sermon. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. vii.; *Torquemada*, i. 465–7.

[48] Or perhaps of the teachers of the faith, who appeared with sword in hand to enforce their cruel, rapacious, and immoral demands. Herrera believes Montezuma would have become a Christian had he dared. dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. ix. But Duran states that according to the native records all the three captive rulers were baptized, and that Father Olmedo had told him he believed such was the case, although the rite had not been administered by himself. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 445. This question will be discussed in a later chapter.

[49] 'Sed ciertos, que de aqui a mañana llouera, y tendreys el mejor año que jamas aueys tenido.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. viii. cap. vi.

[50] *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 586; *Hazart, Kirchen Geschichte*, ii. 520; *Torquemada*, i. 464.

prepared to yield everything without a struggle. To this insignificant and hated band of intruders they had practically abandoned their country, by acknowledging serfdom with tribute. Daily they submitted to wrongs and indignities. The sacred person of their king had been profaned, their nobles brought to the dust. Now should they submit to this destruction of their gods? If so, the heavens and earth would come together, grinding them to powder!

CHAPTER XX.

THE CUBAN GOVERNOR IN PURSUIT.

1519-1520.

THE MEXICANS THREATEN REVOLT—THE CLERGY IN ARMS—THEY DENOUNCE THE CONDUCT OF MONTEZUMA—THE EMPEROR DECLARES HE CAN NO LONGER RESTRAIN HIS PEOPLE—TIDINGS OF VELAZQUEZ' FLEET—SAILING FROM CUBA OF AN EXPEDITION UNDER NARVAEZ—ARRIVAL IN MEXICO—CONFLICT WITH CORTÉS—INTERCHANGE OF THREATS AND COURTESIES—ATTEMPTED UNION OF FORCES—NARVAEZ REMAINS LOYAL TO VELAZQUEZ—DESERTION OF SOME OF HIS MEN TO CORTÉS.

WAR now seemed inevitable; for if earthly powers availed not against the invaders, heaven's artillery should disperse the impious foe. If feeble man by fearful combinations be brought low, surely the gods may yet defend themselves from insult.

Hitherto it had been the higher nobles only who harbored designs against the Spaniards, but, while no longer cemented by the accustomed despotism, they were held in check by their jealousies, their party politics, and fear for their possessions. A stronger influence than these was at hand, however. Now for the first time the lesser nobles and the common people were aroused. The outrage on the idols affected all. And the clergy, who out of regard for their high-priest, the emperor, had remained passive, now felt themselves struck in a vital part. Their influence, supremacy, and means of support were all involved, and the power of the priesthood was as great here as among other superstitious peoples. How far they worked upon the nobles and plebeians is not clear, but their interviews with Montezuma, although held

in secret, out of the reach even of the favorite page, became so frequent and earnest as to rouse the suspicions of the guard. It was said that, assisted by influential courtiers, they represented how deeply the sacrilegious act had stirred the people, already incensed by the shameful captivity of their sovereigns. Further than this, oracles had announced that the gods would abandon the city and its inhabitants to their fate if the obnoxious strangers were not quickly killed or driven hence. The masses would rise, and if Montezuma, forgetful of his dignity and duty, still declined to be liberated, preferring the fate of Quauhpopoca, which must surely overtake him, then they would choose another monarch.[1] This last threat struck home. Sorely had Montezuma sighed for liberty, and he had feared for his throne; now his own subjects threatened him with what he dreaded most. In this dilemma he turned to Cortés.[2]

The apprehensions of the Spaniards had been aroused not only by the secret interviews of the priests, but by the somewhat distant manner of the emperor, and at this unusual summons they became seriously alarmed. Even the general could not suppress his misgivings as he hurried to the emperor's apartments, attended by Olid, then captain of the guard. With solemn visage Montezuma bade him be seated. Then he reminded him of the warnings against his many rash proceedings, particularly the installation of the cross upon the pyramid. The incensed gods at last had spoken, had ordered him to attack and drive the Spaniards into the sea, and the people were stirred almost beyond control. He had

[1] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 136–7; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 85–6. 'El diablo q̄ muchas vezes le hablaua, le amenazaua.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. vi. 'Hiço Monteçuma aperçebir çient mill hombres de pelea.' *Oviedo*, iii. 507. Others make the number less. To this Clavigero objects: 'Mi persuado che vi sia stata in fatti qualche truppa allestita, non però per ordine del Re, ma soltanto d'alcuni Nobili.' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 112.

[2] Solis sees in this determination only a proof of his supposition that the offer of vassalage and tribute was but a bribe to satiate the Spaniards, since he now bids them go. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 35–6.

only to give the signal; nay, did he delay to do so, they would rise. But he loved Malinche; had he not proved this by his devotion? He wished to save the Spaniards; and now he warned, he implored them to leave the city before it would be too late. They might take all his treasures; nay, he would give each man a load of gold if they would only go.[3]

The tone and manner of the prince convinced them that his words were sincere. Cortés deemed it best to feign compliance. He thanked the emperor for the interest manifested in their safety, and replied that since he and his gods and people so desired it, they would comply; but having no vessels, time must be allowed to build them.[4] This was perplexing, but Montezuma overlooked everything on hearing that the Spaniards were ready to leave. He insisted no further, knowing well enough that he and the other captives would have to follow if a withdrawal from the city was required before the means of transport had been found.[5] He had seen that it did not take long to construct ships, and offered the necessary carpenters to fell and prepare timber, as before. Meanwhile he would endeavor to appease his vassals, pointing out that an uprising would be disastrous also to himself and them. Martin Lopez was at once sent down to Villa Rica with Andrés Nuñez,

[3] 'Yo os daré para vos dos cargas de oro, é una para cada chripstiano.' *Oviedo*, iii. 507; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 138. Herrera increases this to four loads for Cortés and two loads for each horseman. dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. vi. And Duran heard that a ship-load of treasures was offered; but the pious Cortés was too intent on converting souls to accept the bribe. *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilustres*, 91; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 86. Montezuma had become attached to many of the Spaniards, including the courteous general, and really wished them well.

[4] 'Dixo a vn Español de los doze, q̄ fuesse a auisar a los compañeros q̄ se aparejassen por quanto se trataua cō el de sus vidas.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 137–8. This author and others state that Cortés gives thanks for the warning, and offers to go whenever he is bidden. Montezuma, equally polite, tells him to select his own time. When ready to leave he will give a load of gold to each man, and two for himself. Cortés thereupon brings up the question of vessels.

[5] 'Cortes le dixo....q̄ por fuerça auia de ir el Mōtecuma con nosotros, para que le vea nuestro gran Emperador.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 86. It is not probable that this was said on the present occasion, however, and it would only have irritated the emperor.

some chiefs, and a number of Indian workmen, to build three vessels, but with secret instructions to delay the work in every manner.[6]

Cortés had no intention to surrender his hold on the country. It was now more than eight months since the procuradores had left for Spain, and he began to look for their return with a royal commission, if not with reinforcements. Once provided with this worshipful paper he could brave Velazquez and all the world. He could send to the Islands and buy vessels, arms, and supplies; and he could easily enlist all the troops necessary to the achievement of his great project. Meanwhile he hoped to maintain his position, supported by native allies, such as the Tlascaltecs, Chinantecs, Goazacoalcos, and Cempoalans. It needed not the warning of Montezuma to convince the Spaniards that a serious attitude had been assumed against them by the natives, and that the precautions for defence must be redoubled. The attendants appeared less obsequious, and the supplies had materially diminished—owing to the late drought, they said.[7] This was remedied by the commands of the emperor. But even the prospect of a speedy departure of the strangers did not appear to conciliate the people; and less sanguine than their leader, the soldiers of Cortés felt oppressed by gloomy forebodings. In addition to this they were harassed by extra guard duty and by being obliged to sleep in their accoutrements, ready for instant defence.[8]

[6] 'Yd con essos indios, é córtese la madera, y entretanto Dios nos proveerá de gente é socorro: por tanto, poned tal dilaçion que parezca que haçeys algo.' *Oviedo*, iii. 507–8; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 138. Bernal Diaz considers this wrong. He knows not what Cortés told Lopez, 'mas muy secretamente me dixo el Martin Lopez, que de hecho, y apriessa los labrava.' Montezuma had demanded that 'no huviesse mas palabras, sino obras.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 86. Perhaps Lopez did hurry, from personal fear of remaining in the country; or he may have been instructed by Cortés to say so to the soldiers, in order to calm them.

[7] 'Comenzó á faltar todo lo necessario para comer y beber.' To remedy this, strict orders had to be issued to purveyors, and the Tlascaltecs were sent on foraging expeditions, which led to much abuse. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 25 (ed. 1840), 90.

[8] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 138. In speaking of this, Bernal Diaz says that he

We must now go back to Cuba for a moment, where long since we left the irate governor cursing. Poor Velazquez! Córdoba, Grijalva, Cortés, all the deputies sent out to conquer for him new lands, had only been a drain on him, bringing back little compensation in slaves and gold. Deeply as he felt these troubles they had not yet affected his obesity, and it was with difficulty that he waddled about his island stirring up avengers. With the aid of Fonseca the chaplain, Benito Martin, whom Velazquez had sent to Spain on his behalf, had obtained for him a royal commission,[9] with the title of adelantado of the lands lately discovered under his auspices to the westward; and October, 1519, saw busy preparations on the island for an expedition as well against Cortés as Montezuma.[10]

There was no trouble in obtaining men. The rumors created by the visit of Puertocarrero and Montejo

became so used to sleeping in his clothes, and enduring hardships generally, that he almost discarded the bed during his later encomendero life, and could take only short naps. 'Esto he dicho, por que sepã de que arte andamos los verdaderos Conquistadores, y como estavamos tan acostũbrados a las armas, y a velar.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 86.

[9] This was dated Saragossa, November 13, 1518, within a week of Cortés' usurpation of the fleet, as Las Casas observes, and conceded to Velazquez the position of adelantado not only over Yucatan, Cozumel, and 'other islands' discovered by his expeditions, but over any further lands that he might find. In connection with this title was granted, to him and one heir, one fifteenth of the revenue accruing to the king from these lands; and after their conquest and settlement one twentieth of the same revenue, in perpetuity for himself and heirs, from any one island that he might select—the discoveries were supposed to be all islands. All supplies of food, clothes, and arms, introduced by him during his life, were to be free of duty. In support of his expenses a royal plantation near Habana was transferred to him, and an annual salary conferred of 300,000 maravedís. A number of other provisions were made for the promotion of economic, politic, and spiritual welfare in the new region. A synopsis of the commission is given in *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, v. 2–5. Prescott misunderstands the *Carta de Velazquez* of October 12, 1519, in supposing that the governor had not received notice of his appointment by that time, and is therefore wrong in taking Gomara to task for saying: 'Estando pues en aqueste pensamiẽto [to thwart Cortés], auino que llego a Santiago....cartas del Emperador, y el titulo de Adelantado, y cedula de la gouernacion....de Yucatã.' *Hist. Mex.*, 140.

[10] *Carta de Velazquez*, October 12, 1519, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 246–51. Solis assumes that the preparations of Velazquez were influenced by the news of the reception accorded in Spain to the procuradores of Cortés. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 42-4. But this supposition, based partly on a vague expression of Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xviii., is wrong, for the procuradores reached Spain only in October, and were detained for some time before they saw the emperor.

left the impression that ship-loads of gold had been forwarded from the new region to Spain, and the island was consequently in a ferment with excitement. So great indeed became the desire to enlist that Velazquez would in any case have been obliged to form an expedition to prevent the people from going on their own account to reinforce Cortés.[11] At first it was announced that the governor would go in person, and so prevent further rebellion. But Velazquez never thought of such a thing: he was too corpulent, he lacked courage, and he could not abandon his interests and his post in Cuba, leaving the island scantily provided with defenders. Further than this, he had confidence in the legal right conferred on him over the new country and over any expedition he might send. His announced reasons were the duties of his office, which demanded his presence more than ever owing to the prevalent small-pox epidemic.[12]

Among the many candidates eager for the command were Baltasar Bermudez, a relative, Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, and Pánfilo de Narvaez, the first two mentioned already in connection with Cortés' appointment. With Bermudez the governor could come to no arrangement, and with Porcallo he managed to quarrel after selecting him,[13] so that he was left with no other choice than Narvaez. This was the hidalgo of Valladolid,[14] whom we have met before, who had joined Velazquez shortly after his arrival in Cuba, and had taken a leading part in its conquest. This over, he had married a rich widow, María de Valenzuela, possessing a number of towns, and had accepted civil positions, such as procurador for the island, and contador in the newly discovered region. Narvaez

[11] 'Conociendo que la gẽte, de vna manera o de otra, se auia de yr, acordò de recogerla.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xviii.

[12] *Letter to Figueroa*, Nov. 17, 1519, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 400.

[13] It appears that Velazquez' suspicious nature had led him to cast reflections upon Porcallo, who resented them by throwing up the appointment. Herrera tells the story, which is not very interesting. dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xviii.

[14] Bernal Diaz says also 'Ualladolid, ó de Tudela de Duero.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 246, 38.

was about forty-two years of age, tall and strongly built, with a long face, ruddy complexion, and sandy beard. To a deep voice might be added agreeable manners, being quite fascinating in conversation. His qualities were such as created favorable impression. Ordinarily he exhibited good judgment, but he was careless, headstrong, and arrogant. As a soldier he was undoubtedly brave, but deficient in discipline and foresight; as a general he was far from being the equal of Cortés.[15]

By virtue of his commission Velazquez appointed this man captain-general and lieutenant-governor of the new country, with orders to send Cortés and any rebellious captain in chains to Cuba, to carry on the conquest, and to administer for the best interests of the settlement.[16] But the friends of Cortés were not idle. They caused representations to be secretly made to the audiencia[17] that a fratricidal war was about to be opened in the new region, ruinous to the interests of God and the king, and legal steps were at once taken by the promotor fiscal.[18] The policy of Cortés

[15] 'A este Narvaez hizo Diego Velazquez su Capitan principal, siempre honrándolo, de manera que despues dél tuvo en aquella isla el primer lugar.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 4–6; *Oviedo*, i. 496. 'Dezian que era muy escaco.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 247.

[16] In a letter to Judge Figueroa, of the Española audiencia, dated November 17, 1519, he gives notice of this appointment, and states that the object of the expedition is to prevent injury to the royal interest and outrages upon the natives. That very day he was leaving for Trinidad and other parts to aid Narvaez in the preparations. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 399–403. Narvaez' appointment is mentioned already in the letter of October 12th, addressed to a Spanish dignitary, wherein he is spoken of as contador for the new countries. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 250.

[17] 'Auiso y relacion dellos les embió desde Cubas el licenciado Zuaço, que auia venido....a tomar residencia.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 87. But we are safe in saying that Duero gave the impulse.

[18] This official, Juan Carrillo, laid the case before the audiencia, December 24th, representing that Cortés had without superior permission made war on the natives of the new lands and conquered them. He had also appropriated Velazquez' fleet and captured men from Garay's party, greatly to the injury of both. Velazquez was now preparing an expedition against him. The two parties would meet and fight, giving the natives the opportunity to rise and recover the country. Both Cortés and Velazquez being guilty in undertaking such expeditions without authority, the fiscal prays that they be punished in person and estate. An oidor or his proxy should at once be sent to investigate the case and prevent such war. During the following weeks Carrillo presented letters and witnesses in support of his petition. *Proceso por Real Audiencia de la Española*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 404–10.

in sending procuradores to Spain, with presents and messages to the king, had its effect on the audiencia, which considered not only that his case had passed beyond them, but that he was rendering, and likely to render, greater service to the royal interest than was his rival. By no means predisposed in favor of Velazquez, they moreover sent to Cuba the prudent licentiate Lucas Vazquez de Aillon, a member of their body, with instructions to prevent the threatened danger.

Accompanied by Pedro de Ledesma, secretary to the audiencia, and the alguacil mayor, Aillon met Narvaez at Yagua,[19] preparing with a portion of the fleet to join the rest at Guaniguanico. Placing the captain under injunction not to leave Cuba, he proceeded to the rendezvous and represented to Velazquez the evil which must result from his project, urging that his duty as governor and loyal subject demanded him to forego personal vengeance and interest, and finally forbidding the expedition without express permission from the king. The governor, who appears to have obtained more definite news from Spain regarding the wealth and promises of New Spain, was more determined than ever to carry out his scheme. Relying upon the grant of the country to himself, he considered that he had every right to claim his own and to treat Cortés as an interloper. At first he refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the audiencia in the matter, but pretended finally to fall in with Aillon's views.

It was accordingly agreed that, in order to promote the interests both of king and governor, by rendering available the costly preparations made, the fleet should proceed to its destination, but without Indians, and with a less number of settlers than had volunteered. Narvaez might present the claims of his principal upon Cortés, but only in a peaceable manner, without landing any forces. If they were

[19] Fourteen leagues west of Trinidad.

allegiance to Narvaez, poured into the ears of their wondering countrymen the story of their general's brilliant achievements. They told of the vast extent and resources of the country, of the wealth accumulated, the unfairness of Cortés in dividing, and the consequent discontent of the soldiers and the danger of their position.[27] This tended to render the conceited Narvaez over-confident, so that his rival was rather benefited than injured by the story of the deserters. He now told Aillon that he would land, since Cortés was so far in the interior and the vessels in a bad condition. He was also determined to form a settlement, and regardless of the oidor's protest a town was founded for a second time upon the site of the present Vera Cruz.[28] The governor of Cuetlachtlan hastened to send presents of supplies, as an act of courtesy to a captain whom he supposed to be the friend of Cortés. He was undeceived, however, and told by the deserters that Narvaez was the real envoy and captain sent by the king, while Cortés and his men were fugitive adventurers whom Narvaez would punish. His king had heard of the outrage on the emperor, and had sent him to procure his release, to restore order, and thereupon to return. The governor reported this to Montezuma, who, thinking no doubt

Verdad., 87; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xviii. Porras gives several and different names. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 500. Cortés appears to say that they were the men sent by him to bring news of Narvaez and who deserted. *Cartas*, 115. Aillon speaks of one man who came on board of his vessel. Finding that Cortés had instructed the Indians to regard any foreign arrivals as inimical, this man was sent to reassure them. *Carta de Audiencia*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 339. It appears probable, however, that Cortés' expectation of messengers from his king was known to the Indians.

[27] 'Alçauan las manos a Dios, que los librò del poder de Cortes, y de salir de.... Mexico, donde cada dia esperauan la muerte.... y aũ dezia el Cervantes, ...O Narvaez, Narvaez, que bien avẽturado que eres.... que tiene esse traidor de Cortes allegados mas de seteciẽtos mil pesos de oro, y todos los soldados estan mui mal con el.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 87.

[28] This was speedily abandoned for a camp at Cempoala. Aillon wanted merely a camp to be formed near a well supplied town. The municipal officers were: 'Alcaldes hordinarios á Francisco Verdugo, cuñado del dicho Diego Velazquez, casado con una hermana suya, é un Juan Yuste, su cuñado é mayordomo, é regidores á Diego Velazquez é Pero Velazquez, sus sobrinos, é á Gonzalo Martin de Salvatierra é Juan de Gamarra.' *Carta de Audiencia*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 342.

that it would be prudent to secure the friendship of so powerful a commander, whether he came as liberator or oppressor, sent him a number of valuable presents, and gave orders to provide his army with supplies. Narvaez kept the valuables for himself, a course which did not tend to increase his popularity, and transmitted in return a few trinkets to the monarch, with assurances of his good-will.[29]

Hearing that Velazquez de Leon was leading a large force not far off, Narvaez sent a message, appealing to him as a relative and old friend to join him with his men; but Velazquez, who was still in the region in and above Chinantla, looking for tribute and gold, deigned not even to reply, but forwarded the letter to his general and asked for orders. Meanwhile he and his lieutenant, Rangel, assembled their men and made them swear allegiance to Cortés, a few suspected of sympathy with the Cuban governor being placed under surveillance.[30] The next step of Narvaez was

[29] 'Conocian en el Narvaez ser la pura miseria, y el oro, y ropa.... todo se lo guardaua.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 89, 87. According to Oviedo's version Montezuma held a council, wherein some members favored the plan of attacking and killing the Spaniards then in Mexico, so as to prevent a junction of forces. This might frighten the rest into departing. Others, who were more confident, urged that the new arrivals should be allowed to come to Mexico, so as to swell the list of victims for the sacrifices, and this proposition was carried. iii. 509. Oviedo's informant evidently ignores the declared object of Narvaez; or, like Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 64–6, he does not believe that any communication could have taken place, for want of an interpreter. But Solis forgets the three deserters, and Indian mediums, perhaps. Prescott takes the peculiar ground that for Montezuma to 'have entered into a secret communication, hostile to the general's interests, is too repugnant to the whole tenor of his conduct.' *Mex.*, ii. 236. Cortés states that Father Olmedo had evidence of communication and interchange of presents between Montezuma and Narvaez. *Cartas*, 120–1. Others confirm this, as: *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 587; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.* 141–2; *Carta del Ejército de Cortés*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 428–30. The position of the emperor as prisoner, and the speedy succession of events, did not permit the relationship between the two to develop.

[30] Francisco de Lugo being actually secured with shackles. *Tirado*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 6; *Cortés, Cartas*, 118; *Carta de Audiencia*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 342. Oviedo reviews Velazquez' conduct in this instance, and concludes that, since Cortés gave him the men and appointed him captain, he was bound to obey this his immediate principal, unless royal orders to the contrary had been exhibited. 'Si aquel capitan, Johan Velazquez de Leon, no estoviera mal con su pariente Diego Velazquez, é se passara con los ciento é çinqüenta hombres, que avia llevado à Guaçacalco, á la parte de Pámphilo de Narvaez, su cuñado, acabado oviera Cortés su offiçio.' iii. 316–17.

to demand the surrender of Villa Rica, which the deserters represented as held by less than four score men. This task was intrusted to the clergyman Juan Ruiz de Guevara, accompanied by Notary Vergara, Amaya a relative of Velazquez, and three witnesses,[31] and letters were given them for distribution among Cortés' soldiers, with a view to gain their allegiance.[32]

Sandoval had been advised concerning the fleet, and suspecting the object he sent to warn Cortés, despatching at the same time two dark-complexioned soldiers, disguised as Indian fruit venders, to learn further particulars. The spies remained in Narvaez' camp a whole day, and by mingling with the leaders they picked up valuable information, escaping during the night with two horses.[33] Sandoval now sent off the old and infirm soldiers to a town called Papalote, in the hills, and obtained the promise of the remainder to hold the fort with him, a gallows being erected in a conspicuous site as a warning to the faint-hearted. About this time Guevara appeared before the quarters of Sandoval. No one came to receive him, and he had to find his way to the commander's house. The priest had been led to believe that little or no objection would be made by the adherents of Cortés to his demands, and confidently he began his harangue, speaking of the claims of Velazquez and the treason of Cortés. The word treason fired Sandoval. His party were the better servants of the king, he said, and were it not for

[31] 'Alonso de Vergara, escribano, é con Antonio de Maya.' *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 439; Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 88, writes Amaya; *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 168, 412.

[32] 'Me trajeron mas de cien cartas,' wherein the soldiers were told to give credit to the statements of Guevara and his companions, and to rest assured that they would be rewarded on joining. *Cortés, Cartas*, 116.

[33] While selling cherries to Captain Salvatierra they heard him refer to the treasures of Cortés as a magnificent prize. The designs of Cortés against Montezuma and his subjects were painted in dark colors. One of the stolen horses belonged to this captain, whose raving against the spies afforded great amusement to the camp. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 92; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 587.

Guevara's character as a clergyman he would have him chastised for his impudence. As it was, he referred him to Cortés as captain-general and justicia mayor of New Spain. Guevara likewise grew warm,[34] and a war of words followed, which the commander cut short by ordering some Indians to bundle the three principals into net hammocks. In these they were carried to Mexico, under a Spanish guard, to be delivered to the general.[35]

When Montezuma first received news from the coast governor of the arrival of the great fleet, he supposed that these were the vessels which Cortés had said that he expected, and by which it was hoped he would depart. Montezuma at once sent for Cortés to impart the tidings.[36] The Spanish general was not a little surprised at this second unusual summons, and still more when told that his vessels had arrived, and that new ones need not be built. While he was yet puzzling over the words, the emperor produced the painted message showing a fleet at anchor off Chalchiuhcuecan. "You can now leave in safety, and all will be well," continued the monarch, overjoyed at the thought of release.[37] "Thanks be to God, who pro-

[34] He ordered Vergara to read the provisions. Sandoval declared that none but a royal notary should do so, and threatened him with 100 lashes unless he desisted. Guevara interfered, and was told that he lied, and was a low clergyman. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 88.

[35] Alguacil Pedro de Solis was in charge. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 88, describes how they wondered at the succession of great cities, etc. The guard consisted of twenty men. *Cortés, Cartas*, 115.

[36] Gomara describes somewhat minutely the apprehension created among the soldiers by this summons, in face of the threatening aspect of affairs. *Hist. Mex.*, 138–9. Bernal Diaz states that Montezuma kept the news back for three days, while he communicated with Narvaez. He might have delayed longer, but feared that Cortés would suspect something. *Hist. Verdad.*, 87.

[37] While still talking, they received another message, saying that troops, horses, and guns had been landed. In his joy Montezuma embraced Cortés, exclaiming that he loved him more than ever, and saying that he would dine with him. While at table both were in good humor, the emperor thinking of the departure, the general of renewed conquests. After this Montezuma gave daily feasts, in the belief that the task of entertaining would soon be over. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 139. It is more likely that apprehensions prevailed on both sides. Brasseur de Bourbourg calls attention to the fact that no stranger had till then been so far honored as to sit at the same table with the monarch. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 277.

vides all things!" was the fervent utterance of the general, while the soldiers sent up shouts of joy mingled with discharges of fire-arms. "Surely," they said, "Puertocarrero and Montejo have returned in good time." Further consideration of the matter, however, convinced Cortés that these were not the ships of his friends, but that they belonged to his archenemy of Cuba. His captains thought the same, and talked with calculated effect to the men of the great wrong to them if the hirelings of Velazquez were to step in and reap the results of their hardships.

Anxious to learn something definite, Cortés sent two messengers by different routes to bring news about the expedition, a third being instructed to follow Velazquez de Leon with instructions to await orders before proceeding to Goazacoalco; a fourth messenger was despatched to Villa Rica.[38] Learning meanwhile from Sandoval that the expedition was inimical to him, Cortés sent letters from himself and his regidores to the commander, stating the progress of conquest on behalf of the Spanish king, and demanding his object. If he needed no succor, and came not provided with royal authority, he must at once depart; otherwise Cortés would march against him, supported by the vast forces of the empire.[39] The letters were

[38] Monjaras gives their names. 'Fuesen....tiznados como los yndios,' et seq. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 442–3; ii. 47–49, 134–5. Andrés de Tapia, who had just returned from Cholula, after settling a boundary dispute with Tlascala, was the fourth messenger. He followed by-paths, walking by day and being carried by Indians at night, so that he reached his destination in three days and a half. Finding that Sandoval had already sent messages, he remained with him. *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 586–7. Cortés writes that after being informed by Montezuma he received a letter, by a Cuban Indian, from a Spaniard who had been stationed on the coast to watch for vessels. This announced that a vessel had anchored at San Juan de Ulua, which was supposed to be that of the returning procuradores. The general now despatched his four messengers. Fifteen days passed without further news—this is probably a misprint—after which native paintings were received showing the number of men landed, and with them the report that the messengers from Mexico were detained by the new arrivals. *Cartas*, 114–15. A man named Pinedo, who fled from the capital, was overtaken by Aztecs, at Cortés' order, and brought back dead. *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 440.

[39] Cortés intimates that a friar carried this message, and that one of the questions was the nationality of the expedition. *Cartas*, 115. The friar appears to have carried a later message. Gomara assumes that Cortés already knew who the commander was, and offered his friendship. *Hist. Mex.*, 142.

made the subject of jest among the officers of Narvaez, the veedor Salvatierra declaring that the messages of traitors should receive no attention. He urged the expediency of marching upon them without loss of time, and swore that he would broil and eat the ears of Cortés.

Shortly after the letters had been sent, the approach of Guevara and his companions was announced. And now for more of that deep diplomacy in which Cortés was so skilled. Perceiving the importance of conciliating men of their standing, he despatched an escort with horses to bring them with all honor into the city, and he himself went to meet them, expressing regret at the rude treatment they had received. With smooth tongue and promises he wove his web round them, and "oiled their hands with gold," as Bernal Diaz expresses it. He showed them the greatness and wealth of the country, and explained to them how it was all in his power; and he sought to convince them of the injury dissension must occasion to God, to the king, and to themselves. Ah, rare talent, the talent of tongue! Guevara, at least, was won over, and went back delighted with his courtesy and liberality, and in full sympathy with his cause.[40] On reaching the camp he told of what he had seen, the great extent of country, its vast population, and the number of well built towns on every side. Nor did he fail to sing the praises of Cortés, and speak of his treasures, of which he displayed specimens. Every captain and soldier under him, he said, could boast of heavy gold ornaments and well filled purses, of numerous servants and beautiful women; and they lived on the fat of the land, having the country and all its inhabitants at their disposal. The general had taken care to exhibit only the attractive features of his position, which as now detailed by the priest captivated the hearts of

[40] 'Acabo de dos dias....donde venian muy bravosos leones, bolvieron muy mansos, y se le ofrecieron por servidores.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 88; *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 168, 465, 500.

the listeners, who longed to be with so fortunate and liberal a leader. Even before this many were disaffected, and despised the arrogant and narrow-minded Narvaez; others took an impartial view, and recognized the evil of dissension in a country only half subdued, while yet others were intent only on securing treasures.

The priest brought a letter to Narvaez, wherein Cortés expressed delight at finding his old friend commander of the expedition, although he regretted that hostile measures had been taken against him, who as a loyal servant held the country for the king. If Narvaez carried a royal commission, it had only to be presented to be obeyed; otherwise he was willing to come to a friendly agreement, since hostilities must be prejudicial not only to them both, but to the crown.[41] Guevara supported these expressions by recommending a peaceful arrangement and withdrawal to new territory, for Cortés was evidently loyal, and had hosts of Indians to aid him in maintaining his position. Narvaez not only refused to listen to any overtures, but became indignant with the clergyman and his companions for advocating them. He knew that the forces of Cortés were inferior to his own, and of Indians he had no fear.

Cortés had elicited from Guevara a number of facts regarding the expedition, among them that the arrogance and parsimony of Narvaez had alienated a large proportion of his followers, and that a little gold would have a wonderful effect.[42] Indeed, they had come for gold, and had no desire to raise the sword against their brethren if it could be avoided. This information was not lost on the astute conqueror.

[41] Cortés said that he could not leave Mexico, where his presence was necessary for the preservation of peace and treasures. *Cartas*, 117–18. 'Y q̄ se viessen solos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 142. According to Bernal Diaz a letter of similar tenor had been sent on before, by a swift messenger, to clear the way for Guevara's recommendations, and Cortés therein intimated that the hostile utterances attributed to Narvaez must be due to the interpreters, for he was sure that so wise and brave a captain would not utter anything to the prejudice of king and comrades. *Hist. Verdad.*, 89.

[42] 'Porq̄ dadivas quebrantan peñas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 89.

Shortly after the departure of the clergyman, Cortés took counsel with Father Olmedo, that most admirable of friars, whose knowledge of the world, calm judgment, and clear foresight had more than once saved Cortés from himself. Olmedo now undertook the conversion of Narvaez and his men. Laden with instructions and jewels, he proceeded to their camp and endeavored to win Narvaez to peaceful measures. Special letters and presents were given Duero, Aillon, and others, who were supposed to be friendly, with a view of obtaining their active coöperation. Cortés wished especially that Narvaez should understand that he was friendly to him. Dissension would react on both, particularly on Narvaez; unity of action could alone promote their common aim and preserve the country to the king. Cortés had fewer soldiers, but was nevertheless stronger, from possessing interpreters, knowledge of the country, and control of its forces and resources. Were not the kings already his servants?

But Narvaez was stubborn. Olmedo, however, overcame the scruples of a number of his counsellors, who advised him to negotiate with a man so strongly established. Narvaez called them all traitors, and told Olmedo that he ought to be ashamed of himself for promulgating such base sentiments; whereat the priest became indignant, and devoted himself all the more assiduously to the subordinates, among whom he found the way well prepared by Guevara. His arguments found willing ears, and his gold confirmed the arguments. Among his companions from Mexico was one Usagre, an artillerist, whose brother occupied a similar position under Narvaez. This man also did Cortés good service. These doings could not escape notice, and, warned by Salvatierra, the commander would have arrested the friar had not Duero and others interfered. They called attention to his diplomatic and religious character, and the courteous treatment Cortés had given his own messengers. Narvaez

hurried him away, however, with a letter for his general, wherein he claimed authority to take possession of the country for Velazquez. If Cortés resisted, it would fare ill with him.[43]

It was an easy escape for Olmedo, for Narvaez had not scrupled shortly before to deal with the royal oidor in a most peremptory manner. Aillon had remonstrated with him about his proceedings, such as forming a settlement, threatening to enter the country, spreading harsh reports among the natives against Cortés, and neglecting to restrain his men from taking property and otherwise abusing the inhabitants. No attention being paid to this, he formally called upon Narvaez to make a peaceful demand for the surrender of the country, and, if refused, to go elsewhere to settle. He intimated publicly that the measures of Narvaez were actuated by malice, rather than by loyal wisdom. This the vain and arrogant commander could not endure. It was to the oidor, he said, that the present growing disaffection among his men was due. He was becoming dangerous, and the municipal officers were directed to seize and carry him on board the same vessel in which he had arrived. His secretary and alguacil were placed on board another, and a day or two after sail was set for Cuba, the captains and crews having been sworn to deliver them to Velazquez.[44] During the voyage, however, Aillon persuaded his jailers to take him to Española, which he reached in the last days of August, after a long and dangerous trip of three months and

[43] According to Bernal Diaz, Duero persuaded Narvaez, at the instigation of the friar, to invite the latter, and to seek by friendly efforts to win him over. Pretending to yield to his persuasions, Olmedo told him that if the proper persons were sent to confer with Cortés, he could no doubt be brought to terms. It was then agreed that Duero and others should arrange a private interview between the two generals. *Hist. Verdad.*, 93; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xxi.

[44] The reason for this separation of oidor and officers was to prevent the former from issuing authoritative orders. This seizure had been effected just as Guevara returned from Mexico. *Cortés, Cartas*, 118. Hence, Cortés' letter failed to reach him; yet Bernal Diaz assumes that he received it, and coöperated accordingly. *Hist. Verdad.*, 89.

a half. The consort vessel was separated from him during a storm shortly after leaving Ulua, and the secretary and alguacil did not rejoin the oidor till October. A report of the outrage was promptly forwarded to the king, signed by the whole audiencia, with a request that severe chastisement be inflicted, in order to maintain respect for that august tribunal.[45]

Among others falling under the wrath of Narvaez was Gonzalo de Oblanco, whose advocacy of Cortés and condemnation of Aillon's arrest brought imprisonment, which so wrought upon him that he died within a few days.[46] These harsh and foolish measures engendered further discontent, and half a dozen of Aillon's supporters, including Pedro de Villalobos, deserted to Sandoval, who received them with open arms. Others sent to signify their willingness to join Cortés.[47]

After Aillon's arrest Narvaez had been persuaded to move his camp to Cempoala, as a healthier place, more suitable for head-quarters, and better provided with supplies. The cacique was intimidated to surrender some effects belonging to Cortés and to accord the new-comers a welcome, which seemed to stamp his conduct as desertion. "Oh, well!" said Cortés when

[45] This report, embodying Aillon's, is dated August 30, 1520. A formal statement of the case, prepared on the arrival of the secretary, was forwarded on November 10th. *Carta de Audiencia*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 332–48; *Ayllon, Relacion*, in *Id.*, xii. 251–2; *Carta al Rey de los Oidores*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 495–511. The report proved a heavy argument against Velazquez' case, although Bishop Fonseca at first sought to keep it back. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 90; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. v.

[46] Two soldiers were also imprisoned for speaking favorably of Cortés. One of them was Sancho de Barahona who settled in Guatemala. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 89, 100. To Bernardino de Santa Clara, who had aided Aillon in the formal demands upon Narvaez, nothing was done, owing to his many friends in the camp. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xx.–xxi. This man was not actuated by friendship for Cortés, however. He had been treasurer of Española, where his prodigality nearly made him a defaulter. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 166–8.

[47] 'Villalobos, y vn Portugues, y otros seys o siete se passaron a Cortes. Y otros le escriuieron, a lo que algunos dizen ofreciendo se le, si venia para ellos y que Cortes leyo las cartas, callando la firma....y que publicaua tener en Zempoallá dozientos Españoles.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 143. Bernal Diaz says five deserters, relatives and friends of Aillon. *Hist. Verdad.*, 90, 92.

told of it, "long live the last victor."[48] But he could hardly blame the natives for yielding, when even Sandoval himself, on hearing of this approach, abandoned Villa Rica and took refuge in the mountains, where he remained till the general bade him join his forces.[49]

[48] Herrera assumes that he was deceived by Narvaez, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xix., but intimidation was no doubt the leading motive, for he could not possibly relish the prospect of Montezuma's release by the new-comers, nor the licentiousness and greed of the soldiers. 'This conduct of the men drove the inhabitants to flight,' says Cortés, *Cartas*, 119, 125. When the jewels and other effects belonging to Cortés' party were seized, together with the Indian wives of the conquerors, the cacique became seriously alarmed, exclaiming that he would surely be killed for permitting the outrage. This excited only derision, Salvatierra remarking: 'Aueys visto que miedo que tienen todos estos Caciques desta nonada de Cortesillo.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 90.

[49] *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 587. 'Ellos dejaban la villa sola por no pelear con ellos.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 119.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE COUP DE MAÎTRE OF CORTÉS.

MAY, 1520.

DISMAL PROSPECTS—EMPIRE TO HOLD, INVASION TO REPEL—THE ARMY DIVIDES—ALVARADO GUARDS MONTEZUMA, WHILE CORTÉS LOOKS AFTER NARVAEZ—THE MARCH SEAWARD—THE RENDEZVOUS—THE CHINANTECS AND THEIR PIKES—CORTÉS SOWS ALLURING WORDS IN THE CAMP OF THE ENEMY—PROPOSALS OF PEACE—DEFIANCE—NIGHT ATTACK—CORTÉS CAPTURES NARVAEZ AND HIS ARMY.

IT now behooved Cortés to look well to himself. He might win a score of Marathons, but one Paros would ruin all. When embarking in this enterprise, he was to all appearance little above the common adventurer. But rare talents were constantly appearing as required by occasion. Though sometimes carried away by excess of zeal, he had proved himself an adept in diplomacy. And for one hitherto so sportive and pleasure-loving, his temper was now grave, particularly in times of peril, when his calm self-mastery increased with increasing danger. The rhythm of battle was the sweetest harmony that could stir his soul, and yet he never fought but for a purpose. On gaining an advantage he indulged in no holiday of retrospect or repose; so long as anything remained to be done no time was wasted in self-gratulations. He never turned from danger, but hastened to seek it out, perceiving it even in the darkness, intuitively, and always looking it full in the face. It was while preparing to strike that the enemy received the staggering blow, and the advantage thus gained was followed up to yet greater advantage.

At no time appears this hero stronger, grander, than now, when, without authority, without the royal sanction, in one sense an outlaw, with the people of the country against him, his own countrymen coming to war on him, his force insignificant as compared with that of any one of his several enemies, he yet holds them all at bay, by his iron nerve and ever ready strategic resources, keeping them asunder, pitting one against another, playing on the foibles of them all as easily and serenely as a lady fingers her guitar.

Greatly imperilled were now the conqueror's brilliant visions of conquest and conversion, of fame and wealth. If Narvaez were to advance on Mexico, the Aztecs could not fail to take advantage of the opportunity, either to join the professed liberator of their emperor and themselves, or to attack the foreigners' quarters on their own account. This would place him between two fires, to which famine would prove an effective ally. If Narvaez remained on the coast, it would be to cut off both retreat and reinforcement, leaving him to Aztec vengeance. To abandon Mexico for a campaign against the enemy would be to surrender the most important part of the conquest.

To divide his forces, so as at once to retain his hold on the capital and meet this new visitation—such a measure would render his already small force less able to cope with an enemy not only its equal in courage and military art, but far superior to it in number and resources. Yet this he determined to do. The revelations of Narvaez' messengers had shown how possible it might be, by judicious gifts and promises, to sow discord in the enemy's camp. The priests Guevara and Olmedo, and others of both parties, were even then at work, and chiefly on their efforts depended his prospects. Thus would he seduce to his purpose the opponent's troops, in so far at least as to effect a compromise by which

Narvaez might leave him in comparative peace.[1] Who shall say that his good fortune may not still favor him! And thereupon he resolved to move his camp nearer to the enemy, so as to be ready for any emergency, and further, to give himself a more imposing appearance by the addition of native auxiliaries. Another reason for this advance was by his presence to counteract the defection of Indian allies, arising from the parade of a superior force by Narvaez, and from the stamping of Cortés as an impostor.

He laid the project before his council, showing the danger of awaiting the advance of Narvaez, whose ill-will had already caused their property to be declared confiscated and their names branded with dishonor. Deserters to Sandoval had brought news of serious discontent in the enemy's camp. Hundreds, they said, would be ready to come over or to remain neutral if Cortés showed a bold front. Indeed, the protests of Aillon against a fratricidal war had been echoed by most of them, intent as they were on obtaining gold, not on slaughtering countrymen. It was in any case better to advance and secure a good position, perhaps to surprise the careless Narvaez. With God and the king on their side, so they claimed, they could not fail to conquer. Some objections were ventured upon, but promptly suppressed by one of the captains, who reminded his comrades of their glorious achievements under Cortés, and their probable fate should Narvaez gain the ascendancy. The result was an unanimous approval of the plan proposed; and Cortés thereupon commissioned the captains to represent the matter to the men, and to ascertain who were willing to follow, and who should remain in Mexico.[2]

[1] 'Velazquez.... si yua en persona no podia escusar de respetarle, aunque por su buena, y blāda condicion, confiaua que le traeria a qualquier buen partido; pero temia que yendo otro qualquier General.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xix.

[2] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 144; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xxi.; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 90. 'Afirman muchos, que en essa saçon estaba tan bien quisto Cortés, que si á todos los quisiera llevar, todos se fueran trás él.' *Oviedo*, iii. 509. Which is exaggerated, as we have seen.

On acquainting Montezuma with his intention, the monarch questioned him as to the reason of the hostility shown by the other force. Cortés well knew that it was useless wholly to conceal the state of affairs. He had been silent, he replied, in order not to give him pain. He and his men had been sent by their king on this mission, and were from the royal province of Castile, whilst the forces on the coast were a rebellious horde from the outside province of Biscay, and inferior to them, as Otomís, for instance, were inferior to the nobler Aztecs. They had come with the design of injuring the natives, and Cortés as their protector; but with the aid of his patron saint he would have no trouble in chastising them, and in securing their vessels for his speedy departure.[3] Alvarado, the tonatiuh, would remain in Mexico, and him he recommended to the monarch's consideration, requesting that supplies be provided and peace maintained. Any attempt at revolt would react with terrible effect on himself and his people. The emperor promised that this should be done, and offered not only guides, but an army to aid him. The latter was declined, chiefly because Aztec troops could not be relied on.[4]

[3] 'Debia ser alguna mala gente, y no vasallos de V. A.,' is Cortés' version of the reply, *Cartas*, 119–20, while his interpreter, Aguilar, gives it more literally as 'una gente vizcaynos e que no los enbiava el enperador.' *Testimonio*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 47, 184. Gomara adds that Cortés said he was going to protect Montezuma's subjects, and to keep the strangers on the coast till he was ready to depart. The emperor probably dissimulated, 'holgando que vnos Christianos a otros se matassen.' *Hist. Mex.*, 145. Forgetting that the declared purposes of Narvaez were well known in Mexico, Herrera renders the answer that this captain was a brother of Cortés, sent with a present from their king. Both would come up to the capital and then leave the country. The rumored enmity was due to an order from Spain to avenge any injury suffered at the hands of the natives. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i. Brasseur de Bourbourg follows him.

[4] 'Aquellos españoles le dejaba encomendados con todo aquel oro y joyas que él me habia dado....y le dí muchas joyas y ropas á él,' et seq. *Cortés, Cartas*, 119–20. 'Aun prometiò, que embiaria en nuestra ayuda cinco mil hombres de guerra, e Cortes....bien entendiò que no los auia de embiar, e le dixo, que no auia menester.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 91; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 135. Ixtlilxochitl assumes in one place that Cortés asked for men, and was told that Aztecs dared not fight Spaniards, but would go as carriers. In another version the confederate kings grant the auxiliaries. *Hist. Chich.*, 300; *Relaciones*, 389, 412. Solis assumes that Montezuma is devoted to Cortes; so

It was decided that all who were not wholly in sympathy with Cortés, should remain with the garrison left in charge of Mexico, since self-preservation would constrain them to act in the direction of his interest. This force numbered one hundred and forty men, and with the loyal Alvarado for captain, Mexico was regarded as secured. The defences of the Spanish quarters were strengthened; all the guns and most of the fire-locks, cross-bows, and ammunition were left with the garrison, also seven horses. Supplies being not over abundant, owing to the drought, maize and other provisions were brought from Tlascala to serve in case of need. The men were promised wealth and honors if they remained faithful, and their somewhat hot-headed commander was exhorted to prudence. "You are few in number," said Cortés to them on leaving, "and yet you are strong; finally, have a care of your prisoner."[5]

About the middle of May Cortés set out from Mexico with seventy Spaniards, sworn to implicit obedience.[6] There were also native carriers, a number of prominent Mexicans as hostages, and guides who were to take them by a short southern route through

does Zamacois, who sees a proof thereof in the offer of troops. He could not communicate with Narvaez for want of interpreters, and had he wished to aid the latter he would have attacked the Spanish quarters. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 70–1. All of which shows that this author is not profound either in investigation or argument.

[5] Bernal Diaz places the force at 83 men, with 10 cross-bows, 14 firelocks, 4 large guns, falconets, 7 horses, and all the ammunition; 150 men were left, and 150 taken, *Oviedo;* a little over 50 were left, *Tapia;* all wished to go, but 200 were left and 250 taken, including the men of Velazquez, with 8 to 9 horses, and a force of carriers, *Gomara;* 150 left, 250 taken, with a number of Indians, *Ixtlilxochitl;* 150 left, *Probanza de Lejalde.* B. V. de Tapia, who remained with Alvarado, says 130; *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 36. Cortés' own account distributes the total of his force as follows: 140 left at Mexico, 150 absent under Velazquez, 70 taken by himself, 150 at Villa Rica; but this is more than the original number given on setting out for the plateau. The Villa Rica force may, however, have been reduced by later drafts, for other authorities allow only about 70 men for this fortress. In the Ramusio edition of the *Cartas* 140 men are given as the garrison left under Alvarado, while 60 are taken by Cortés, *Viaggi*, iii. 244, but later issues place the former figure at 500, which is evidently a misprint. However much the figures of different writers may vary, it seems to be admitted that war and disease had made a considerable inroad upon them.

[6] 'Fizo capitan dellos a Alonzo Davila.' Monjaras and Aguilar, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 48, 184.

Aztec territory to the coast. Montezuma accompanied him to the Iztapalapan causeway, and there took his leave with friendly demonstration, while a number of chieftains continued with him for some distance on the way to the Huitzilapan plateau. He had no intention of encumbering himself with heavy war material, for the little he possessed could not avail against the superior armament of the enemy. His must be a light corps, capable of quick movements; stratagem should supply the place of numbers. And now what hopes and fears were theirs as they marched on toward the sea! Surely so brave a little army was never more beset by pitfalls and snares.

On reaching Cholula they were joined by Velazquez and Rangel, with one hundred and fifty men, who were now the mainstay of the expedition. About a score of these, suspected of favoring too strongly the Cuban governor, were sent back to Mexico, so that the enterprise might not be imperilled by treason. Among the remainder were distributed the gold collected by the expedition in the Tochtepec and adjoining region, in order to encourage loyalty.[7]

Unable himself to visit Tlascala, Cortés sent Francisco Rodriguez, with instructions to raise a force of her stanch warriors. He succeeded in enlisting several thousand; but as it became evident whom they were to meet, the natives recalled only too vividly the terrible effect of Spanish arms and prowess, and began rapidly to desert, so that only a few presented themselves before Cortés, and they were dismissed with presents.[8]

[7] 'Que seria fasta catorze mill castellanos.' *Monjaras*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 49. 'Cinco o seys mill.' *Tirado*, in *Id.*, 7.

[8] 'Porq̃ le pareciò q̃ auia conseguido su intento.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i. Perhaps in spreading the rumor that he came with Indian auxiliaries. Among the auxiliaries were 400 men from Huexotzinco, under Pedro Gonzalez de Trujillo. *Tirado*, and others, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 247 et seq.; ii. 7 et seq. It is this expedition of Rodriguez, assisted by Diego García, Alonso de Ojeda, and Juan Marquez, as captains, that has misled Gomara, and particularly Herrera, in supposing that the whole expedition received a grand reception at Tlascala; but, beside the above reference, Cortés intimates clearly enough that he did not go that way, and he certainly did take a more southerly

During the march to the coast scouts were sent out by the main road and through by-paths to gather information of the enemy. Not far from Cholula Olmedo rejoined the army, with a letter from Narvaez demanding submission. Of this no notice was taken, for although the latter had endeavored to intimidate the envoy by holding a review of his troops, the brave friar had sounded the disposition of the men too truly to be alarmed. He seemed rather disposed to underrate the strength of Narvaez, and with a sense of the ludicrous he amused the camp with his description of the vanity and carelessness of the leader, and the arrogant assumption of the officers. When, therefore, at Quecholac[9] they encountered Alonso de Mata,[10] notary of Narvaez, who had been sent with four witnesses to advise Cortés of his commission and demands, he was told first to produce his own credentials as royal notary, and being unable to do so he was refused a hearing.[11] The official mission of the messengers being thus disposed of, Cortés soothed their wounded pride with soft words and hospitable cheer; he gave them presents, and took care before dismissing them to feast their eyes on the gold and jewels which he caused his men to display, and to let them know that thousands of Tlascaltec and other troops were on the way to join him. Their report to Narvaez was a confirmation of Guevara's statement, and did much to promote the growing disaffection toward Narvaez.

route to the coast than on the previous journey. *Cartas*, 120. Bernal Diaz also says: 'embiò Cortes a Tlascala â rogar....que nos embiassen de presto quatro mil hombres.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 91. Prescott falls not only into this generally adopted error, but states that 600 troops were asked for, *Mex.*, ii. 243, whilst the chroniclers all say from 4000 to 10,000. 'La maior parte de ellos se bolviò, porque aquella Nacion no estaba acostumbrada à pelear fuera de su Tierra.' *Torquemada*, i. 482. A not very sound excuse, since their troops had already gone to Mexico.

[9] About twenty leagues east of Cholula.

[10] 'Vezino de la Pueblo, que era ballestero.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 90.

[11] 'Púsole preso en su pié de amigo.' *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 441. But this is not likely. Bernal Diaz says that Narvaez was told to send communications to Tampaniquita. *Hist. Verdad.*, 91; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 248, ii. 185.

The army now descended from the plateau to Ahuilizapan, and followed the slope northward to Huatusco. This town appears to have been situated on the head-waters of the present Rio Jamapa. Half-way down this river, about ten leagues south of Cempoala, lay the town of Tampaniquita,[12] which was the rendezvous. A number of Indians who here appeared with complaints of outrages by Narvaez were consoled with promises of speedy relief. Sandoval had come by a long and difficult mountain route to avoid the enemy, and had brought with him about sixty able-bodied soldiers, the old and infirm remaining at Papalote.[13]

This addition raised the force to about two hundred and sixty men, according to common statement, including the deserters from Narvaez. Among the number were five horsemen, and a few archers and musketeers.[14] They were poorly equipped, for they brought from Mexico little else than well-worn escaupiles, or quilted cotton armor, shields, swords, and dirks, a miserable outfit in which to meet the well armed troops of Narvaez.[15] But the ready resource of Cortés had found a remedy. He had noticed in the hands of the Chinantecs a spear, twenty feet in length, which struck him at once as a formidable weapon, either in defence or attack. It would be particularly serviceable against cavalry. Immediately on hearing of Narvaez' arrival he had sent a messenger

[12] Torquemada and Clavigero attempt to correct this spelling, but Bernal Diaz is sustained by Orozco y Berra, in *Mex., Noticias Ciudad*, 244–6. Bernal Diaz also mentions Mitalaguita, which may be Metlangutla, a few leagues farther east. *Hist. Verdad.*, 91. Herrera states that they passed through Cotastlan, by which he means probably the province, and not the town, of Cuetlachtlan. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i.

[13] Herrera, ubi sup., leaves Ircio in command at Villa Rica, which is improbable. Sandoval arrived at the rendezvous the day after us. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 92; *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 3–9. Prescott makes him join long before this, on the high plateau, but he misunderstands his authorities, and is quite at sea with respect to the route followed by the forces.

[14] Bernal Diaz and Herrera say 266 in all; Torquemada has 266, beside captains and five horsemen; Cortés, 250 in all; Tapia, about 250.

[15] 'Por vn peto, ó capacete, ó casco, ó babera de hierro, dieramos aquella noche quãto nos pidierã por ello.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 98.

to that province with an order for three hundred of the pikes, to be finished not with the usual iztli head, but with double points of copper, a metal which abounded in that region. The natives having previously tendered submission to the Spaniards, Cortés also asked them for two thousand warriors, to join him on pentecost day at the rendezvous. Both of these requests were promptly granted, and before the Spaniards were on the ground the messenger had returned with a force of Indians bearing the weapons,[16] with points superior in finish to the models sent. The messenger was Tobilla, a soldier from the Italian wars, and an expert at arms, particularly with the lance. Under his instruction the soldiers soon became expert pikemen, and gained no little praise. Add to this courage, increased by many victories, their admirable discipline, their influence over the natives, and their knowledge of the country, and the little band assumes more formidable proportions.

Under the several influences surrounding him the original fierce design of Narvaez in his dealings with Cortés had cooled somewhat. The calm confidence and caustic wit of Olmedo tended to inspire respect for his commander, which was not lessened by the rumor of vast Indian armies massing under his banner. Nor were his men apparently inclined to turn the sword against their countrymen.

Before the return of Mata he despatched a commission to Cortés demanding the surrender of the country, but offering him liberty to depart for any other region, accompanied by those who wished to follow his fortunes. With this object vessels and stores would be provided. The bearers of this proposal were his old friend Andrés de Duero, Guevara, another clergyman named Juan de Leon, and one or two others.[17]

[16] Thirty-eight palmos long. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iii.

[17] According to Bernal Diaz this commission was arranged by the combined influence of Olmedo and Duero, during Olmedo's second visit to the camp. The friar appears, however, to have been there but once, when he was

Duero, it will be remembered, had greatly assisted Cortés in fitting out his expedition from Cuba; in fact, without his intervention Cortés would never have been appointed to the command. Láres was dead, and it was quite natural, after this lapse of time, that Duero should desire to look in on Mexico, and for that reason had joined the expedition of Narvaez. Yet his sympathies were wholly with his partner, and after a warm embrace he came at once to the subject of his ducats. Their interview was private and protracted, and appears to have been satisfactory, Cortés receiving on the one hand valuable information about Narvaez' plans and position, and Duero, on the other, coming forth with weighted pockets, as an instalment of the larger sum to follow. According to Bernal Diaz it was arranged that Duero should receive valuable grants and offices if he persuaded the alguacil mayor and other leaders so to manage affairs that Narvaez should be captured or killed, and Cortés acknowledged captain-general over all the troops.[19] Whatever may have been the agreement, there is no doubt that Duero promised to promote his friend's schemes in the other camp.

Guevara and the other members of the commission were also loaded with presents, and confirmed as supporters of Cortés. As for Narvaez' proposition, he charged them to reply that he would listen to none

expelled. Knowing Salvatierra to be a blusterer, Bermudez, the alguacil mayor, proposed that he should join the commission, but his intended victim, not caring to trust himself within the power of Cortés, pleaded sickness and a dislike to speak with a traitor. 'Señor Veedor,' chimed in Olmedo, ironically, 'best it is to be prudent, and you may have him prisoner before long.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 93.

[18] Duero was to receive the share of treasures claimed, a command in the expedition equal to that of Cortés, and after the conquest a grant of towns similar to his own. As a further inducement, sufficient gold was given to load his two Cuban servants. On taking leave of the general, on pentecost morning, Duero asked: 'What has your worship to say, before I leave?' 'God be with you,' was the reply, 'and see to it, Señor Duero, that it be done as arranged, or by my conscience [Cortés' favorite oath] I'll be in your camp within three days, with all my companions, and the first to receive the lance will be your worship, if I see aught contrary.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 94. Monjaras states that Duero and Leon warned Cortés against opposing Narvaez' army and commission. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 49.

but a royal mandate, and would hold the country for the king, as was the duty of a loyal subject, and to this he and his followers were prepared to pledge their lives. Still, he was ready to meet Narvaez, each accompanied by ten attendants, in order that their respective claims might peradventure be happily adjusted. It was supposed by the captains of Cortés, who had influenced the proposal, that the result would be a division of territory, and to this they were willing to agree.[19]

Duero had been requested by Narvaez to persuade Velazquez de Leon to visit their camp, in the hope that a personal meeting might win him to their cause.[20]

Velazquez' disregard of the former summons from the enemy had confirmed the faith of Cortés in his loyalty, and since a visit to the camp of Narvaez might lead to important information, he advised him to go, at the same time intimating that his heavy ornaments might have a happy effect on that gold-thirsty crew.[21] With a view to temporize he was authorized to offer himself as mediator between the two generals, and with a supply of gold for bribes he went over to the camp of Narvaez. There he met a most cordial reception. Gently the commander remonstrated at his adherence to a traitor who had so deeply injured his relatives. "He is no traitor," replied Velazquez

[19] Cortés to remain governor of the part to be allotted him till the king should decide. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 588. According to Gomara, who sends Veedor Álvarez Chico, Juan Velazquez, and Juan del Rio, to carry the message, Cortés proposed a private interview for the discussion of two points, whether Narvaez would leave Mexico to him and go to Pánuco or elsewhere, aided by Cortés with gold and supplies, or whether Narvaez preferred to take Mexico and give him 300 or 400 men wherewith to pass on to new conquests. *Hist. Mex.*, 144. The last proposal could only have been a trap to secure Narvaez' men. Prescott chooses to omit the proposal for an interview, and sends instead the ultimatum with Duero, a glaring disregard of Cortés' own text, as confirmed by others. *Cortés, Cartas*, 121–2; *Oviedo*, iii. 314.

[20] 'Dize Narvaez, y en todo su Real ay fama, qui si U. merced [Velazquez] vá allâ, que luego yo [Cortés] soy deshecho.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 95.

[21] Bernal Diaz states that Cortés made the request in a manner that appeared to Velazquez an attempt to probe his loyalty. He therefore refused to take any valuables with him, but was finally persuaded Juan del Rio, Cortés' equerry, kept him company.

warmly, "there has been no treason either acted or intended." He would not listen to any overtures, even when coupled with the promise of a command second only to that of Narvaez. "I have sworn loyalty to Cortés," he said, "and I will remain true." Nevertheless, that he might not appear ungracious, he promised to use his efforts toward the recognition of Narvaez' supremacy. A review of the troops was held to impress him with the superiority of the forces with which he might soon have to contend.

A courtier in manner, and with a fine presence, Velazquez quickly won his way among the captains and staff; nor did he fail to improve the opportunity by presenting his general's cause in the most attractive light. No little weight was given to his words by the heavy gold chain which fell in several coils upon his breast.[22]

Cortés affirms that the proposal for an interview with Narvaez had been accepted, and that he was preparing to attend it when the warning came that advantage would be taken of the meeting to seize or kill him.[23] If treachery was intended, it is more likely

[22] Bernal Diaz adds that, these efforts being observed by Salvatierra, Narvaez was urged to seize Velazquez, and this would have been done but for the representations of Duero and others. During the dinner given in his honor, Captain Diego Velazquez, nephew of the Cuban governor, alluded in one of his remarks to Cortés as a traitor. The guest appealed to Narvaez against such expressions. Diego repeated the term, and added that Juan did not deserve to bear the name Velazquez. Grasping his sword the latter retorted, calling him a liar. He would prove himself a better man than either uncle or nephew, if permission was granted. The others had to interfere to prevent the clashing of swords, and Narvaez was persuaded to order the turbulent visitor away. At leave-taking the general showed his annoyance, and said that it would have been better had he not come. Diego Velazquez, who stood by his side, added a threat, to which Juan rashly retorted, with a twirl of his beard: 'Before many days I shall see if your prowess equals your boast.' Alarmed at his want of self-control, Duero and other sympathizers hurried him away before he could utter any more indiscretions. He and the equerry had hardly left camp before some horsemen appeared, as if in pursuit, and caused them to increase their pace. *Hist. Verdad.*, 95–6; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i.

[23] *Cartas*, 122. Bernal Diaz assumes that the proposal for an interview came from Narvaez, through Duero, to whom he also confided the intended treachery. Olmedo, who had pretended to be won over, was also informed. *Hist. Verdad.*, 93. Herrera supposes that Sandoval warns Cortés, who, according to Gomara, is still at Mexico when the proposal comes. *Hist. Mex.*, 144. Solis is more correct in ascribing the warning to Duero. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 83.

to have originated with Cortés, who was by no means scrupulous, as we have seen, while Narvaez appears to have borne the reputation of a man of honor.[24] It is still more probable that Cortés invented the warning in order to be free before his followers, and before Narvaez, to carry out a more momentous project, which, with the increased knowledge of affairs in the enemy's camp, and with the growth there of his party, had begun to unfold in his mind.

It was a grand conception; yet grander still the execution. It was a different matter with a small force to fall upon a well appointed army of countrymen; different from war on naked savages, to surprise them by night, or otherwise to vanquish them. Yet this was what Cortés now proposed to do. Nor, in adopting this bold measure, does he lay himself open to the charge of rashness or recklessness. His situation was desperate: he must conquer or be conquered. Cortés was no abstract theorist: he dealt mainly in concrete facts; not necessarily demonstrated facts, but facts reached often by intuition alone. With facts, intuitively or practically arrived at, he kept himself well stored. He possessed many noble qualities, but on the whole, as we have seen, his character was not cast in an immaculate mould. He was exceedingly religious; and while, as I have said, he would not let religion stand in the way of his ambition, yet he was more bigoted than any of his followers. Aside from the chivalrous abandonment of himself to fate, and the brilliant achievements thence arising, there was little admirable in him. He knew nothing of lofty magnanimity, although he did many magnanimous acts; he knew nothing of pure disinterestedness, or a generosity of soul, although he was ofttimes exceedingly generous. He had none of that sense of unswerving justness and sensitiveness to wrong which characterized Grijalva. His self-posses-

[24] The fact that he allowed such dangerous men as Velazquez de Leon and Olmedo to go free indicates that he harbored no treachery.

sion never left him. He was a power within himself, and he knew it. Thus it was in Mexico now; and for years afterward when Mexico was all America, he was Agamemnon, king of men, the greatest of Greece when Greece was all the world.

Under the present inspiration, he sent Rodrigo Álvarez Chico and a notary[25] to withdraw the proposal he had made Narvaez for an interview, and to demand of him the production of a royal commission, authorizing his presence there, which commission would be respected; otherwise he must cease meddling with the affairs of the country. The followers of Narvaez were to be formally forbidden to obey his orders; and they were to appear before Cortés within a specified time, and learn from him what the interests of the king required of them. Failing in this, he would have them seized and dealt with as rebels against his majesty.[26]

The cool impudence of this demand, coming from the captain of a little band of outlaws hemmed in between hostile forces, gave rise to no small amusement in the enemy's camp. Narvaez chose nevertheless to regard the matter seriously, receiving the message as an insolent defiance. He declared he

[25] Gomara sends them with Velazquez de Leon. *Hist. Mex.*, 144. 'Chico, é Pedro Hernandez, escribano.' *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 440. Velazquez having gone on a mediatory mission, Chico must have been sent after his departure.

[26] 'La respuesta.... fué prender al escribano y á la persona que con mí poder ....los cuales estuvieron detenidos hasta que llegó otro mensajero que yo envié.' 'Escribí una carta al dicho Narvaez y otra á los terceros, diciéndoles cómo yo habia sabido su mala intencion.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 122–3. The reference to a messenger indicates Cortés' meaning to be that Chico preceded Velazquez de Leon. Gomara assumes that Cortés' pretext for withdrawing the proposal for an interview was that Narvaez had declined to entertain the points to be there discussed. See note 19. Chico had warned him of the intended treachery. *Hist. Mex.*, 144. 'Y que supiesse que no auian de cantar dos gallos en vn muladar, y que aparejasse las manos.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xxi. Bernal Diaz sends the message with Olmedo, 'since no royal notary dare carry it,' and gives Narvaez three days in which to send in any commission he may possess signed by the king. Without such commission he must leave the country, or Cortés will seize him and inflict punishment for the outrage on Aillon and on the Indians. This ultimatum was signed also by the captains and some soldiers, including Bernal Diaz. *Hist. Verdad.*, 92–3. An answer was demanded through the same messengers. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 588.

would no longer show forbearance toward the traitor; he set a price on the head of Cortés, announced the estate of his followers to be confiscated, and proclaimed open war against them.[27]

Immediately after despatching his ultimatum Cortés broke camp and followed his messengers at a quick march.[28] At Rio de Canoas, or La Antigua, Velazquez came up with letters from Duero and others. They had probably been written under a preconcerted arrangement, for they were read to the leaders and discussed, the result being a unanimous resolution to advance. So forward they went, Cortés exclaiming, "Death to the ass or to him who drives it!"[29]

Crossing the swollen river with some difficulty,[30] he hurried on to Rio Chachalacas, over a league from Cempoala, where camp was formed quietly and without fires.[31] This sudden movement, coming immediately after Duero's interview with Cortés, confirms the supposition that a plot had been concocted by them, which was to surprise Narvaez under advantageous circumstances arranged by confederates. There were to be no half-way measures; all must be staked on one cast.[32]

[27] 'Daria dos mil pesos, a quien matasse a Hernando Cortes, o a Gonçalo de Sandoual.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i. 'Traia mandado de Diego Velazquez que á mí y á ciertos de los de mi compañía que....nos ahorcase.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 121. 'Hizo proceso en forma contra Cortés, y por su sentencia, le condenó á muerte.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 300; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 143, 146.

[28] 'Dende a dos horas que se partiô el Juan Velazquez,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 95.

[29] Implying that since Narvaez would not listen to reason, Cortés or he should die. 'Velazquez dixo al....Cortes que adonde yva que yva a la carnesceria.' *Testimonio*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 249; ii. 9, 50, 185–6. On the way to Rio de Canoas, where they arrived the day after leaving camp, two hogs, with navel on the back, were killed, an incident which many interpreted as a sign of victory. Velazquez having arrived with the messenger who carried the ultimatum, the army proceeded. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 95. 'Anduvimos aquel dia casi diez leguas.' *Tapia*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 588.

[30] Two men were drowned in crossing the stream. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ii.

[31] 'Dos leguas de los contrarios.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.* 'Fuimos a dormir a vn riachuelo, adõde estava en aquella sazon vna puẽte obra de vna legua de Cẽpoal.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 96. Prescott here evidently follows the erroneous topography of Solis, who confuses this creek with Rio Canoas. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 85; *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 249; ii. 50.

[32] 'Como yo deseaba evitar todo escándalo, parecióme que seria el menos,

Calling his men round him, he made one of those stirring appeals in which he knew so well how to animate their spirit and touch their heart. He reviewed their right to the conquest, and their promises to hold the country for the king. "And now comes this emissary of Señor Velazquez," Cortés continued, "full of envy and treacherous design, to appropriate the fruit of your hard-won victories. This pompous Narvaez, while seizing your riches and clothing himself in your glory, would load you with impositions and brand you with dishonor. Will you submit to this? Will you, who have overcome mighty hosts, who have seized empires, who even now hold monarchs in your hands, will you place your necks in the yoke and humbly submit to the unjust demands of this instrument of your ancient enemy? God, who has always been with us, will still fight on our side, if we will be true to him and true to our king. We must fight, and it is for life; ay, and more than life—for honor and glorious inheritance." Cheer after cheer burst from the men, while the captains hastened to assure Cortés that they would follow him to the death.[33]

Although it was generally understood that coöperation was expected within the enemy's camp, the prudent general made no mention of the fact, lest it might render the men less self-reliant. He pointed out, however, that their opponents, although more numerous than they, were unused to war, effeminate, disheartened from hardships, and discontented with their commander. He explained the arrangement of Narvaez' camp, and divided the force into three parties, under the command respectively of Sandoval,

yo ir de noche, sin ser sentido.... y prenderlo [Narvaez]; ....porque los demás querian obedecer á la justicia, en especial que los mas dellos venian por fuerza.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 123–4.

[33] He also stated that offers had been made favorable to him alone, not to them, hence he had declined them. 'Muera el asno ó quien lo aguija.' Any other course will disgrace us, was the concluding remark, whereupon we lifted him upon our shoulders and carried him round. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 588–9. 'Hizo muchas ofertas, y prometimiëtos, que seriamos todos muy ricos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 98. It would be his fault, not theirs, if success failed. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ii.

Olid, and himself, the position of the former as alguacil mayor and comandante on the coast, and the second as maestre de campo, entitling them to this distinction, young as they were, particularly since Cortés retained the direction of affairs. To the former, aided by Jorge and Gonzalo Alvarado, Alonso de Ávila, and eighty men, was intrusted the task of attacking Narvaez' special quarters, with the formally worded command to seize him, dead or alive.[34] As a further inducement toward the accomplishment of this important end, rewards of three thousand, two thousand, and one thousand pesos respectively were promised to the first three soldiers who should secure the general.[35] Olid received the important order to capture the artillery, from which the greatest danger was to be apprehended. With him were Andrés de Tapia, Diego Pizarro, and others. Cortés himself was to follow and render aid where most needed, supported by Ordaz, Grado, the brothers Chico, and others.[36] The password was 'Espíritu Santo,' suggested by Olmedo with reference to pentecost day, on which all these events took place.

While occupied with their preparations a deserter arrived, sent by Duero, it seems, to warn Cortés that,

[34] 'Gonzalo de Sãdoual, Alguazil mayor desta Nueua España, por su Magestad, yo os mando q prendays el cuerpo de Panfilo de Narvaez, e si se os defendiere, matadle, que assi conviene al servicio de Dios, y de su Magestad, y le prendió a vn Oidor.' Countersigned by Secretary Pedro Hernandez. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 98; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 590.

[35] Herrera writes 3000, 1500, and 1000 pesos de oro. Cortés' acts are said by the men of Velazquez to have been prompted by 'un diabólico pensamiento é infernal osadía.' *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 441.

[36] The above agrees chiefly with Herrera, who assigns Sandoval 60 men, and names a number of the leading members of each party. The parties were to keep a stone's throw apart. One of Cortés' squads was to look to the cacique's palace, and another to Alcalde Yuste's quarters. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iii. He is evidently confused on many points, and several names are guessed at. Bernal Diaz states that Pizarro, with 60 young men, including himself, was charged to capture the artillery; Sandoval received 60 men; Velazquez de Leon also a force of 60, wherewith to attack Diego Velazquez' quarters; Cortés remained with a reserve of 20. It is more likely that a higher officer, like Olid, received the order to capture the artillery, rather than the comparatively unknown Pizarro. Velazquez de Leon does not appear to have been detailed for his charge till afterward. Cortés names only Sandoval as the leader of one party of 80 men, he himself following with the remaining 170. *Cartas*, 123. Solis reverses Herrera's order. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 91–2.

advised of his approach by the Indians,[37] Narvaez had taken alarm, and was forming the best part of his troops in the field[38] between him and Cempoala. To this he had been prompted also by the more watchful of his captains, who had not failed to observe the growing sympathy for the rival general. This most unpleasant change of tactics disconcerted Cortés not a little, and for the time he could do nothing but remain in camp, protected in front by the creek. Fortune again came to the rescue, however, in the form of a heavy rain, which fell all Sunday. It was the beginning of the rainy season.[39] Most of Narvaez' men, unused to military service, and enervated by the frivolous inactivity of the camp, found this highly disagreeable, and began to complain at what they termed an unnecessary precaution against an insignificant foe. The friends of Cortés did not fail to take advantage of this feeling by ridiculing the manœuvre, representing that no troops, much less a handful of boasters, would think of attacking in such weather. They would in any case be far more secure within their strong quarters, and by leaving an advance post in the field timely warning could be given. This appeared to be reasonable, and since Narvaez by no means relished the exposure, he gave orders to return to quarters before dusk, leaving, however, a body of forty horsemen on the plain and two spies at a brook ford, about half a league off. The remainder of the horses were kept saddled at the entrance to the camp, and the men were instructed to sleep on their arms, prepared at any rate to reoccupy the field in the morning. The watchword was 'Santa María.'

Cortés was occupied in devising new measures when

[37] The stout cacique had remonstrated with the general on his carelessness, assuring him that Malinche with his Teules was far different. 'When you least expect it he will be here and will kill you.' Although the warning was received with laughter, yet the hint was not lost. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 96.

[38] Eighty horsemen and 500 infantry. 'Y llegó casi una legua de donde yo estaba.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 123.

[39] *Laet, Nov. Orb.*, 221; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, iii. 467.

informed of this movement. Pointing out to his men the effeminacy and unsoldierly qualities of the rabble with which they had to deal, and the carelessness and inefficiency of their commander, he ordered an immediate advance on Cempoala, where they would now be scarcely expected. "You know the maxim," he said, "'upon the enemy at dawn;' but better still, we will surprise them by night.[40] Let each strive to excel his comrade in valor." These words were received with hearty approval, for anything was preferable to suspense in a dreary bivouac without fire or comfort. Crossing the creek they marched noiselessly over the plain, through the rain, drenched and hungry. On reaching the brook, near the town, they came upon the two scouts of the enemy, Gonzalo Carrasco and Alonso Hurtado; they captured the former, while the latter, warned by the cry of his comrade, hurried into camp to give the alarm. Carrasco was compelled under threats to answer a number of questions on the position and plans of his party, and was menaced with death if he played false.[41]

A cross had been erected at the ford,[42] probably during the first march to Cempoala, and here the army knelt in all humility to do reverence. Father Olmedo then gave the men the general absolution, and appealed to heaven to bless the efforts now to be made in behalf of their faith and the king, closing with the soul-stirring assurance that victory should be theirs. The men, one and all, felt no doubt that

[40] Botello, known as the Astrologer, who had made several successful predictions, had assured Cortés that a night attack would secure him the victory. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xi.

[41] Cortés rallied him upon his capture, and addressed him as compadre. After obtaining certain information, more was demanded. The prisoner declared that he knew nothing more. 'Well, then, you will swing,' said Cortés, half jestingly. The two pikemen who held the rope round his neck took this for a command, and hoisted him. Rangel rode up, however, and saved his life, but the compression of the throat troubled him for some time. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ii.-iii. Carrasco warned him against attacking the powerful Narvaez. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Eccles.*, pt. iii. 137; *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 589. Prescott says that he with 'Spartan heroism' remained silent, *Mex.*, 257-8; but Prescott has evidently not understood his authorities.

[42] At a cross-road a little farther on, says Herrera.

they were about to fight not only for their own rights, but for God and their sovereign; and if the robber could feel encouraged in his lawless pursuit after kneeling at the shrine of St Demas, surely these heroes of a hundred fights were stronger for their religious faith. Therefore it was with renewed confidence that the men buckled tighter their escaupiles, and pike in hand, their main reliance, they resumed the march with quickened steps, leaving the baggage and horses in the care of Marina and the carriers. The horsemen stationed in the field were not encountered, thanks to Duero who was one of them.

It was just past midnight, on the morning of whit-monday,[43] when they entered Cempoala. Owing to the darkness and the presence of troops in the field, together with the recent marches and countermarches, the presence of the intruders was not suspected till they had almost crossed the plaza. The storm was not wholly past, but the moon peered forth at times between the chasing clouds, dimly revealing the buildings occupied by the enemy. These consisted of three conspicuous edifices, rising upon pyramidal foundations, the ascent to which was by a wide staircase along one of the slopes. The highest was a temple, known as Nuestra Señora since the iconoclastic achievement of Cortés therein, and this was occupied by the troops of Diego Velazquez. Next to it was the building held by the captain-general, guarded by the whole battery of guns.[44]

Hurtado had arrived nearly half an hour before and given warning, but instead of immediately calling to arms, Narvaez lost time with questions, which elicited only that his companion had been seized and that he fancied he had heard Spanish voices. Some

[43] May 28th. *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, 277. Clavigero and others assume it to be the night between Saturday and Sunday, but the authorities are pretty clear in mentioning the following night.

[44] Estimated by various authorities at from twelve to nineteen pieces. *Testimonio*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 12, 168.

of the captains, friendly to Cortés, ridiculed the story as a dream, and entertained the general with speculations about the projects of the audacious rebel.[45] While so occupied the alarm of the sentinels was heard. Cortés was upon them.[46] Narvaez at once became the self-possessed commander, and hastened to issue the necessary orders. There was a rush to arms, and the confusion was increased by the appearance of innumerable fire-flies, which the besieged mistook for the fire-arms and spears of a large army.[47]

In order to avoid the range of the guns, Cortés had kept his men along the sides of the approaches, and on finding himself discovered he shouted, "Close with them! At them!" Fife and drum joined in and echoed the cry.[48] Olid rushed on the battery, ranged along a terrace on the ascent to the commander's house. So sudden was the attack that those of the artillerymen who still remained loyal had time to discharge only one gun, which killed two men.[49] The next instant Olid, Pizarro, and their followers had practically secured the pieces, and were pressing the defenders, who offered little resistance. At the same time

[45] Expressing the belief that Cortés would be foolhardy enough to attack in the morning. *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 589.

[46] 'Llegamos junto á las centinelas sin que nos sintiesen, é iban huyendo é diciendo: Arma, arma!' *Id.*, 590. 'Auisado Naruaez, y se estaua vistiendo vna cota: y dixo aquiè le auisò, no tengays pena, y mandò tocar al arma.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iii.

[47] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 99, calls the flies cocayos.

[48] Prescott, following Herrera, makes Cortés shout the password 'Espíritu Santo,' which Bernal Diaz says was given as a secret word for mutual recognition.

[49] So say all the original authorities that refer to it, except Bernal Diaz, who claims that four guns were fired, three balls passing overhead and the fourth killing three men. Cortés acknowledges no casualties from it. Tapia even intimates that no discharge took place, owing to the fact that to protect the touch-holes from rain they had been covered with wax and tiles. Confused by the sudden alarm the artillerists applied the match, forgetful of the wax, and 'we saw that the charges failed to go off.' *Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 590. Perhaps he would have been more correct in saying that the men were confused by the glittering bribes of Usagre. Bachiller A. Perez testifies: 'Dixo al artillero poned fuego a estos tiros....puso fuego e no salieron los tiros e oyo dezir este testigo que avian puesto cera en los dichos tiros.' *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 85. This implies that the wax had been smeared on by accomplices.

Sandoval rushed past and hurried up the stair-way to the summit, where Narvaez stood to receive him.[50] A volley of arrows and bullets was fired at him, but being poorly aimed, out of consideration for comrades below, he escaped unharmed. Nothing daunted, Sandoval's followers pressed onward in a compact column, and in a moment they were on the summit platform. "Surrender!" shouted their leader with resolute confidence, to which Narvaez responded with a jeer, calling on his men to spare no traitors. But the order was an empty one, for their swords and short Spanish lances availed nothing against the line of bristling copper points on the long pikes of the attacking party, and step by step they were driven backward into the building. What they did with their fire-arms or cross-bows is not stated.

Meanwhile Cortés was doing brave work below. One body engaged the cavalry, unhorsing with the all-effective pike those who had managed to reach the saddle, and cutting the girths. Another body turned their attention to the reinforcements which came rushing from the adjoining quarters to the scene of action, and taking advantage of the confusion and the darkness, relieved only at fitful intervals by the moon, their cool opponents readily disarmed the greater number, so that but a small proportion made their way through the besieging lines.[51] While thus occupied they heard a shout from above, "Victory! Victory for Cortés! Narvaez is dead!"[52] Cortés immediately caused the cry to be taken up by the rest of his men, which added to the confusion of the enemy.

It appears that Sandoval, although reinforced by

[50] With from 40 to 100 men, are the different estimates.

[51] 'Vinien los contrarios á nuestra gente, creyendo que eran de los suyos, á preguntar, "¿qué es esto?" é así los prendien.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 590. 'De las otras dos torres....no le acudierõ, porq̃ dizen algunos que se hizieron sordos, otros que no pudieron llegar, por el impedimento de las tropas de Cortes.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iii.; *Cardona*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 181–2.

[52] 'Uitoria, vitoria por los del nõbre del Espíritu Sãto, q muerto es Narvaez! *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 98. Even this authority now shouts forth the password!

a portion of Olid's party, could not effect an entry into the building to which his pikes had driven those who still adhered to Narvaez, a number having passed over to his side before this. After watching the vain skirmishing for a while, Lopez, the ship-builder, bethought himself of setting fire to the dry palm roof of the otherwise substantial building. The besieged now had no recourse but to come out, which they did, headed by Narvaez. No sooner had they appeared on the platform than Sandoval's men charged them with the pikes, and the commander was the first to receive a thrust, in the left eye, which bore him down as he cried out: "Santa María, save me!" In an instant Pedro Sanchez Farfan was upon him,[53] and he was dragged down the steps and placed in a chapel. Awed by this mischance the rest speedily surrendered.

Alférez Fuentes fought valiantly till overthrown with two pike thrusts. "Our Lady save me!" he cried, still clutching the standard. "She shall!" responded Sandoval, averting the pikes of the excited soldiers.[54]

The cry of victory and the rumor of Narvaez' death had stayed the stream of reinforcements from the adjoining houses, wherein defence was now alone thought of. Recognizing that a charge on them might meet with more determined opposition, Cortés resolved to bring the enemy's own battery

[53] Solis assumes that Farfan gave also the thrust. Bernal Diaz' text leads one to suppose that Narvaez received the thrust before his followers were driven into the building, but the other authorities state clearly: 'al salir de su camara, le dieron vn picaço....Echaron le luego mano.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 147; *Oviedo*, iii. 510. Monjaras states that Narvaez supplicated for his life: 'Hidalgos, por amor de Dios no me mateys!' *Testimonio*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 51, 85, 107; i. 365. 'Alonso Dávila le sacó las dichas provisiones reales de V. M. del seno, teniéndolo preso é abrazado el dicho Pero Sanchez Farfán.' *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 442. This occurred some time after the capture. Narvaez called upon his fellow-prisoners to witness the deed, but Avila shouted that the papers were merely letters. They were given to Cortés. 'Las avian quemado.' *Testimonio*, in *Cortes, Residencia*, i. 345, 365, 250; ii. 52, 187.

[54] He died, however, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 99. Herrera calls him Diego de Rojas, whom Bernal classes as a captain.

to his aid.[55] By the time the guns were in position, most of the forces of Sandoval and Olid were free to aid Velazquez de Leon in the task of reducing the quarters in which Salvatierra and Diego Velazquez still held out.

They were summoned to submit to the king and to Cortés, under pain of death, but gave a defiant answer. The guns were now brought into play, and fired first over their heads to frighten them. As the balls came whizzing by, the blustering Salvatierra, who had sworn to eat the ears of Cortés, declared himself sick. His fierceness changed to abject fear, and his men asserted that they never saw a captain behave so contemptibly. The shots, supported by promises, soon brought about the surrender of this pyramid.

The last to hold out was Diego Velazquez, a brave fellow, well liked by his followers; but after a few more parleys, and the loss of three men from well directed shots, his party was also prevailed on to descend and deliver up their arms,[56] the leaders being secured and removed in irons to the chapel, the wounded receiving there the attentions of a surgeon. Cortés looked in to examine their condition, and as the whisper reached Narvaez that the hero of the day was present, he turned and said: "Señor Cortés, you may hold high the good fortune you have had, and the great achievement of securing my person."

[55] 'Se retrajeron á una torre alta de un ídolo de aquel pueblo casi cuatrocientos hombres, é muchos de los de caballo....salieron al campo.' *Tapia, Rel.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, 590. Herrera says that 300 intrenched themselves till the morning. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iv. Cortés reached the battery just in time to prevent a catastrophe, as Tapia relates. A hot-blooded young companion of the latter, carried away by excitement, rushed to powder barrels, eight in number, and shouted, 'Let us fire the powder and spoil it for the enemy!' Cleaving a barrel, he cast a brand into it, and threw himself flat upon the ground, commending his life to God. It happened, fortunately, that this barrel contained sandals, which by some mistake had been mixed up with the ammunition. After waiting in vain a while for the explosion, the madcap discovered the reason and began to open another barrel. At this moment Cortés came up, and learning of his intention he rushed forward and snatched away the brand.

[56] Including also Juan Yuste, Juan Bono, and Gomara.

With a twinkle of malicious merriment Cortés regarded for a moment his fallen foe, whose insufferable conceit did not desert him even here, and said:

"Señor Narvaez, many deeds have I performed since coming to Mexico, but the least of them all has been to capture you."[57]

[57] *Oviedo*, iii. 510. Bernal Díaz lengthens Cortés' reply: He thanked God for the victory and for giving him such valiant gentlemen and companions to aid him. One of the smallest things he had done in New Spain was to secure and defeat him; it appeared more daring to seize an oidor of his majesty. Las Casas relates that Narvaez had a not dissimilar surprise by night from Cuban Indians, during his campaign for Velazquez, and had a narrow escape. *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 6–8.

CHAPTER XXII.

ALVARADO'S MERCILESS MASSACRE.

MAY, 1520.

AFTER THE BATTLE—VICTORY MADE SECURE—CONDUCT OF THE CONQUERED—A GENERAL AMNESTY—DISPOSITION OF THE FORCES—AFFAIRS AT THE CAPITAL—INSURRECTION THREATENED—THE SPANIARDS HOLD A COUNCIL—ALVARADO'S RESOLVE—THE GREAT DAY OF THE FEAST—THE SPANIARDS PROCEED TO THE TEMPLE—THE GRAND DISPLAY THERE WITNESSED—THE ATTACK OF THE SPANIARDS—HORRORS UPON HORRORS.

CORTÉS was exultant. During the last brief hour how completely had his fortunes changed! Again was his star ascendant, filling the whole heavens with its brightness. Alas now for Montezuma and Mexico! And Velazquez; this was his fourth attempt on Mexico, and in some respects his greatest failure. Instead of annihilating the outlaw with his grand army, the outlaw in one fell swoop had secured the grand army, and was now master of all the ships, and men, and munitions of war, which he so much needed in consummation of his further designs. It seemed to be the fate of the fat governor out of his solid substance to feed his enemy with wealth and honors.

Before it was fairly light Cortés had seized and placed in confinement such persons as might question his rights as victor; the remainder on surrendering their arms were permitted to go at large.[1] In order

[1] *Cartas*, 124; *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 12. Bernal Diaz confirms that this was effected long before dawn, while Herrera states that 300 held out till morning; but he is contradictory. Carrasco, whom he assumes to be free, urged them to fall upon the attacking party, who were scattered to plunder. But

to make more secure his magnificent prize before the all-searching sun should disclose the paucity and poverty of the victors, Cortés seated himself in state, arrayed in a wide orange-colored robe, and ordered the conquered troops to pass before him, and swear allegiance to the king, and fealty to him as captain-general and justicia mayor. This was done by nearly all, some humbling themselves and kissing his hand, while the late hostile leaders and old acquaintances were recognized with friendly greetings and embraces.[2]

Meanwhile Olid and Ordaz, each with a corps, set out on the captured horses to summon stragglers and seek the forty troopers in the field. Duero and other friends of Cortés being among them, little persuasion was needed to win the party over, and shortly after dawn the whole cavalcade came in to the sound of fife and drum, shouting vivas for Cortes.[3] High above this noise were heard from a window the voices of two women, named Ordaz, filling the air with their loud philippics. "Villainous Dominicanos!" they cried to the soldiers of their own party, "the distaff would better suit you than the sword. A good account have you given of yourselves! Unfortunate women we to have come to the wars with such men!" Truly

this was not done for want of a leader. Nor did they favor his advice to plunder the baggage of Cortés, which was protected only by Indians, and to embark with Diego Velazquez. Carrasco accordingly proceeded alone to the baggage camp, and securing a horse and lance he returned and urged them to follow. He had evidently supernatural means wherewith to penetrate the besieging force. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iv. Duran allows Cortés to form ambuscades and leap walls, so that the arms are secured ere the men of Narvaez can form in defence. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 453. Peter Martyr disposes briefly of the matter, and assumes that the chief captains of Narvaez were seduced. dec. v. cap. v.; *Castellanos, Varones ilustres de Indias*, 71-2; *Galvano's Discov.*, 144-5.

[2] 'Cortes se mandò pregonar por Capitan general, y justicia mayor, de ambos exercitos.' Carrasco was three days in stocks before he yielded obedience. *Herrera*, ubi sup. 'Y todo esto era de noche, que no amanecia.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 99.

[3] 'Viua, viua la gala de los Romanos, que siẽdo tan pocos, han vencido a Narvaez!' to which Guidelo, the negro jester of Narvaez, added, 'Behold! the Romans never performed such a feat.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 99. Herrera speaks more at length of the sayings of this negro, who was rewarded with a crown of gold worth 600 ducats. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iv.

might Narvaez exclaim with Xerxes, as he beheld his fair ally, Queen Artemisia, outwit her Athenian pursuers, "My men fight like women, and my women like men." The Ordaz women, however, fought only with their tongues, and that after the issue of battle. And thus relieved they immediately descended and did homage to the victor. The general did all he could to check this excess of zeal, which he feared might engender ill feeling, and he even seized some of the noisiest enthusiasts, although they were afterward rewarded.

The cacique of Cempoala, who had been slightly wounded during the battle, appeared like the rest to offer fealty to the victor by crowning him with flowers. Cortés received his demonstrations as if nothing had taken place to mar their intercourse, and took up his abode with Catalina, whose hand he had accepted during his previous occupation of the place. The chiefs vied with one another to obliterate their unfortunate mistake by increased attention and hospitality, while many among Narvaez' men thought it necessary to excuse their tardy surrender by pleading that they had been deceived by their principals, who had assured them that Cortés was a traitor. Great was their chagrin in the morning on discovering how few the victors were and how poorly they were armed. And where were the much talked of native auxiliaries? At the same time they could not but admire a leader who had achieved such results with such means. Narvaez and his supporters declared that the victory was due wholly to treachery, particularly noticeable in the action of the artillerists.[4] In this there was much truth, but the consummate tact and soldierly qualities of Cortés shine no less brightly for all that.

[4] 'I saw Narvaez in Spain in 1525, and heard him publicly denounce Cortés as a traitor. He asked but royal permission to prove it, face to face with his enemy; furthermore, he was a liar, a tyrant, and an ingrate. Narvaez had been betrayed by those in whom he confided.' *Oviedo*, iii. 316. Still, the chronicler cannot excuse his carelessness nor his entering into parley with Cortés; and he told him so. iii. 316.

And the cost of this glory and advantage, how insignificant it was! Four of his own men and fifteen of the enemy, including a captain, beside a number wounded on both sides; this was all.[5]

In his report to the king Cortés seeks to gloss over the occurrence by stating that only two men were killed, intimating that it was on both sides. There was a deeper reason for this and other falsehoods than the wish to hide the bloody result of fratricidal conflict. He was still doubtful as to the view taken in Spain of his conduct, and could not afford to prejudice his case by laying bare every misfortune. He was aware that even to the impartial observer he must appear as a defaulter in the duty owing by him to a principal, and in the agreement or partnership which he had formed, and also as the usurper of an expedition fitted out in the name and under the auspices, at least, of Velazquez. His plea rested on his brave and masterly conquest of a rich country, and on his election to independent command by a party formed on the pretence that the superior interests of the sovereign demanded the immediate subjugation of the country. But his acceptance of that command was a breach of duty and of contract; the right of the party to act as it did was doubtful, and its pretence hasty, or perhaps usurped from Velazquez, who had first entertained it; while the commission to undertake the conquest had already

[5] Bernal Diaz mentions fifteen [a misprint of *dos* for *doce* makes it only five] deaths among Narvaez' men, including Captain Rojas, Alférez Fuentes, who was an hidalgo of Seville, and Carretero, one of the deserters from Cortés' explorers. Cortés lost four. *Hist. Verdad.*, 99. Cortés prudently mentions to the king only two deaths, but leaves it uncertain to what side they belonged. *Cartas*, 124. Gomara claims them for Cortés, and states that Narvaez lost his eye, his honor, and sixteen men. *Hist. Mex.*, 148. Cortés lost two men and one wounded; Narvaez eleven. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iv. Cortés four, Narvaez eleven, besides many wounded on both sides. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 138. Solis supposes that two wounded of Cortés' army died, making four in all, while Narvaez lost fifteen. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 101. One version claims that Narvaez lost fifteen by arms and six by fire in the burning of the quarters, which is probably an exaggeration. Narvaez lost all his property, including notes of hand. *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 442. The testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. ii., varies from twelve to sixteen for Narvaez.

been conferred on the latter. Velazquez held besides the right of a discoverer to this coast, and above all the royal grant to it, vaguely worded though it was so far as indicating the situation and extent of territory. He had a right to claim his own; though circumstances had so changed, Cortés claimed, as to render this perilous to the interests of God, the king, and the people, which rose above those of individuals; and in ignoring the orders of the audiencia to desist from war on his countrymen he followed only natural law and justifiable impulse. In this respect Cortés was equally guilty, since his duty was to yield to the rightful claimant. He pleads in his letter to the king, however, that self-preservation obliged him to resist, for Narvaez had determined to hang him and several of his followers. Here he again hides the fact that favorable terms were at one time offered. "Had Narvaez carried off the victory," he continues, "it would have been with a great loss, which must have so weakened him as to surely enable the Indians to succeed in their meditated revolt. This would have lost the country to the king and to the faith, and twenty years would not have sufficed to regain it."[6] In brief, howsoever we admire Cortés, however much we would prefer his banner to that of Velazquez or Narvaez, we must admit that he had hardly a shadow of right on his side, and that no position in which he could possibly place himself was tenable. He was a defaulter, pirate, usurper, renegade, traitor, outlaw, hypocrite; but he was a most lovable villain, an admirable soldier, a rare hero. On the other hand, Velazquez was right. But, though deeply injured, he was disagreeable; though foully wronged, he was vanquished. And the Spanish monarch was not the first or last to smile on iniquitous success, or turn the cold shoulder to whining, disappointed virtue.

[6] Oviedo looks on Cortés' reasons as insufficient to justify his procedure, such as ordering Narvaez to be seized, and demanding of him to exhibit a royal commission, 'as if Cortés had been appointed by the king.' Velazquez, as the principal who sent him forth, had every right to remove him. iii. 316.

In the course of the morning the soldier Barrientos, who had been staying in Chinantla, arrived with the promised Chinantec warriors, two thousand in number.[7] They had reached the rendezvous on pentecost day, as ordered, but Cortés had found it convenient to advance on Cempoala sooner than he had intended. An imposing sight they presented as they marched by amidst vivas in a file of three abreast, gorgeous with plumes and shields, the centre man with bow and arrows, while his companions on either side carried the formidable pike, tipped with glistening iztli. It was fortunate that they had failed to arrive in time, since much bloodshed was saved thereby. In fact the soldiers of Narvaez expressed a fear that they would have fared badly with such opponents. Cortés was nevertheless delighted with their coming, since this proved not only the sincerity of their friendship, but showed the conquered that he did indeed control native armies. Distributing some beads and trinkets, he bade them return peaceably under the supervising care of Barrientos.

One of the first measures after the fight was to secure the fleet; and for this purpose a suitable force was sent down to the port to take the vessels to Villa Rica, and remove the sails and rudders, so as to prevent the escape of any to Cuba.[8] Shortly after, when the masters and crews had tendered allegiance, the vessels were placed in charge of Pedro Caballero, captain of one of the vessels under Narvaez, in whom Cortés had great confidence.[9] The fortress was again

[7] Bernal Diaz places the number at 1500, while Ceballos raises it to 3000, under Heredia, and places the arrival a day or two later. Herrera assumes that they came in time to march with Cortés on Cempoala. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. i.

[8] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 100, names Francisco de Lugo as the captain of this party, but Tirado states that he had been sent back to Mexico as an adherent of Velazquez. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 6. 'Dió con los once navíos que el dicho mi parte allí tenia, al través, é les fizo quemar.' *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 442. Bernal Diaz also intimates that all but two vessels were destroyed when the army proceeded to Mexico and one afterward. *Hist. Verdad.*, 109. It is not probable, however, that more than a few were destroyed, because unseaworthy. Some were wrecked a few months later.

[9] 'Por Almirãte, y Capitan de la mar....al qual dizen que le dió primero

garrisoned, with a larger force,[10] and thither were sent Narvaez and Salvatierra in chains.[11]

As for the rest, Cortés applied himself with his usual skill to recompense those who had remained true, and to conciliate the yet unreconciled. He reminded them that they had come not to risk their lives for Velazquez, but to gain honor and wealth under the banner of the king, and he was prepared to aid in this by offering them equal terms with his veterans. As an earnest he restored within two days their arms to all except a few leaders, and ordered his men to return the horses, weapons, and other effects taken by them as spoils of war.[12] What with

buenos tejuelos de oro.' His baptismal name was either Juan or Pedro. Two vessels were still expected to arrive. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 100, 113. Caballero was probably an old friend. 'Pedro de Maluenda criado de Diego Velazquez, que venia por mayordomo de Naruaez, recogio y guardo los nauios y todo la ropa y hazienda.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 148. By Cortés' order, adds Herrera.

[10] 'Envié otros docientos hombres á la villa de la Veracruz.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 125. Clavigero assumes that Cortés at this time already gave orders for removing Villa Rica southward, but events interfered with the project. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 120.

[11] 'Cortés le [Narvaez] tuvo preso con muy ásperas prisiones tres años, poco mas ó menos, é con guardias que nadie no le pudiese ver; é aquellos pasados, le quitó las prisiones é le tuvo preso otros dos años.' So says Narvaez' agent. *Demanda de Ceballos*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 442–3. The testimony in *Cortés, Residencia*, reduces the term to two years, and intimates that several other men were kept at Villa Rica, under surveillance at least. i. 223, 362–3, et seq.

[12] Narvaez claims to have been robbed of 100,000 castellanos' worth of effects, and it is not likely that his property was restored. See *Demanda de Ceballos*, ubi sup. Bernal Diaz had to surrender a horse fully accoutred, two swords, three daggers, and other effects. *Hist. Verdad.*, 100. Santa Clara intimates that the horses and arms were not as a rule restored. *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 169. If so, compensation was probably given, according to the *Relacion hecha por el Señor Andrés de Tápia, sobre la Conquista de México.* This is one of the most valuable documents extant on the earlier period of the conquest, but it is unfortunately only a fragment, which takes up the narrative from the eve of leaving Cuba, and carries it to the capture of Narvaez, relating with rather uneven completeness the principal incidents of the voyage to Vera Cruz, the march to Mexico, the stay there, and the operations against the forces of Velazquez. Andrés de Tapia appears from his own statement to have been a poor nephew of Governor Velazquez, to whom he presented himself just in time to join the expedition of Cortés. At this time, says Bernal Diaz, he was about 24 years old, of good build, with a grave face, slight beard, and somewhat ashy complexion. *Hist. Verdad.*, 246. He took an active part in the leading wars and expeditions during and after the conquest, and became one of the most noted among the captains, favored by Cortés, with whom he was frequently associated, accompanying him also on a voyage to Spain. Settling in Mexico, he died there peacefully, long after 1539, to judge from his reference to this date. His

their admiration of the liberality and soldierly qualities of Cortés, and the prospect of speedy advancement, there were but few who did not immediately and cheerfully accept the terms. But this was by no means to the taste of the aforesaid veterans. They had seen with envy that rich presents were made to the conquered, while they, whose courage and devotion had achieved such magnificent results, received nothing, and were even told to return what they regarded as lawful spoils; and, further, to share with these late comers and intended despoilers the fruits of their years of toil and victories. A general murmur arose, and many soldiers refused to surrender the appropriated effects. Captain Ávila and Father Olmedo being requested to remonstrate, did so earnestly, and told Cortés that he acted like Alexander, who honored more the conquered than those who won the battle. He and all he possessed belonged to his comrades, was the reply, but at present it was necessary to conciliate their invaluable acquisition, whose aid was needed to overcome the threatening danger in Mexico, and who being the more numerous party might otherwise rise against them. Their aims effected, the entire resources of a vast and rich country were theirs. Olmedo was convinced of the wisdom of the course, although he considered that too great liberality had been shown. The headstrong Ávila pressed the point with his natural haughtiness, whereupon Cortés said: "I am for Mexico; those who please may follow; those who do not, may leave it alone. There are yet women in Spain to bear soldiers." "Yes, and captains and governors," retorted Ávila.

narrative, as may be supposed, is a panegyric upon his leader and patron, and some statements have accordingly to be weighed, but this defect impairs the importance of only a few passages, the rest being highly valuable, and many of them unique in their testimony. Guided by a reference in *Bibl. de Autores Esp.*, xxii., Señor Icazbalceta of Mexico obtained, after great trouble, a copy of the apparent original from the Royal Academy of History, Madrid, entitled: *Relacion de algunas cosas de las que acaecieron al Muy Ilustre Señor Don Hernando Cortés*, etc. This he published in his *Coleccion de Documentos*, ii. 554–94. The last three pages form an appendix of brief remarks on the inhabitants and resources of New Spain.

Cortés deemed it discreet to bandy no further words at present. So spirited a tongue must be curbed with gifts; but Cortés awaited his opportunity. He never forgot anything.

With a view chiefly to divert the troubled spirits two expeditions were sent out, each of two hundred men, mostly from the ranks of the late enemy. One was directed to Goazacoalco, as before, under the command of Velazquez de Leon, who had already held this commission, and two vessels were placed at his disposal to send to Jamaica for live-stock, seeds, and other requirements of the proposed colony. The other expedition was intrusted to Ordaz for the occupation of Pánuco, with a view to anticipate Garay. Two vessels were given him to explore the coast.[13]

While Cortés was thus risking all on the cast of fortune at Cempoala the troops at Mexico had been exposed to even greater perils. At the time of his departure for the coast, Toxcatl, the fifth month, had begun, and with it the most solemn festival of the year. It was in honor of Tezcatlipoca, the highest of the divinities, and identified with a supreme god, although less conspicuous in the daily worship of the people, for they appealed rather to the nearer minor deities, whom they regarded as intercessors, than to their supreme divinity, whom they greatly feared, and who was very far away. The Mexicans had been permitted to hold the celebration in the great temple, which had

[13] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 149. 'Dos dias después de preso el dicho Narvaez, porque en aquella ciudad no se podia sostener tanta gente....despaché dos capitanes.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 125. Cortés writes that before leaving for Mexico he sent Mexican envoys to obtain the friendship and allegiance of the lord of Pánuco. This was at once offered, and presents were exchanged. *Id.*, 56–7, 125, 144–45. Cortés was either deceived or he invented the story to counteract Garay's schemes. Bernal Diaz names Ordaz for Goazacoalco and Velazquez for Pánuco; but it has entirely escaped his memory or notes that Velazquez had already been charged to form a colony in Goazacoalco, for which he was also better fitted, while Ordaz was more suited for rough warfare in Pánuco. This author gives to each 120 men, twenty of them from the ranks of Cortés, 'porq̃ teniā mas experiēcia en la guerra.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 100. The 200 allowed by others may include the ship-crews. Herrera places 300 men under Ordaz. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iv.

been partly dedicated to Christian worship, on condition that no human sacrifices should take place.[14] A festival of this prominence could not fail to recall with all its force to the natives the indignities to which they and their gods had been subjected. We have seen how narrowly an uprising on account of the occupation of the great temple by strange religious emblems was escaped, and how it was restrained only by the promise of the speedy departure of the Spaniards. Before Cortés had left the capital he saw the smouldering fire, and it was this that led him to strengthen the defences of the fort, to obtain extra supplies from Tlascala, and to enjoin the strictest watchfulness and moderation.

The hostile feeling was by no means diminished by the tidings of another larger host of invaders with doubtful motives. At a meeting of native leaders it was admitted that the promises and statements of the newly arrived Spaniards could no more be relied upon than those of the deceitful Malinche, and the deferred proposition to drive out or to kill the Spaniards was renewed with ardor. A better opportunity for carrying out such a measure could never again be found. The great Cortés with his cunning controlling mind was absent. There remained only a small force in charge of the city, and the troops on the seaboard were divided against each other. On the other hand a multitude of pilgrims were pouring in for the festival; and what better subjects to be worked upon for an uprising than these, and what better incentive than religion? Beside the appeal for vengeance on the desecrators of their altars came the patriotic call for the release of an oppressed sovereign, whose influence was still supreme with many, and the alluring prospect of securing the rich spoils in possession of the Spaniards and the Tlascaltecs, the latter still more detested as an inferior race which after years of contest had now assumed the

[14] For description of the feast, so as better to understand what follows, see *Native Races*, ii. 317–21, iii. 422–8.

galling attitude of master. The preparations made during the late fermentation required only to be perfected. More arms were made, the people were stirred by passionate appeals, warriors were enrolled, and other measures taken.[15]

The utmost secrecy had been observed by the conspirators, but with so many confidants, actuated by race jealousy, by ties of friendship, by interest, and by one above all others, the love of woman, that the rumor was whispered in Alvarado's ear.[16] Yet to the mistress, who in her devotion to the lover forgot her duty to home and kindred, must not be charged more than is her due. Sharpened by the remembrance of past wrongs suffered on battle-field and stone of sacrifice, the wits of the Tlascaltecs discovered evidence which their hatred failed not to magnify. Warnings were hardly required, however, to indicate that something unusual was stirring, for the demeanor of the Indians had undergone a yet more marked change. Supplies were further diminished; servants sent to market were abused and ill-treated, and insolence was shown even to the Spaniards themselves.[17] A still more alarming sign was the discovery of an undermined wall,[18] and after obtaining further particulars from a devoted Tezcucan chief,[19] afterward known as Don Hernando, Alvarado resolved to inspect the adjacent temple where the chief celebration was held. Here a number of suspicious circumstances were noticed, which the Castilians readily wrought into threatening realities; among them several victims destined for

[15] Oviedo refers the council and its acts only to the time immediately preceding Cortés' departure. iii. 509.

[16] 'Esto afirmaron muchas mugeres, de las quales se sabia siẽpre la verdad.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. viii.

[17] 'Nos quitaron la comida e enbiando por ella no nos la quisieron dar e nos davan de palos a las naborias e estando lavando una yndia de las nuestras la hahogaron e dezian e publicavan que asy avian de hazer a los españoles.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 66. This testimony is confirmed by a number of his followers.

[18] 'Con muchas escalas para subir y matar a los españoles.' *Id.*, 67. *Martin*, in *Id.*, 144.

[19] 'Le prince acolhua Tecocoltzin.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 287.

sacrifice, regardless of the promises given, while some bloody hearts which they saw testified to the work already done by the knife.[20] With the victims Alvarado seized their attendants and certain of the emperor's courtiers, from some of whom he tortured a confession. In this manner he learned what he already partially knew, namely, that many arms were prepared; that during the Incensing of Huitzilopochtli, as the festival was called, the Christian emblems would be cast out of the temple, and that the uprising was to take place at the conclusion of the feast.[21]

A seeming confirmation of the proposed sacrilege came from Montezuma himself, who sent to request the removal of the Christian emblems from the summit of the great temple, pleading as high-priest that the presence of strange images must prove irritating to the worshippers of other gods. Alvarado indignantly refused; he would rather fight. The Mexicans did not choose to see their festival broken up before the appointed time, and so the point was waived. It was then arranged that the Spaniards should attend the ceremonies, so as to be assured that no indignities would be offered their images.[22]

[20] 'A number of poles were raised in the court-yard, destined, as I was told, to impale the Spaniards, one taller than the rest upon the pyramid being reserved for me.' *Alvarado*, in *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 66.

[21] Alvarado's statements with regard to reports and signs of revolt, and to the confession of several natives, is confirmed by a number of witnesses, including the clergyman Juan Diaz. *Id.*, 66, 113, et seq. Tapia, who is arrayed against Alvarado, intimates that torture induced the natives to give the confirmation of the plot as desired by the Spanish captain, and that the interpreter was unreliable. One witness declares that the uprising was understood to be planned to take place within ten days; another says on the day following the torture, intimating that it was to be after the great dances. *Id.*, 37, 150. 'Alvarado dixo, que luego le auian de venir a dar guerra.... que lo supo de vn Papa, y de dos Principales, y de otros Mexicanos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 102.

[22] Tapia's testimony to this and other criminating points is particularly valuable, as he was a bitter opponent of Alvarado. The latter states that Montezuma declared himself powerless to prevent the premeditated sacrilege to the Christian images. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 36–7, 66–7. But this plea, if made, must, according to other accounts, be interpreted to apply only to pagan ceremonies, held almost before the images, and which might be regarded as a sacrilege. Torquemada writes that arms had been collected within the temple and everything prepared for the day when the Spaniards

And now comes another of those diabolical deeds which, done in the name of civilization, or religion, or any other entity or idea, fills us with horror toward the gods and men for whom or by whom such acts are consummated. The lion and the tiger are humane and gentle beside the Spaniard, harboring thoughts born of bigoted zeal or blind apprehension. And what are his thoughts? These: He would enter the sanctuary, the holy temple of his god and their gods, and while all the people, while priests and nobles, the flower of the Aztec race, were celebrating the highest service of the highest festival, he and his men would fall upon them and hew them in pieces! And this because they had tired of harboring and feeding them. They desire to be relieved of the self-invited guests, and since dismissal does not avail they must be driven out or killed. But the intruders do not wish to be exterminated, and if there is striking to be done, they propose to strike first.

Pedro de Alvarado was no such man as Hernan

attended by invitation to witness the dance of the nobles. At a given signal an evidently simultaneous attack was to be made on the assembled guests and on the fort, thus taking the Spaniards at a disadvantage. Jars stood prepared, filled with certain liquids, wherein to cook their bodies for the feast. i. 489–90. The general inclination of those who follow the Spanish version, of which Torquemada, usually so stanch for the natives, is here the best exponent, has been to assume that the attack was arranged for the day of the great dances; and this is not unlikely, although the original writers and their commentators appear to be ignorant of or oblivious to certain features of the festival. Another view has been to place the attack during the installation of the new image of the war-god. This ceremony belonged to the preceding day, a fact not as a rule understood, and therefore the source of much confusion. Brasseur de Bourbourg, who is clearest on these points, assumes that the raising of the idol would involve the casting forth of the Christian emblems, and be the signal for attack. But evidences are conclusive that the natives were not ready on that day. They were too occupied with the celebration, and Alvarado, with his small force, was not so negligent as to wait till the last moment, when the enemy was fully prepared. He and several of his men indicate clearly enough that they attended the temple at the installation. The uprising must therefore have been appointed for the following or even a later day. See note 25. Vetancurt, *Teatro Mex.*, iii. 139, is among the authorities who follow the version of Torquemada in general. One of the fervid-minded witnesses of Alvarado repeats the account of pots and jars for cooking the Spaniards. Helps supposes that Huitzilopochtli's festival had not yet been entered upon, and that Tezcatlipoca's image is the one in question; but the Spaniards, who knew the difference between these idols, all affirm that the celebration of the war-god was now held. See *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 69, 113, 130, 137, and 150.

Cortés. He was scarcely fit to be his servant. There were a dozen prominent qualities that combined to make up the great man in Cortés which were absent in Alvarado. Both of them were loyal, brave, and merciless, but there was a method in the excesses of Cortés which those of Alvarado lacked. Cortés was deep, Alvarado shallow; Cortés was patient under affront, Alvarado was violent; Cortés was cool in time of danger, Alvarado was excited—and so on. And yet Alvarado was a gallant cavalier.

The Spaniards now held a council, before which Alvarado placed the information thus far obtained of the plot, and the necessity of prompt measures was at once recognized. They did not believe Montezuma to be taking any active part in the conspiracy, but that swayed by hopes and fears he was allowing himself, with his usual want of resolution, to yield to the stronger will of his courtiers a passive consent to the efforts for his release.[23]

Less prudent than his chief, and less fertile in resources, Alvarado did not look for preventives to check the conspiracy, but to what he regarded as a decisive blow to crush it, such as that administered at Cholula. He had not the foresight of his general with regard to the proper adjustment of means to ends, nor his magic influence over those around him, friend or foe. He remembered only the good effect of the massacre on the effeminate Cholultecs, and felt convinced that so excellent a measure must

[23] This received support from his neglect to interfere when supplies were cut down. Even Tapia refers to a change in his disposition, and to Alvarado's displeasure thereat, but his words may apply to the stoppage either of supplies or of presents. *Id.*, 36. Want of power could not be pleaded by Montezuma, because a few days later, when the natives were far more embittered both against the Spaniards and against their captive sovereign, the latter was able by a mere appeal to stay their onslaught. The testimony speaks not only of an undermined wall and scaling ladders, but of weapons, 'porras y otras armas,' and of conspirators within the fort. *Id.*, 67, 113, et seq. Gomara says that his love for the Spaniards has been denied by some. *Hist. Mex.*, 154–5; but Bernal Diaz will not believe Montezuma guilty of conspiracy. *Hist. Verdad.*, 102. The grief of the Spaniards at his death, and the care taken of his children, indicate that they and the crown regarded him as loyal.

answer also for the apparently abject Aztecs. It thoroughly suited his rash daring and cruel disposition. To attack is to win, was his maxim. The difference in circumstances hardly entered into consideration, chief among which was the smaller force, unsupported by the neutrality of half the city, as at Cholula, and without allies close at hand. The gathering of so many nobles and military leaders in connection with the war-god celebration provided the opportunity desired, since this would permit the blow to be directed against those who were looked on as the promoters of the revolt; and deprived of their leaders the people would be likely to abandon any further attempt. This plan met with general approval.[24]

The hour[25] having arrived for the visit to the temple,[26] Alvarado selects half the force to accompany him,[27] and proceeds thither, armed with more than usual care. Upon those who remain in charge of the fort, says Tapia, devolves the safer, though even more cruel task of slaughtering the greater part of the courtiers and attendants,[28] who have this day presented themselves in larger numbers than usual.

[24] 'Los españoles lo requirieron al dicho D. Pedro.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 150. Tapia pretends that he objected. *Id.*, 37.

[25] Alvarado and his men in more than one instance indicate the day when the dough idol was raised. *Id.*, 67, 113, 134. Ixtlilxochitl points to the following greater day, which he dates May 19th. *Relaciones*, 412. Sahagun is not so definite, but his editor accepts the chief day, calling it whitsunday, May 27th. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 99. In another place he says May 25th. *Tezcuco en los ultimos tiempos*, 274. One of Alvarado's men states that it was a Thursday. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 131.

[26] The testimony of the conquerors, confirmed by native paintings and records, leaves no doubt that the dance of the nobles and the massacre took place in the great temple adjoining the fort. *Ramirez, Proceso*, 37 et seq. Acosta writes, however, that they occurred in the palace, *Hist. Ind.*, 522, and he is partly right, since a massacre was carried out here also. Clavigero follows Acosta, and assumes that the fort is meant. He argues that the dance was held there so that the emperor might, as customary, be present, and that a massacre could not have been undertaken by so few Spaniards in the great temple, where the arsenals were situated, and where the concourse of people must have been very large. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 118. The Spaniards had forbidden the use of arms during the festival, and none appear to have been produced in the temple. Among other precautions Alvarado appears to have insisted on a small attendance beyond that of nobles, and most authorities so accept it.

[27] Torquemada says 50 men; the Tlascaltecs are seldom counted.

[28] 'Que no quedaron sino el dicho Montezuma y quinze o veynte criados,'

The Spaniards with their Tlascaltec followers are welcomed at the sanctuary with great demonstrations by the unsuspecting nobles, who see nothing to apprehend in the gleaming arms, since the Spaniards never go forth without weapons. We must remember it is a gala day, and the court presents a magnificent scene with its festive decking of garlands, festoons, and drapery, and its gayly attired audience. A procession of plumed priests and pages march by with swinging censers, chanting weird music before the hideous idols. Behind comes a file of nuns and novices, with red feathers and painted faces, surmounted by garlands of toasted maize, and bearing in their hands flags with black bars. Hidden musicians strike, and the dance begins. Joining the priests, the consecrated women and the tyros whirl round a large brazier, while two shield-bearers with blackened faces direct their motions. A conspicuous figure is the *ixteocale*, the living representative of the god, for whom he is fated to die, like the more prominent proxy of Tezcatlipoca. Dressed like a warrior ready for the fray, and prepared to lead in the chief dances as is his duty, he seems to impersonate the omen of evil which hovers over the scene.

Presently the Spaniards are conducted to a separate court, wherein are assembled several hundred nobles and leading men, arrayed in rich costumes glittering with gold and precious stones. The centre of attraction is the new image of Huitzilopochtli, of *tzoalli* dough, its jacket wrought with human bones. Before this image the *mazehualiztli* dance now begins.[29] Rings are formed round the music-stand, where two leaders direct the movements, the highest nobles and the most aged composing the inner circles, and the

says the charge against Alvarado. *Ramirez, Proceso*, 4, 20, 37, 43. This generally ignored part of the massacre finds also indirect confirmation in the diffuse testimony to the finding of concealed weapons among the attendants of Montezuma. Alvarado would not have failed to punish them for this.

[29] *Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones*, 412. 'Este bayle es como el Nototeliztli.' 'Mazcualiztli: que quiere dezir Merecimiento con trabajo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 150.

younger men the outer. When all is ready the music strikes up lightly to a well known tune, and the dancers move off, chanting a song bearing on the event of the day, and on gods and kings.[30] Forewarned as the Spaniards are, they see treason in every act and word, and many who understand somewhat the Aztec language declare that the songs bear distinct allusions to the intended uprising.

As the dance progresses a few of the soldiers, together with a number of Tlascaltecs, take possession of the different entrances, while the rest distribute themselves in suitable positions and watch for the signal.[31] Instructed by his native allies, Alvarado waits the time when the Indians shall install the war-god image in the chapel. And now the sanguinary moment has come. Falling on the assembly with pike and sword, some strike the idol and some its worshippers. They hew down the priests and drive the cruel steel through the bodies of the nobles. Few of the Indians possess any weapons with which to defend themselves from the sharp Toledo blades. Taken thus by surprise, panic-stricken, they tread one upon another, and then fall helpless under the merciless thrusts of the enemy. Their first impulse has been to rush for the gates, but lines of bristling pikes oblige them to press back against the crowd, thereby increasing the confusion. Some attempt to climb over the high walls, some to hide in the temple buildings, even burrowing beneath the heaps of the slain. Before an hour has passed there is nothing left in sight deemed worthy Spanish swords, so suddenly has this brilliant assembly been transformed into loath-

[30] See *Native Races*, ii. 288–9.

[31] 'Fue al patio donde estava el Oechilobos e vi mucha gente junta para le subir e defendiendolo venia mucha gente los quales comensaron a pelear con nosotros.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 67. This is a mere excuse evidently, which none attempt to support, definitely at least; but it sounded well to say that the actual fight began on the native side, as had the plotting. One of Brasseur de Bourbourg's unique manuscripts states that the first attack by the Spaniards was upon those who were advancing with the idol. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 287. 'Este testigo desfizo el ydolo que los dichos yndios tenian para sobir donde estava Nuestra Señora.' *Nuño Pinto*, in *Ramirez*, 134.

some masses of mangled bodies. The pathway of the conquerors is everywhere slippery with the blood of their victims.

In this horrible butchery, as we have seen, the lower classes suffered less than the nobles. Desolation was brought home to nearly every prominent family in the city. Their grief, shared by dependants and adherents throughout the provinces, was commemorated in plaintive ballads, by which the people kept alive the hatred of their oppressors long after the conquest. The estimates of the killed vary from four hundred to over three thousand, the most common number being six hundred; and as this generally refers to prominent personages it may be accepted as not too low.[32]

Finding no more to kill, or rather no more worth the killing, the Spaniards and the Tlascaltecs proceeded to plunder. The reward was rich, but even in the eyes of their national historians odium attached to every trinket, for by such action, as Herrera observes, they gave currency to the charge that the deed had been prompted by avarice. But this interesting occupation was destined to be interrupted. Shouts

[32] There were from 300 to 400 dancers, nearly all chiefs, and an audience of from 2000 to 3000, says Tapia; and from the wording of the accusation against Alvarado it appears that all the chiefs were killed, and a number of the rest, besides those slaughtered in the fort. Ramirez interprets the native painting to signify 400, most likely of the nobles only, *Id.*, 4, 37, 286; 400 killed, *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 41; over 600 nobles slaughtered in one hour, *Cano*, in *Oviedo*, iii. 550; 600 to 1000 nobles and caciques, *Gomara;* over 1000 nobles, *Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones*, 412, and *Brasseur de Bourbourg.* 'Fué tan grande el derramamiento de sangre, que corrian arroyos della por el patio como agua cuando mucho llueve.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 100. He gives sickening details of truncated bodies, of dismembered hands and feet, and of draggling entrails. Father Duran goes to an extreme in his account, according to which Alvarado prompted the deed, and Cortés executed it. From 8000 to 10,000 illustrious men were summoned through Montezuma to assemble in the temple, in order to permit Cortés to kill them and thus become master in the country. He places ten soldiers at each gate, and sends in ten to commit the slaughter. *Hist. Ind.*, MS. ii. 456–9. Las Casas is not so absurd, this time at least, but close behind him in the estimate, for he states that the slaughter was carried on in different parts of the city at the same time, and in one place alone about 2000 young nobles fell. Prescott misinterprets him. 'Non procul à palatio aberant, duo circiter millia juvenum nobilium....Ad hos se contulit Hispanorum Capitaneus, & alios ad reliquas urbis partes, in quibus hæ choreæ celebrabantur, misit,....non cessabunt celebrare & lamentari ....calamitatem,' etc. *Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 32.

from the maddened multitude without were soon heard, roaring in response to the death clamor of their countrymen. Warned by the guard at the gates, the plunderers hastened to regain the fort. Yells of execration greeted them as they issued from the temple, and showers of stones and darts fell thick, while the front ranks of the assailants pressed them with swords and clubs.[33] Short as was the distance to the

[33] *Tapia*, and others, in *Ramirez*, 38, 67, 131. Torquemada assumes that the arms used by the assailants were those which had been collected for the outbreak in the houses adjoining the temple. i. 490. As regards the motives for the massacre, the Spanish authorities seek as a rule to justify them, while the native accounts are equally inclined to ascribe them to greed or to wanton cruelty. According to Sahagun the celebration was held at the instance of Alvarado, who slaughtered the devotees without known cause. *Hist. Conq.*, 27 (ed. 1840), 100. Duran, who is as prejudiced as he is blundering, dates the massacre after the return of Cortés from the coast. Alvarado persuades him to secure the submission of the country by killing all the lords and chiefs, and they are accordingly allured to their death. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 456–7. Las Casas inclines to a similar motive; 'quo magis cresceret, & augeretur in his provinciis formido illorum crudelitatis.' *Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 30. Nearer the truth comes Ixtlilxochitl, who, while disposed to credit his countrymen, dares not accuse the Spaniards, and so takes the prudent middle course of casting the blame on the Tlascaltecs. Prompted by the hatred bred of former wrongs inflicted by Mexicans, and by greed for spoils, they invent charges of treason and speedy revolt. Alvarado, being also avaricious, is readily induced to believe them, and considers it besides a good opportunity to obtain control by dispatching the assembled chiefs, unarmed as they are. *Hist. Chich.*, 300; *Relaciones*, 389, 412. Ixtlilxochitl is not to blame for his assumption, since his admired guide, the biographer of Cortés, does not attempt to defend Alvarado, but merely mentions that he was influenced either by reports of a proposed uprising or by avarice. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 151. The commentator Chimalpain says bluntly that the latter motive 'es mas de creer.' *Hist. Conq.*, i. 281; *Benzoni, Mondo Nuovo*, 94; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 92. Vetancurt rather condemns Alvarado for acting on insufficient evidence. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 139–40. Cortés' silence respecting the cause may be attributed to his usual prudence in suppressing unpleasant facts. He states, however, that Montezuma supplicated him not to be annoyed at what had happened, since he regretted it as much as the Spaniards. This implies that the Indians were regarded as originators of the trouble. The severity with which he treated the emperor on his return to Mexico, notwithstanding the efforts made by him to save the Spaniards, indicates still more strongly that Cortés was convinced of Mexican treachery. *Cartas*, 126 et seq. In the letter of the army to the emperor the uprising is attributed to Narvaez' plots. *Carta del Ejército*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 429. Herrera notices the native versions, particularly that which accuses the Tlascaltecs of having trumped up charges against the Mexicans, but he affirms, 'la verdad fue, que pensaron matar los Castellanos.' He thereupon enumerates proofs of the plot. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. viii. Torquemada, who is more fully acquainted with native accounts, condemns them as unreliable, and states that Sahagun accepted them without investigation. i. 489–91. The charge that Alvarado was influenced by avarice is promptly rejected by Bernal Diaz. 'No lo creo, ni nunca tal oí, ni es de creer que tal hiziesse.' His motive was to inspire terror and inflict such injury as to prevent the Indians from attacking

fort, much time was occupied in reaching it, and hardly a man escaped injury. Alvarado was severely wounded, while one soldier and a number of allies were slain.

him. That they intended to attack, Bernal Diaz fully believes. *Hist. Verdad.*, 102. Solis is quite indignant at the supposition that avarice impelled the Spaniards. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 117. According to Oviedo the intention of the natives was to kill also Cortés on his return. He inserts without comment the version of Cano, married to Montezuma's daughter, that avarice was the motive. iii. 510, 550. Acosta, who generally adheres to native versions, does not apparently find them reliable in this case, since he merely says that a 'chastisement' was inflicted, but that it was excessive. *Hist. Ind.*, 522. This is also the opinion of Clavigero, who believes that the Spaniards were deceived by Tlascaltec stories of a plot, and wished to anticipate it, on the principle that 'chi assalisce vince. Checchessia, la sua condotta non può scusarsi d'imprudenza, e di crudeltà.' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 119. This view has been widely adopted, even by the modern Mexican historian Carbajal Espinosa, plagiarist though he be. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 339. His confrère Bustamante, as editor of Sahagun, is inclined to magnify even the exaggerations of the latter. Prescott wavers between Clavigero's views and disbelief in Alvarado's apology. But in expressing his opinion he misconstrues Bernal Diaz and raises some meaningless questions. *Mex.*, ii. 284–6. There is no doubt that the Indians were bent on mischief. A large faction had been hostile to the Spaniards ever since their arrival, as intruders who menaced the existing politic, economic, and religious order. This feeling had been steadily spreading under the threatening attitude assumed by the unbidden guests in seizing the emperor, in extorting tribute, and in assuming mastery. With the occupation of the temple by the Christian emblems the climax was reached; and now the whole population became possessed with a desire to avenge not only the outraged idols, but themselves and their sovereign, and to uphold the tottering throne. The observations of the Spaniards and the reports of their informers were correct in pointing to an uprising, to take place during the gathering of pilgrims for the war-god festival, when the reduced number of the Spanish garrison favored the design. The confession of several natives, whether extorted by torture or not, confirmed the charges and justified belief. Alvarado could not as a prudent commander ignore them, and duty required him to use prompt measures for the protection of his force, and of the interests of his king and the expedition. It might be urged by those who seek to defend this kind of thing that seizure of the victims for hostages would have been equally effective and more humane; but from the precedence established by the general himself at Cholula the conduct of the rash Alvarado is scarcely to be wondered at. Cortés' object had been to strike terror as the only effective lesson for a people who seemed to recognize no other sway, and if this was regarded as necessary with the Cholultecs, Alvarado must have held it to be doubly so now. His position was far more critical than that at the former city, for his resources were smaller, the prospect of aid was hopeless, and escape was cut off. He had to strike promptly and strike well. Here were the leaders, and here the temple, wherein a punishment would apparently have greater effect. It was natural to suppose that the installation of the war-god would be attended by the leaders or representative men of the enemy; and to level the blow at this class must be considered as less cruel at least than to strike the multitude, as at Cholula. Perhaps the recognition of this was a reason for the silence of Cortés. All this discussion, however, as to the minor motives prompting a dastardly deed I do not regard as very relevant. I am very sure that the motives of the Spaniards in this massacre were not plunder. They were playing for a higher stake, for the whole country, and, in case they won, all in it would be theirs. The present heavy blow was but one of the points in the game.

CHAPTER XXIII.

UPRISING OF THE AZTECS.

MAY–JUNE, 1520.

CHARACTER OF THE AZTECS—SPANISH QUARTERS—THE CITY IN ARMS—GROWING HATRED TOWARD THE INVADERS—PERILOUS POSITION OF ALVARADO—MONTEZUMA CALLED TO INTERFERE—FAILING PROVISIONS—MIRACULOUS WATER—CORTÉS TO THE RESCUE—RENDEZVOUS AT TLASCALA—THE CITY AND ITS PEOPLE—THE ARMY JOINS ALVARADO—DESPERATE ENCOUNTERS.

THE Spaniards had mistaken somewhat the character of the Aztecs. Ground to the dust by political despotism and bloody superstition, their features had assumed a melancholy cast and their form the attitude of humility. Yet beneath all slumbered a ferocity the most blood-thirsty among the Nahua nations. And now, though their nature might be as cold and impassive as the stone of the pavement, the iron heel of the conqueror had struck fire from it.

Before the fort the angry throng increased, until the whole city seemed to have gathered there. On the roofs and in the courts fell showers of arrows, stones, and darts, and charge after charge was made at the entrances. Attempts were also made both to scale and undermine the walls, and some resorted to battering, until it seemed to the besieged as if the whole habitation was coming down upon their heads.

The structure consisted of a vast irregular pile of stone buildings, one story in height, and raised, like most of the pretentious edifices, on a pyramidal foundation, which was low and difficult to undermine or beat down. An occasional tower relieved the monotony of the outline and offered a view over the neigh-

borhood. Beside the smaller courts inclosed by the buildings, a larger yard appears to have been formed by a stout wall, within which the allies had erected temporary shelter. This was the weakest point, and here the battering parties were chiefly collected. The flanks and curtains of modern fortification were wanting, and the protection of the wall face depended on the turrets which rose here and there, and on the parapets, with their few embrasures.

Though attempting no sortie beyond the immediate vicinity of the gates, the Spaniards were not sparing of powder and arrows, and picked off the more presumptuous assailants, while their pikes and swords did good service at the parapets and openings. The cannon, however, loaded as they were with small shot and scraps, which brought down a dozen or more at a time, were the only weapons that could hold the enemy in check. On one occasion, when a charging party had approached in a somewhat wavering column to carry the main entrance, the cannon charge failed to explode, owing to dampness. This the assailants were quick to observe, and with yells of encouragement they rushed forward, and were soon in a hand-to-hand conflict with a party which had sallied to break the first column. The Spaniards plied their swords and pikes with desperation, supported by a desultory fire from the musketeers and archers of the fort, but without effect. The gaps made by their weapons were quickly filled with fresh warriors, and the sallying party was obliged to fall back with the loss of two soldiers, who were captured alive and devoted to sacrifice. It was a critical moment, for the enraged horde was about to follow them into the quarters. Just then, as if touched by invisible fire, the powder ignited, sending from the cannon its death-dealing missiles, mowing a path through the crowd of pursuers. The Mexicans were appalled and speedily thrown into disorder, of which the Spaniards were not slow to take advantage. Nor was this the only

miracle of the day; for it is alleged that the virgin, and he of the dazzling white steed, both appeared fighting on the side of the Spaniards, and bringing defeat and confusion upon their assailants, as at Tabasco and Tlascala.[1]

Thus closed the first day of Alvarado's chivalrous doings, during which a large number were wounded, although there were but six killed,[2] not including allies. A portion of the quarters, with a quantity of ammunition and supplies, had been burned, and a large breach made in the wall. The brigantines were also burned, the bridges raised, and barricades erected in different parts of the city; while the supply of provisions was cut off. Even after darkness had stilled the fury of the warriors the unhappy people remained before the Spanish quarters, and with outstretched arms and dishevelled hair they lifted up their voices, crying, "You are doomed, you vile things! But for your thunder and your fortress walls, curses on them, you would now be killed and cooked. And you shall be, unless you instantly release Montezuma and depart. You shall meet with holy death, and be cooked with *chilmole*, and be given as food to the eagles and the beasts, for your flesh is bitter, as we have found, and not fit for men to eat. Why does not the earth swallow you alive? Oh ye gods! ye gods! unmoved all, all but the devilish gods of these devilish men.

[1] Which speaks little to the credit of either Mary or Santiago. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 102. 'Otro miraglo....é fué muy notorio.' 'Ya sé que los incrédulos....dirán que mi ocupaçion en esto de miraglos, pues no los ví, es supérflua....é yo hablo que esto é más se puede é debe creer;' for did the Indians have mysteries and miracles, surely God, the virgin, and the saints could effect greater deeds. *Oviedo*, iii. 511. He quotes from Livy and others concerning the reliable miracles of Roman times. Prescott and others transfer the miracles to the siege under Cortés for greater effect. Bustamante, the modern champion of the shrines of Mexico, who is ready to uphold any deed attributed to these images, is rather incredulous about miracles recorded in favor of Spanish cutthroats. See *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, i. 283 et seq. 'Si no oviéssemos miedo de esse del caballo blanco, ya vosotros estaríedes coçidos,' cried some, *Oviedo*, iii. 511, while the more valiant added that 'con todo esto si no soltays a Motecçumacin, y os vays luego, presto sereys muertos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 152.

[2] *Cortés, Cartas*, 127. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 101–2, says seven, two having been taken alive. 'Mataron a Peña, el querido de Motezuma,....Valdibia, y Juan Martin Narizes.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. vii.

But our mighty ones, whom you have outraged, shall yet give you your deserts. If they do not, we shall; nor shall they escape, the despicable ones of Tlascala, your slaves, who serve you as women and hire out the wives of their lords!" Thus raved the heart-broken.

So critical had become his condition on the second day that Alvarado appealed to Montezuma to exert his influence to stay the assailants, intimating that if the Spaniards perished so would the Aztec king. Montezuma's overtures were not received with enthusiasm by the people; nevertheless aggressive operations were reduced to desultory attacks.[3] Water was greatly needed by the besieged, and again the good fortune of the Spaniards, which hardly ever forsook them, came to their aid. Digging, under inspiration or desperation, they struck fresh water within the fortress,[4] and offered thanksgiving.

[3] 'Tuvieron guerra con los yndios en esta Cibdad dos medios dias que fueron jueves e viernes.' 'Guerra casy dos dias.' *Lopes* and *Flores*, in *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 131, 134. 'Dieron bateria los Mexicanos á los Españoles siete dias, y los tuvieron cercados veinte y tres dias.' *Sahagun*, *Hist. Conq.*, 29. 'Cercados los españoles ocho dias.' *Id.* (ed. 1840), 105. 'Pelearõ y combatieron la casa diez dias arreo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 151. Torquemada explains this by assuming two days of fighting and eight days of close siege, with attacks upon all who sallied. i. 490. Sahagun states that Itzquauhtzin, governor of Tlatelulco, accompanied Montezuma to the roof and spoke to the people, representing that the Spaniards, as the mightier race, would inflict great injury on them unless they ceased to fight, and that the emperor would be murdered. The Mexicans responded with insults and missiles, but as the soldiers interposed their shields no harm was done. They appear to have stopped active operations, however. *Hist. Conq.*, 28–9. The insults and missiles belong no doubt to the later siege under Cortés. Duran states, however, that Montezuma was henceforth looked on as an accomplice of the Spaniards, and discarded as a ruler, it being resolved to kill him and his family. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 463. According to Oviedo the news came at this time of the victory over Narvaez, 'é Montoçuma mandó á los indios que dexassen de pelear é dexassen venir los otros chripstianos, porque á todos juntos matassen; é aquesto se cree que fué su intento.' iii. 512. That he may have urged this with intent or as a bait is not unlikely, but it should apply equally to Narvaez' men, since it appears that their defeat could not yet have been known. When known, however, it must have had its effect. 'Quando supieron nuestra vitoria, cesarõ de dalle guerra.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 101. Yet Gomara writes that on learning of the large forces coming against them, the besiegers resumed the attack at one time. *Hist. Mex.*, 151.

[4] This spring was rediscovered during the reign of Viceroy Revilla Gigedo. *Bustamante, Mem. Piedad., Mex.*, 7. A pool of sweet water was the chief inducement for founding the city on this site in 1325. *Native Races*, ii. 559–61; v. 345 et seq.

Communication was shortly after established between Alvarado and Cortés. Several Tlascaltecs and Cholultecs were despatched by different routes to the coast, and a courier arrived from Cempoala and gained entrance to the fort.[5] Ordering Velazquez and Ordaz to abandon their mission and direct their march to Tlascala, Cortés hastened preparations to join them there. A garrison of one hundred men was left at Villa Rica, under Rodrigo Rangel, a relative of the general,[6] and about thirty men remained at Cempoala to take charge of the sick and wounded, and some baggage, with orders to follow as soon as possible.

The route to the plateau lay partly through a bleak and desert country, and the inhabitants being beside less friendly than before, the army would have found it difficult to obtain supplies; but Cortés had gathered experience from his previous march, and Tlascala was entered in the middle of June.[7] A hearty reception

[5] *Cortés, Cartas*, 126. The Spanish messenger from Mexico returned wounded. *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. v. With him, or about the same time, arrived four chiefs sent by Montezuma to complain that Alvarado had attacked the nobles without cause. While defending themselves six soldiers had fallen. Cortés told the chiefs with stern countenance that he was returning to investigate the matter. A letter was sent to Alvarado enjoining him to guard the emperor closely. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 101.

[6] And the zealous aid of Velazquez de Leon, who did so much toward securing the Goazacoalco command for Cortés when Narvaez sent letters to win it over. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 409; ii. 6, 31, 165–6. He is accused by his enemies of impiety and licentiousness, and as one whom the general favored above more worthy men. Solis assumes that Sandoval nominally retained the command of the coast province, Rangel being merely his lieutenant. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 108.

[7] 'Llegò aquel dia [the first] à la Rinconada, el segundo caminò siete Leguas....legò à Tlaxcalla à diez y seite de Junio.' *Torquemada*, i. 492. Herrera tells a long story of suffering from hunger and thirst during the march through the desert. Marquez and Ojeda were sent ahead to Tlascala for supplies, and came back with 1200 carriers laden with fowl, bread, fruit, and other refreshments. Cortés, among others, was found starving, and a number were discovered on the road almost dead. All, it seems, were rescued. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. vii. There are several reasons for believing that Herrera, who is somewhat confused about this period, has confounded the present march with the flight from Mexico to Tlascala of a month later, when the people were really starving. This seems confirmed by the erroneous statement that the troops arrived at Tlascala July 17th, the time, according to Herrera's own later statement, when they reached that place after the flight. The account also intimates that the starving army was met among the Otomí settlements, where food could readily be obtained,

was accorded, and more encouraging news obtained from Mexico, showing that the siege maintained its passive character. Reinforcements were nevertheless urgent, since a fresh outbreak might at any time occur. A message was again sent to gladden the garrison with promises of speedy relief.[8]

Including the troops under Velazquez and Ordaz the muster-roll showed about eleven hundred men, with some eighty horses, one hundred cross-bows, and eighty fire-arms, besides several cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition.[9] The heart of the company, however, was the veterans of Cortés, whose superior discipline and familiarity with native warfare made them doubly reliable. Eager for a fray with the detested Aztecs, and desirous of excusing their refusal of men a month before, the Tlascaltecs offered not only supplies but large reinforcements, of which only two thousand were accepted, besides a small number from Cholula and Huexotzinco.

The more northerly route by way of Calpulalpan, recommended already on the former march as the

without the necessity for Marquez and Ojeda to go ten leagues farther, to the capital, to obtain it. These and other discrepancies are overlooked by all who refer to the march. Prescott dwells in particular on the suffering from thirst, forgetful of the statement on a previous page that the rainy season had begun about three weeks before, and that water must have been abundant along the whole route. Solis finds that the effeminate followers of Narvaez endured the suffering remarkably well. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 109.

[8] 'Embiò a fray Bartolome de Olmedo....a Motezuma.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. vii. It is unlikely that so valuable a man would have been sent while affairs were threatening.

[9] Narvaez landed with about 900 soldiers, including 80 horsemen, 120 with bows, and 80 with fire-arms. A number had been picked up at Cozumel, but an equal proportion perished by shipwreck. Cortés had about 250 men, and 200 were probably left on the coast, of garrison, guards, and invalids. To the 950 soldiers thus taken may be added at least 150 from the crews of the dismantled or destroyed vessels. Prescott manages to mysteriously increase the horses and projectile arms beyond what he previously assigns to Narvaez and Cortés. One thousand infantry, 100 horsemen, and many allies, say Gomara and Herrera. The *Probanza de Lejalde*, in *Icazbalceta Col. Doc.*, i. 425, indicates 80 horses. Bernal Diaz places the figures as high as 1300 soldiers, including 96 or 97 horsemen, 80 archers, 80 musketeers, and 2000 Tlascaltec warriors; while Cortés, with a prudent desire to cover the subsequent losses at Mexico, reduces them to 500 infantry and 70 cavalry. Solis gives the reason of the profound historian for the small number of allies taken to Mexico: 'Por no escandalizar á Motezuma, ó poner en desesperacion á los rebeldes.' *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 111.

easiest, was this time selected, partly with a view to obtain provisions more readily.[10] As the lake region was approached evidences were seen of the revolt in deserted villages and in the sullen demeanor of the few Indians who showed themselves. The contrast was chilling indeed as compared with the reception accorded on the former occasion, when the journey resembled the triumphal march of gods. Oppressed with misgivings the army entered Tezcuco, the seat of the Acolhua kings, a few leagues north of Mexico, on the border of the same lake.

It was one of the most ancient cities of the country, ranking since the early half of the eighth century as the capital of a dominion founded by Tezcatlipoca, the later supreme deity of the Nahuas. After the fall of the Toltec empire it took the leading position in Anáhuac, as the centre of Chichimec power. The new dynasty fostered the inherited culture in every way, and made the city not only the political capital, but the Athens of the country. The rise of the Aztecs gave it a rival in Mexico, which in course of the fifteenth century assumed the political sceptre, but Tezcuco still maintained the precedence in culture and elegance. It was said to contain one hundred and forty thousand houses, distributed among different suburbs, and extending with their smiling gardens from the border of the lake to a distance of from three to four leagues. The six divisions of the city were crossed by a series of fine streets lined with tasteful and costly buildings. Among the finest structures were the two palaces, which are claimed to have excelled those of Mexico. The older, the Huetecpan, wherein the poet-king Nezahualcoyotl held his court, formed a magnificent monument of his artistic taste.

[10] The arrival at Tezcuco is evidence enough that a more northern road was taken than the one previous. The middle route by Telapon appears somewhat more direct for Mexico, but requires a detour to reach the Acolhua capital, and it is not likely that an army in hurried march could afford to go out of its way. Hence the Calpulalpan road must have been followed.

It lay upon a triple terrace bathed by the lake, and was surrounded by an immense wall, from fifteen to twenty-five feet high, inclosing two large squares. Within this precinct were the council-chambers, the halls for various arts and sciences, and the royal apartments. The pleasure-grounds, almost hedged by cedars, were filled with shady groves, traversed by labyrinthian paths, and interspersed with well stocked ponds and aviaries, baths, and sparkling fountains. The new palace, which occupied a smaller space, excelled in imposing architecture and in comforts of the most varied character.

Beside these there were a number of summer resorts in the neighborhood, conspicuous among them the fine palace of Tezcocingo, a prototype of Chapultepec, and like it overlooking the capital from a hill, two leagues to the east. An aqueduct of stone supplied two reservoirs on the summit, whence the water was distributed over grounds intersected by canals with meandering currents and picturesque cascades. The palace lay almost hidden within groves of gigantic cedar and cypress, revealing to the rapt beholder pavilions of marble, tessellated pavements, and playing fountains with statuary of unique form.[11]

The Spaniards found none to welcome them, but were allowed unmolested to take up their quarters in the palace. Shortly afterward a canoe arrived from Mexico[12] with an imperial messenger and a Spaniard,[13] bearing the cheering news that everything had been quiet in the capital for some time, and that supplies, which had been scantily furnished only against heavy payments, had now become more liberal. Montezuma sent word that the city would return to its normal

[11] See *Native Races*, ii. 162–3, 168–73, 569; v., passim; *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, 181–3.

[12] Cortés writes that he was on the point of sending a Spaniard to Mexico with Tezcucan rowers, a chief being taken as hostage, but just then came this canoe. *Cartas*, 127.

[13] Two, named Santa Clara and Pedro Hernandez, says Herrera, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. vii.

condition the moment Cortés entered it, and he expressed a hope that no ill-will would be entertained toward him for what had happened, since this had been beyond his control, and had grieved him as much as the Spaniards. Reassuring messages were forwarded to Villa Rica.

After a stay of four days the army proceeded from Tezcuco by the northern shore of the lake, and camped for the night at Tepeyacac, the terminus of the northern causeway from Mexico.[14] On entering this place the horse of Solis, Casquete, stepped into a hole on the bridge and broke a leg, throwing its rider into the water. This was looked on as a bad omen, particularly by an astrologer soldier named Botello, but Cortés made light of it, saying, "Troubles at St John's festival bring peace for the year."[15] The following morning, St John's day, the army entered the capital. On all sides an ominous silence prevailed. The streets were deserted, the houses apparently abandoned, and the solitary native occasionally seen hovered in the distance like a shadow.[16] It was also noticed with apprehension that many of the canal bridges were removed. On approaching the Axayacatl palace the arrival was heralded by trumpet blasts, which called forth responsive shouts

[14] 'Parò en Tepeaquilla, lugar a legua de Mexico.' *Id.* Now the shrine of Guadalupe. Prescott assumes that the Iztapalapan road was taken, as before, but it was avoided probably because Cortés feared the fort Xoloc, which guarded the centre. It was also longer, and had more movable bridges than the other causeways.

[15] 'Riñas por San Iuan pazes para todo el año.' *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 139. The following day a dress was found hanging from a beam, and in a square a pile of bread, with over 500 fowl, without a guard. This Cortés considered less favorable, and said 'que serian riñas de por San Iuan.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. vii.–viii.

[16] 'Para dar á entender con esto que ellos estaban de guerra y muy ofendidos de los españoles que él habia dejado.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 108. His account of deserted streets, applied to Cortés' first arrival in Mexico, belongs no doubt to this occasion. Duran argues that had the massacre taken place before Cortés' arrival he would not have been allowed to enter. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 470. Equally in the dark is Acosta, who assumes that the Indians were openly at war, but the custom being to rest every fourth day, Cortés managed to enter during the cessation of hostilities. *Hist. Ind.*, 522. Oviedo looks on the non-resistance of the Indians as a wile to entrap all the Spaniards. iii. 510.

from the garrison. Throwing open the gates, the besieged received their deliverers with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy.[17] For greater accommodation a part of the troops were quartered in the great temple adjoining the fort.

The unpleasant aspect of affairs, so apparent during the last days of the march, had ruffled the temper of Cortés, and his treatment of Alvarado was not altogether cordial. Still, as he had ever been a close friend, and as he was an invaluable officer, brave and influential, he deemed it prudent to go no further than to express a curt disapproval of his rashness.[18] Indeed, an inquiry into the causes and results of the massacre could criminate Alvarado no further than the Cholula affair did himself. The captain had acted in full accord with his party, and whatever blame might attach must be shared by all. Dissension would never answer, and so the matter was dropped. But the ill-temper which the general dared not wreak on his own men found a ready object in Montezuma. The conduct of Cortés in this respect was most ungenerous. It shows the several sides of humanity: how odious in some respects are those who appear to the best advantage in other respects. This poor king had a superstitious sympathy, a maudlin affection for the captain, who, considering his own infamous conduct toward him, might at least have

[17] Herrera writes amusingly that Cortés shouted before the closed gates, 'Open!' 'Who is there?' demanded Alvarado. 'I,' replied Cortés. 'Do you come with full liberty, and power to command, as before?' 'Yes, and with victory, and greater forces.' Alvarado thereupon opened, kissed his hand, and surrendered the keys! dec. ii. lib. x. cap. viii.

[18] 'Con que aventuró la mayor parte de sus fuerzas.' *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 120. Or perhaps because he had not had recourse to some safer measure, such as arresting the leaders of the proposed plot, for hostages. 'Le dixo muy enojado, q̃ era muy mal hecho, y grande desatino, y poca verdad....no le hablò mas en ello.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 102. Cortés would hardly have told him that he lied, since his statements were confirmed by so many; they certainly were years after. Vetancurt supposes that Cortés told him he should have allowed the emperor to attend the festival, and should have awaited the attack rather than opened the war. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 140. 'Dissimulo por no enojar a los que lo hizieron.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 151.

saved the captive unnecessary mental suffering. As Cortés entered the fort Montezuma stepped out of his apartment to welcome him. The cavalier passed by the king in lofty disdain, ignoring his presence. Cut to the quick, the monarch shrank back, apparently more stunned by this treatment than by the late terrible slaughter of his subjects.[19] He retired deeply chagrined to pour his sorrow into Olmedo's ear. "What can I do?" he cried; "he loves gold and fame, and I will give him a life-size equestrian statue of himself in gold if he will but be kind to me."

With the arrival of the main forces supplies were stopped, as if in protest, and Cortés became only the more irritated. Accordingly, when two chiefs appeared on behalf of the emperor to ask for an interview they were repulsed with the insulting epithet of 'dogs!' Velazquez and other officers remonstrated against the policy of this rudeness to one who had interfered to save his troops. "What consideration can I have for a dog?" was the dastardly rejoinder. "Was he not willing to treat with Narvaez, and does he not now seek to starve us?" Persuaded presently of the necessity for imperial interposition, he addressed the chiefs roughly, "Tell your master, Montezuma, to order markets to be held at once, or there will be trouble." His tone and gesture were sufficient indications to the chiefs of the insults offered to them and their august lord, and they failed not to give them full force in their report. In answer to the demand Montezuma said that he and his chief officials were prisoners, and that nothing could be effected without the release of one among them. Cortés saw the necessity, and, without considering the result, released Cuit-

[19] Solis supposes, however, that the two met in friendly intercourse, and takes Bernal Diaz and Herrera to task for asserting the contrary. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 112–14. He refers to Cortés' friendly message from Tezcuco, which is doubtful, and to Gomara, who certainly allows Cortés to refer to Montezuma and his courtiers as 'dogs.' *Hist. Mex.*, 153. In the testimony during Cortés' residencia the discourtesy is asserted. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 42 etc. Clavigero suggests 'ch'era d'uopo il far sembianza di credere il Re colpevole dell' inquietudine.' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 121.

lahuatzin, lord of Iztapalapan, the emperor's brother, and generalissimo of the army, a man whose hostility to everything Spanish was well known. According to Aztec law he was the most probable successor to the throne, and therefore particularly dangerous.[20]

Cortés was becoming foolhardy. Whether the brothers were in accord upon the measures to be adopted is uncertain; but Cuitlahuatzin, who was not only bold, but ambitious, had evidently determined on his course. If the Mexicans had hoped for better prospects with the arrival of Cortés that hope was now dissipated, and bitter indignation filled their breasts. Cuitlahuatzin was welcomed as a liberator. His constant efforts in the imperial council to oppose the admission of the Spaniards, by force if necessary, and his services for the cause of liberty and religion in connection with the Cacama revolt, were sufficient to endear him to his brother patriots. Strongly urged, he accepted the leadership of the insurgents, a position for which his experience and success as a general had well fitted him. He began by ordering war material and erecting barricades. The value of the Chinantec pikes introduced by Cortés had not been lost on him, and a number were provided, barbed with the vitreous iztli. Arrangements were made with adjoining towns and provinces for a supply of provisions and reinforcements to carry on the holy war.[21]

The Spaniards soon learned what was brewing, and first in this way: Ojeda and Marquez, when out for-

[20] *Native Races*, ii. 134–6; v. 462–4; 'Il y joignait, comme de coutume, la charge du grand prêtre de Huitzilopochtli.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 309. Gomara assumes that Cortés orders a chief to open the market. He, offended at the insults used, goes only to rouse the people. *Hist. Mex.*, 153. Ixtlilxochitl supposes that the chief is offended at the reprimand administered for delaying to open the market. *Hist. Chich.*, 301. 'Mandò Hernando Cortes llamar a los mas principales caualleros, hizoles vna larga platica diziēdo, que les perdonaua lo passado, con que para adelāte fuessen....amigos:....sin responder....se fueron.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. viii.

[21] Duran enumerates some of the provinces summoned, as Xilotepec and Matlaltzinco. 'Mandó llamar á....Encantadores y Hechiceros para que los asombrasen y los mostrasen algunas visiones de noche,....para que allí muriesen de espanto.' *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 462–6.

aging early in the morning of the day following their arrival, observed several suspicious circumstances, among others broken bridges, which in one place obliged them to fill up a canal before crossing it. Here and there they saw large collections of slings and other weapons, and presently they came on a priest with dishevelled hair shouting with wild gesticulations to a crowd of armed men. They hurried back to inform the general, guided through intricate cross-streets by a Tlascaltec. Antonio del Rio, who had been despatched for Villa Rica the same morning, returned at a gallop in less than half an hour, excited and bleeding. The streets, he said, were full of warriors, who had raised the bridges and were apparently prepared to attack. Had it not been for his trusty sword and swift horse he would have been slain. At this moment the sentinels in the towers announced the approach of a vast multitude from different directions, with gleaming iztli weapons, and speedily the neighborhood was alive with warriors, whose yells rose high above the shrill shell and doleful drum.[22] Even if they did not inspire the full measure of dread intended they presented a striking picture in their painted bodies, grotesque with patterns and brilliant colors, with no covering among the rank and file save the raw cotton on the head and the universal maxtli round the loins. They were protected in part by the *chimalli*, or shield, a slight bamboo frame covered with gaudily colored skin or reed-grass, chiefly oval and round, and often large enough to cover the whole body. Secured to the arm it left the hand free to hold the bow or stone, while the right managed the arrow or the sling. The

[22] Cortés describes first a brief attack, then a sally, succeeded by a fresh assault on the fort, while Bernal Diaz and Herrera let a force advance against the Indians before they reach the palace. I follow Cortés as the chief guide, because his account of all this period was written while quite fresh in his mind, and appears the most sensible and correct, while the other versions depend more or less on faint recollection and hearsay. Cortés as a rule did not wait till the enemy approached, but he may not have been prepared for the sudden attack. Yet it is probable that he wished in his report to lay the responsibility of the attack upon the enemy. I do not think Cortés inclined to misrepresent in general or without an object.

latter was an implement of great effect with the Aztecs, who could impel the stone with wonderful precision and force. The *maza*, or club, with its knotty head, and the *macana*, or sword, toothed with iztli, were well represented, while high above gleamed the obsidian or copper points of the spear. One of the most dreaded weapons was the *tlacochtli*, or javelin, often provided with three points, and attached to a cord by which it could be recovered for a fresh cast. Conspicuous among the warriors were the nobles, those that were left of them, in lofty quetzal plumage on a head-dress of green feathers set in tiger-skin, or in a gold or silver band, which gave the appearance of metal helmets. The body was covered in corselets of red, green, or yellow feathers, worked with gold, and so arranged as to indicate the company or district to which the wearer belonged. Beneath gleamed occasionally cuirasses of gold or silver. The limbs were covered with wood or leather armor set with feathers or gold plates. A more common body armor was the cotton tunic, one or two fingers in thickness, which extended to the knees and elbows. It was almost equivalent to the quilted cotton protector used on the eastern coast, whose efficiency against native weapons had caused the Spaniards to adopt it. The tunic was adorned with feathers, which corresponded to the uniform in color and arrangement, usually in the form of an animal. Many were distinguished by casques in the form of eagle-heads, and in armor spotted like a tiger-skin, indicative of the two orders of Quauhtin and Ocelome, eagles and tigers. At the head of the different columns appeared officers with small drums, painted and adorned with feathers, with which they directed the march. Beyond, in the centre of the masses, could be seen banners, with devices in various colors and forms, which the Tlascaltecs pointed out as belonging to different wards and to cities on the mainland, a sign that an extensive body of troops had been enlisted for the war.[23]

[23] For war customs see *Native Races*, ii. 400–32.

As the forces drew near, slingers and bowmen appeared on the roofs of the neighboring buildings, who, together with those below, began to send stones, arrows, and darts in showers upon the fort. The Spaniards responded with a series of volleys, the number of cannon being increased to twelve or more. The effect was merely to startle them for a moment, and on they pressed over dead and dying, amid encouraging shouts, till they reached the sides of the wall, where the dreaded cannon, at least, could not destroy them. All attempts to scale the wall proved futile, and soon their efforts were confined to effecting breaches. With their rude implements this was slow work, but they persevered with reckless obstinacy, reinforced at frequent intervals, while the main body kept up a galling discharge of missiles, and occupied the attention of the besieged with continual charges at different points.

This passive or defensive policy did not suit the Spaniards, while it encouraged the Aztecs. Therefore two corps were formed, each of two hundred men, besides allies, under Cortés and Ordaz. Clearing a path with a volley of artillery, they sallied in different directions to drive back the assailants, who hurried for safety into lanes and houses, and behind barricades. This comparative freedom of advance appears to have been permitted to entice the Spaniards into a disadvantageous position, for soon the natives reappeared in swarms in the rear and along the flanks, showering arrows and stones, and coming to close quarters with spears and swords. The heaviest attack was from the roofs, on which large supplies of missiles had been collected, and from which commanding position the enemy was able to direct the discharges with terrible effect, particularly upon the naked Tlascaltecs. Several Spaniards also fell, and the greater number were wounded. Ordaz received three cuts, and Cortés a wound which maimed two fingers of the left hand.[24]

[24] 'Sinistræ manus digitis duobus mutilis.' *Peter Martyr, De Insulis*, 5.

The assailants were comparatively safe, for those on the roofs could be picked off only by archers and musketeers, and those below took refuge when pressed, only to return to fresh attack. Efforts were made to fire the houses, but this was slow work, since they were constructed almost wholly of adobe or stone, and were filled with defenders. Nor would the fire spread, owing to the detached form of the buildings, separated by alleys or canals, so that the torch had to be applied to each.

Thus matters continued until Ordaz, who was engaged on the street to the west of the fort, sent word to Cortés, who was pressing forward in the direction of the Iztapalapan causeway, that he was losing ground. Leaving his own forces, the general hurried to the scene with a few horsemen, and heading the charge, drove back the warriors at the most exposed point, so as to relieve the infantry in the retreat which was now found necessary. Returning to his men he found them also retreating, those who headed the column, including Andrés Duero, the Cuban secretary, having been cut down. "Shame upon you!" exclaimed Cortés to the corps, as he led the horsemen to the rescue of the fallen cavaliers. He was just in time to save them, for a moment more and Duero, at least, would have been slain. The elated warriors fell back before the charge of the terrible Malinche, although they soon recovered. Cortés then concluded to retreat, but this proved no less dangerous than the advance, and among others Lezcano was dragged from his horse and killed, after having distinguished himself for bravery and execution. The fort had meanwhile sustained an active siege, and when the retreating corps approached it they found more enemies in waiting, who, fearful of losing their prey, rushed forward with greater fury than ever. An

Cortés also says 'quedé manco,' *Cartas*, 142, 131, yet Cano ridicules the statement, and declares 'nunca fué manco dellos ni le faltan.' *Oviedo*, iii. 551–2.

entrance was finally effected, the forces in the temple being at the same time withdrawn for the greater safety of themselves and the fort.[25]

Swelling with triumph the Aztecs now directed all their efforts against the Spanish quarters. Burning arrows and whirling brands began to mingle with their missiles. Although the building itself was of stone, the roof and portions of the outwork, and the Tlascaltec camp in the yards, were of inflammable material, and more than once the flames burst forth, filling the whole place with suffocating smoke, and calling for the greatest exertions to subdue them. The little water at hand could not be spared, and so earth was cast up, and portions of the wall were torn down to check the fire and to stop the gaps. The assault continued all day, till darkness sent most of the warriors to their homes.[26]

[25] *Cortés, Cartas*, 128–9. Bernal Diaz speaks of a sally by Ordaz, with 400 men, before the natives reach the fort. He is sorely beset, as related, and retires with a loss of 23 soldiers. *Hist. Verdad.*, 102–3. Herrera's account, as usual, is confused. After Rio returns wounded to report the uprising of warriors, five horsemen rally to reconnoitre. The following day Ojeda and Marquez set out to forage, and come to announce the approach of assailants. Two hundred men now make a sortie and kill a multitude without losing a man. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. viii. It is useless to follow this author here except for incidents.

[26] Bernal Diaz places the dead at 35 soldiers, besides a large number of allies. Eight fell during the first discharge upon Ordaz' party and fifteen more before he regained the fort, while of the 46 wounded among the garrison twelve died. *Hist. Verdad.*, 103. Cortés, with his usual prudent suppression of evil news, allows four deaths and over 80 wounded. He never refers to those who die of wounds. Gomara follows him. *Hist. Mex.*, 153.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FIGHT UPON THE TEMPLE SUMMIT.

JUNE, 1520.

THE NATIVES CONTINUE THE ASSAULT—THEIR FIERCE BRAVERY—THE SPANIARDS BUILD TURRETS—STILL THE MEXICANS PROVE TOO STRONG FOR THEM—MONTEZUMA CALLED TO INTERCEDE—HE IS INSULTED AND STONED BY HIS SUBJECTS—CORTÉS ATTEMPTS EGRESS BY THE TLACOPAN CAUSEWAY—FAILURE OF ESCOBAR TO TAKE THE PYRAMID—CORTÉS GAINS THE SLIPPERY HEIGHT—THE GLADIATORIAL COMBAT THERE.

AT dawn the assault was renewed with the same fierceness as before, and with even less regard for the sweeping volleys of the cannon, which were fired without aim into the packed masses of the natives, bringing them down by the score. The gaps were quickly closed, and the rapidly repeated shots seemed to make no more impression on the surging mass than pebbles dropped into the boiling surf. It was a critical time for Cortés, who seemed not yet to recognize the full extent of the danger. He felt the necessity of open communication with the mainland, for obvious reasons, and to this end, in the course of the morning, he arranged another sortie like that of the preceding day, but in one direction only. The Indians retired, as before, into lanes and buildings, and beyond canals, raising the bridges behind them. Barricades having been thrown up to impede the advance since the last sally, some guns were brought to the front, and with their aid a few of the obstructions were demolished and more than one bridge was gained, together with a number of houses, to which the torch was applied.

The discharges from the roofs were kept up with galling pertinacity, although the effect was not so fatal as during the preceding day, owing to the experience then gained. The forces below, who had retired before the charges of the advance, rolled back like recurring billows, and in ever increasing number, upon flank and rear, as if to overwhelm them. Such were their numbers and stubborn recklessness that ten thousand Hectors and Rolands, says Bernal Diaz, could have effected nothing against them, and soldiers from the Italian war swore that never among Christians or Turks had they witnessed such fierceness. Considerable alarm was also created by the appearance of long pikes, like those of the Chinantecs, directed particularly against the cavalry. Fortunately they were not numerous, nor were the pikemen sufficiently practised to be very dangerous. Worn out in the unequal contest Cortés turned to gain his camp, which was no easy task, since the natives were massed in greatest number in the rear, determined to cut off retreat. The fort was gained, nevertheless, although hardly a man escaped uninjured, while about a dozen were killed; one unfortunate soldier being captured and sacrificed in full view of the garrison.[1]

It had been found that the greatest danger to the sallying parties came from the roofs, whence discharges could be directed with comparative impunity and with greater effect than from the ground. In order to counteract them, three *mantas*, or movable turrets, were planned, whose occupants were to devote their attention wholly to clearing the roofs of assailants. The

[1] Bernal Diaz mentions the death of ten or twelve, but Cortés acknowledges only three score of wounded. On this occasion, apparently, Herrera allows Cortés to gain Tacuba, whither he might have retreated in safety with all his forces and wealth; yet he states that the return fight proved most severe, the fort being regained with difficulty, after the loss of two guns and several soldiers, one taken alive. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ix. Solis manages to transform the operation into a victory, wherein Cortés stays the slaughter out of mercy. Prescott is quite arbitrary in the use of the chronicles. He combines the incidents of several days into one and transposes them at pleasure, with the sole aim apparently of presenting an exciting description of what the siege might have been. A few facts are elaborated, and the rest sacrificed to style.

completing of these machines and other preparations kept the garrison busy all the 27th of June, so that no sally was made. Ascribing this to fear, the Indians became more pressing in their assault, and more profuse with their insults. "Dogs!" cried some, "of hunger and thirst shall you die!" Others shouted, "Here is a piece of my tortilla!" at the same time flinging them unpalatable fragments of toasted bread. "Eat it, you perjured villains, who can fight only on the backs of animals; for soon shall your own bodies be cut up for food and cast before the beasts!" The enemy appeared more numerous than ever, and the roofs and yards were literally covered with their missiles. The greatest danger to the Spaniards lay in the operations of the battering and mining parties, who, regardless of bullets from the wall turrets, sought steadily to open fresh breaches. Conspicuous in the hostile camp was a richly dressed Indian, surrounded by a staff of finely attired warriors, who seemed to direct operations, and whose orders were received with the deepest reverence. This personage the prisoners declared to be Cuitlahuatzin, and the next in rank Quauhtemotzin.[2] Charge after charge was made by his direction, and with a vehemence that threatened to carry everything before it; and loudly rang the yells, whether of delight at some advantage gained or of fury over a repulse.

Thus the besieged were harassed beyond endurance. Large numbers were wounded, and all were exhausted from vigils, hard fighting, trying work, and the want of sufficient water and food; for in view of the stoppage of supplies, rations had been reduced. Those of the Narvaez expedition were particularly disheartened, and bestowed freely their maledictions, first on Velazquez, who had sent them to such a country, and then upon Cortés, whose promises of golden treasures and well stocked encomiendas had lured

[2] Marina asked Montezuma if a new king had been chosen, but he did not think they would elect one while he lived. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 141.

them to this plight. Perceiving, however, that unity of purpose alone could save them, they stifled regrets and showed Cortés that something must immediately be done to stay the onslaught, lest the building fall about their ears. It was exceedingly disagreeable, but it must be done; the proud Spanish general must sue to the greatly injured captive king, pleading for his influence in behalf of peace.[3] Montezuma had all these days been closely confined to his rooms brooding over the insults offered him, and apparently indifferent to the danger from without. When the message was brought he sullenly said, "Why does Malinche address himself to me, who care no longer for life? I will not listen to him, for he it is who has brought me into this plight." He intimated further that the promises of the general could not be relied upon, and that his words carried a double meaning. Olmedo and Olid, who had come to urge the request, had recourse to soothing words and persuasion, and succeeded in mollifying him somewhat.[4] He replied, however, that it was probably too late to appease the Mexicans by promises. "They have now a new leader," he said, "who is resolved to spare no Spaniard, and I believe that you have all to die in this city."[5] Nevertheless he yielded, and as befitted

[3] 'Fue acordado de demandalles pazes para salir de Mexico,....acordò Cortes, que el gran Montecuma les hablasse.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 104. 'Muteczuma....dijo que le sacasen....y que él hablaria á los capitanes.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 129–30. The latter statement may be Herrera's authority for saying that Montezuma was the first to propose speaking to the Mexicans. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x. Observing Cuitlahuatzin's regal authority over the besieging forces, Montezuma was seized with a fit of jealous alarm for throne and life. 'Chiamò Cortès,....pregandolo instantemente di non differir più la sua partenza.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 124. This implies that the emperor was not aware of the vain efforts made to open communication with the mainland, or even to approach it. Cortés had to urge him in any case to speak to his subjects, an unwelcome task in view of his declining influence and of the merely partial success of the former appeal.

[4] Among other reasons it was represented that Cortés was not to blame for the late massacre. 'Que si la indignacion de los mexicanos podia templarse con el castigo de los culpados....le prometia castigar.' So says the native version of *Tezozomoc, Recop. tradiciones*, MS., cap. vi.; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, 287–8.

[5] He felt no eagerness to plead in behalf of those who had caused all his misfortunes, and he was only too conscious that his pusillanimity must have

the momentous point at issue, he arrayed himself in the richly bejewelled robes of state, and placed upon his head the mitred *copilli*, beneath whose precious feathers gleamed the golden plate.[6] Carefully guarded he ascended to the roof and stepped to the parapet, preceded by a courtier who bore the triple wand of the empire, as was customary on such occasions. Instantly the tumult was hushed, even before the leaders could issue orders for a stay of hostilities; instantly a thousand heads were bent in humble adoration before the august majesty of their sovereign. This attitude, however, was assumed but for a moment; soon these same heads were held higher than ever. Then the chiefs drew near to listen to the unhappy monarch.

Montezuma had appeared with a feeling of mingled fear and doubt as to what his reception might be, and he did not fail to observe that the accustomed reverence was shown only for an instant, involuntarily, as it were, and that silence was prompted rather by curiosity than respect. The urgency of the moment demanded that he should speak, but it was rather as supplicant than ruler that he turned to his people.

"You are in arms, my children," he said, "in hot battle. Why is this? You will be slain, and there will be heard throughout the land for many years the wail of wives and little ones. You would give me my liberty, and I thank you. You do not turn from me in anger, and I thank you. You have not chosen another king in my stead, and I thank you. Such an act would displease the gods, and bring destruction

degraded him in the eyes of his subjects, while the elevation of his brother to the leadership must have diminished the influence which till then may have remained with him. He could hardly avoid a feeling of jealousy at the thought of this elevation; and if he, during an impulse of anger against Cortés, had counselled the proceedings of Cuitlahuatzin, he now felt probably both grieved and terrified at the storm he had raised. He also harbored a wholesome fear of Malinche, and the prospect of his speedy departure helped to stir anew the embers of hope. All might yet be well: the capital might be spared further desolation, and he again resume his former grandeur.

[6] See description of his first meeting with Cortés, *Native Races*, ii. This appearance of the emperor took place on the 27th of June, as Cortés states, but Bernal Diaz, Herrera, and Ixtlilxochitl place it respectively on the 5th, 6th, and 7th day of the siege.

on all. And see! I am no prisoner. Go your way; I am free. By divine command I must remain the guest of the Spaniards yet a little longer, and you must not molest them, for soon they will return whence they came. Alas, my people, my country, my crown!"[7]

With a heavy sigh, and midst copious tears, his head fell on his breast. The monarch's strength had indeed departed. The people knew that he spoke falsely, that he was little better than imbecile, unfit to be their sovereign. Oh, if he but had the good fortune to die while helping them to grind to powder these hated enemies! Only a little while ago his words would have been received as the utterances of a deity. Now the scales had fallen from their eyes, and they saw him as he was. They could bear no more. Jeers and groans reached him from every direction. "Coward! chicken! Woman to the Spaniards, fit only for the gown and the spindle! Murderer of your nobles!" Such were the cries which now reached his ears as he stood stupefied with agony. Presently came a shower of arrows and stones, and before the Spanish guard could interpose their shields several missiles struck him, one on the left temple, which caused him to fall senseless into the arms of the by-standers.[8]

[7] *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x.; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 104. 'No molestàsen à los estrangeros y fuésen sus amigos, pues su persona corria riesgo.' *Tezozomoc, Recop. tradiciones*, MS., cap. vi. Cortés, followed by Gomara, gives him no time to speak ere the people assault.

[8] They would no longer recognize him as emperor, etc. Saying this, a chief threw a stone which struck Montezuma on the forehead. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 468. Acosta attributes this first throw to 'Quicuxtemoc,' the later king of Mexico. *Hist. Ind.*, 523. 'Ma io nol credo,' says Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 126. 'Aunque vn Castellano tenia cuydado de arrodelar a Motezuma....le acertò vna piedra en las sienes.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x. Had not the Spaniards held up a shield before Montezuma the people would have known it was he and not thrown the stone which killed him, says Cano, his later son-in-law. *Oviedo*, iii. 550. Gomara is inclined to believe this, for his people 'no lo quisieran hazer mas que sacar se los ojos.' *Hist. Mex.*, 154. 'Una saéta alcanzó al emperador en el estòmago que lo atravezó por el baso, y una piedra le dió en la sien izquierda.' The people would never have thrown missiles, for they pitied him, and were prepared to obey his injunctions, but Cacama, who stood behind the emperor, made signs that they should continue the attack without regard for him or for the monarch. *Tezozomoc,*

Startled by the crime they had committed, awe fell upon the multitude as the stricken sovereign was led away. Taking advantage of this feeling Cortés beckoned the chiefs to a parley with a view to explain what Montezuma had intended to convey. He had always wished them well, he said, and felt grieved to wage war for what had occurred during his absence. He desired peace, yet the desire was not prompted by fear, but by consideration for their safety and that of the city. The chiefs replied that the Spaniards must leave the country to the natives, and depart at once. That was exactly what they wished to do, replied Cortés, but they would not be driven away. If the Mexicans desired them to go, they must abandon the siege, tear down the barricade, and retire to their homes; they must likewise restore the bridges and supply provisions. To this the chiefs declined to listen, declaring that they would not lay down their arms so long as there was a Spaniard left on whom to use them.[9] The evident desire of the besieged for peace served only to encourage the In-

Recop. tradiciones, MS., cap. vi. According to Bernal Diaz, the four chiefs who had approached to confer with him expressed their sympathy for his misfortunes. They had now chosen as leader 'Coadlabacan, señor de Iztapalapa,' and had sworn to the gods to continue the war till all Spaniards were exterminated. Yet they prayed daily to the gods for his safety, and if all went well he would more than ever be their lord. They had hardly finished when showers of missiles fell, of which three stones and an arrow hit him, on the head, arm, and leg. *Hist. Verdad.*, 104. 'Remorse succeeded to insult,' and they fled, says Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, 90, a statement which Prescott improves by stating that the square before the fort was left empty. But remorse must have been brief, for the main authorities, Cortés, Gomara, Bernal Diaz, and Torquemada, either declare or intimate that the assault never stopped. 'No por eso cesó la guerra y muy mas recia y muy cruda de cada dia.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 130.

[9] 'Esta Fortaleza casi no tiene exemplar,' exclaims Lorenzana, forgetting that Cortés' firmness was due to the justifiable fear that a trap was intended. *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 136–7. Cortés concludes the sentence about Montezuma's being wounded by saying that he died within three days. He thereupon resumes the account of parleys and siege operations, leaving the impression that these took place after his death, while such was not the case. Nevertheless, Gomara, Herrera, and others, Bernal Diaz not excluded, are misled, by this vagueness evidently, into extending the siege and confounding the events, so that modern historians have all more or less remained mystified. Solis assumes that during Montezuma's illness the siege was conducted only by straggling parties, the main forces being occupied with crowning the new emperor. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 155–6. This is probably due to a misconstruction of Bernal Diaz.

dians, and the assault was renewed with an increased ardor that taxed the defenders to the utmost.

And now, whatever the cost, a way out of this place must be opened. Cortés knew of three causeways which led to the mainland, the only means of exit for his forces. He knew that they were low and narrow, exposed on both sides to the attacks of canoe fleets, and intersected by a number of bridges which were perhaps by this time raised. Each of these openings was an almost impassable chasm. The southern causeway to Iztapalapan was two leagues in length, and provided with seven drawbridges, besides a strong fortress, which rendered it impassable to an enemy. The northern, leading to Tepeyacac, was one league long, while the shortest, conducting westward to Tlacopan, half a league distant, was broken by only three bridges.[10] Cortés resolved to undertake the passage by this last named causeway. During the night had been completed three mantas, of light framework and planks, each to hold twenty musketeers and archers, with which it was hoped to check the assailants on the roofs. These mantas were built with two chambers, provided with loop-holes; the upper ranged on a level with the house-tops of ordinary one-story buildings of the city, and had doors, so as to allow of sallies upon the roofs.[11]

The following morning, June 28th, Cortés placed himself at the head of five hundred Spaniards and over three thousand allies, and took the direction of the Tlacopan causeway.[12] By a sudden charge the cavalry drove back the Indians and allowed the free passage of the mantas, which were drawn and pushed

[10] 'En esta auia tres no mas, y en la de Yztapalapà, siete.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xi.; *Native Races*, ii. 561 et seq.

[11] *Cortés, Cartas*, 130, 133. 'Quatro ingenios....en que pudiessen yr veynte y cinco hombres,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 103. 'Tres mantas....cō sus ruedas; leuauan treynta hombres a cada vna, cubierta con tablas gruessas de tres dedos.' *Herrera*, loc. cit. Drawn by men within, adds Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. v. 'Cabia cada vno veynte hombres, con picas escopetas y ballestas y vn tiro.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 154.

[12] Herrera unwisely assumes that the three towers with their forces were respectively directed against the three causeway approaches.

by Tlascaltecs, and protected by bodies of infantry. A corps of pioneers accompanied them with pickaxes, mattocks, crow-bars, and ladders, to destroy barricades and walls, and to scale buildings. Four cannon were also brought. The rear was protected by a portion of the cavalry. The Aztecs were at first amazed at the curious moving turrets, and feared that they might contain more terrible destroyers even than the grape-charged guns; but finding them less dangerous, they continued their efforts, and fast and thick poured the stones and arrows on the line of advance, particularly on the engines, which were severely damaged. The march proceeded, however, with more or less interruption till a raised bridge was reached on the main road, where the Indians had gathered in vast numbers, with an evident determination to check the expedition. The turrets were brought alongside the houses adjoining the canal in order to clear the crowded roofs, but regardless of the volleys from the firelocks, the natives on the roofs plied their missiles only the faster, letting fly heavy rocks[13] upon the engine coverings, so as to render them untenable and hinder the manœuvring of the cannon. This success enabled the warriors beyond the canal and behind the barricades to maintain their assault with great effect, and to prevent a further advance. They gained a considerable advantage by a change of tactics in directing the missiles to a great extent against the legs of the Spaniards, to their serious discomfiture.[14] After spending the greater part of the forenoon in an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the houses nearest the canal, and to fill a passage across it, the troops retired to the fort greatly disheartened. Even the Tlascaltecs, who were usually so glib of tongue in replying to Aztec taunts, for once held their peace.[15]

Meanwhile the battle raged fiercely round the fort.

[13] 'De tres y quatro arrouas, que maltrataron a los que yuan en los ingenios, y rompieron las tablas.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xi.

[14] 'Hirieron a mas de docientos Castellanos.' *Id.*, cap. ix.

[15] 'Nos mataron un español y hirieron muchos.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 130–1.

The temple in front of it, since its evacuation by the Spaniards, had been occupied by some five hundred Mexicans, chosen men,[16] who introduced a large quantity of ammunition and supplies, and began to batter the besieged quarter. It was this shower which had first damaged the turrets and harassed the march. Perceiving the danger of leaving so commanding a position in hostile hands, Cortés had sent his chamberlain, Escobar, with one hundred men[17] and some allies to dispossess them. This was no easy task, for the pyramid was of great extent and over eighty feet in height, composed of a series of abrupt stone terraces, each receding about six feet from the one beneath, and so arranged that the ascent led along the entire circuit of each ledge before the steps conducting to the next could be gained.[18] Twenty men, says Cortés, could have held it against a thousand; yet the one hundred were to attempt it. Step by step they fought their way, beneath showers of arrows, and against javelins, and sword and lance thrusts from the upper ledges. More dangerous even than these weapons were the cumbrous missiles in the shape of heavy stones and timber which came crashing down upon them. Three times[19] did Escobar lead his men to the charge, only to see them repulsed and sent rolling down the steps and over the ledges. Finally he sent word to Cortés that the task was impracticable. The general received this notice while vainly battling at the canal, and he eagerly seized upon it as excuse for changing his base of operation. He hurried to the spot, threw a cordon round the pyr-

[16] 'Subieron allá dos vigas rollizas para desde alli echarlas sobre las casas reales y hundirlas.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 30. Peter Martyr supposes the temple to have been long held by the enemy, but this is contrary to what Cortés and Sahagun say.

[17] Three hundred, says Gomara.

[18] For a full description of this pyramid see *Native Races*, ii. 579 et seq. Some horses had been taken to clear the approaches, but they slipped on the smooth pavement, and were sent back as unserviceable. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 105.

[19] 'Acometio la tres o quatro vezes, y otros tantos dias,' is Gomara's interpretation, in order to fill up the time assumed by him. *Hist. Mex.*, 156.

amid, and although badly wounded in the left hand he immediately led his men to the charge. The Spaniards were making fair progress, when two heavy beams, which had been reserved at the summit for the last extremity, were loosened and sent tumbling down the side, so directed as to sweep to destruction the assailants along its entire length. At about the centre of their terrible passage, full before them, stood Cortés. Immediate death for himself and his brave comrades seemed inevitable, when behold! by some unseen finger the beams were turned end foremost and shot harmlessly through the opening made for them by the soldiers. "Thanks be to God and the virgin, whose image was placed in this tower!" cried Cortés, as without the loss of a moment he sprang forward and speedily gained the summit. There the fight assumed the form of a gladiatorial combat, a hand-to-hand and line-to-line conflict, poised in mid-air on this narrow slippery summit, and in full view of the whole city. As if by common consent the combatants below paused in their bloody work and stood breathless, lost in the more thrilling sight above.

At the eastern end of the platform stood the two three-story chapels, over fifty feet in height, originally dedicated to Huitzilopochtli and Tezcatlipoca. Against this the Indians had massed themselves, fierce in their desperation. The Castilians had taken their stand at the other end. It was an awful situation, dire destruction being inevitable to one side or the other. With nerves and sinews strained to their utmost tension, they stood between attacks regarding each other, regarding every motion, anon picking from the other's number with javelin, dart, or musket, as they were able. It was with difficulty the Spaniards could stand, and there was no railing round the slippery height; but fortune again assisted by unveiling the sun and sending its blinding rays full in the face of the enemy. Every now and then the sol-

diers charged in solid phalanx into the centre of the opposite mass, only to be obliged to retire under the pressure of its weight, and to receive the counter-charge, encouraged by wildly gesticulating priests, who flitted to and fro in bloody robes and dishevelled hair. Aware of the inferiority of their weapons, the natives sought rather to seize hold of the Spaniards, singly or in groups, and with the recklessness of doomed men to hurl themselves with their victims from the dizzy height. In one instance Cortés himself was selected for this terrible fate. Inspired to martyrdom and revenge, two young nobles watched their opportunity, and approached him on their knees, as if pleading for mercy. Ere he had time to consider the situation they had seized him in their arms and were struggling to gain the edge. One moment more and he would have been dashed to death, but by putting forth his whole strength, nerved by desperation, he succeeded in freeing himself from their grasp. Ojeda was singled out for a similar attempt, and would have perished had not a Genoese come to his aid.[20]

For three hours the struggle lasted, while one Indian after another was picked off by the bullet and the arrow, or pierced by the pike and sword, or sent headlong over the platform, either to be crushed by the fall or to be transfixed by the Spaniards on the ledges below. As their number diminished, many a one sought the higher martyrdom by leaping from the sacred spot into paradise. Thus melted away that fated band of Aztec warriors. At the portal of Huitzilopochtli's chapel fell the last defender; and two priests, one of them the high-priest, alone remained to offer themselves as captives. On entering the chapel consecrated to the virgin no traces appeared of the holy emblems, only evidences of idolatrous

[20] Ojeda appears to be the sole authority upon which Herrera relies for these two struggles. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ix. Clavigero doubts them; yet there is nothing unlikely in either attempt.

rites, and upon the altar stains from the blackened hands of the temple attendants.[21] In the adjoining chapel the war-god was found reinstalled in all its glittering hideousness. Some consolation for this sacrilegious intrusion was offered to the victors in despoiling it of the rich ornaments, while the cacao and other provisions stored here by the garrison proved a prize to the half-famished Spaniards. The Tlascaltecs, so long deprived of meat, pounced upon the bodies of the slain heroes to secure them for a feast, which should not only satisfy the cravings of hunger, but infuse their hearts and minds with some of the qualities of the valiant dead.[22] The chapels were then fired. The upper portion of the structure being of wood, the flames rose in columns heavenward heralding the triumph of the Spaniard, and striking the Indian with awe. It was a great and thrilling feat, this fight upon the temple top; and so the natives regarded it, their heart, and mind, and paintings being all stained sanguine over its remembrance.[23]

[21] It was related afterward that when the natives first sought to remove the virgin image their hands clove powerlessly to it for some time, and left their marks upon it. *Oviedo*, iii. 510. Montezuma, being told of this miracle, ordered the image to be left in its place. Afterward, 'pareciò, segun supimos, que el gran Monteçuma tenia ó deuocion en ella, ó miedo, y la mandó guardar.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 104, 102. Others, as will be shown, suppose it to have been saved by its owner, Villafuerte, perhaps when Cortés withdrew the troops from the temple, or to have fled by its own miraculous power to the shrine at Remedios.

[22] 'Comierõ de los caualleros Mexicanos muertos.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. ix.

[23] *Cortés, Cartas*, 130–1. According to Bernal Diaz the sally with the engines was directed against the temple, which he appears to place at some distance. It was held by 3000 or 4000 Indians, 'all chiefs,' and cost the Spaniards 46 lives, every man being beside wounded. They returned hard pressed by the enemy. 'Se mostrò Cortes mui varõ, como siẽpre.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 103–4. 'Murieron todos quinientos Indios, como valientes.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 157. 'En trecientos caualleros que alli estauan no quedaron seys viuos.' *Herrera*, loc. cit. This author describes on a later occasion the capture of a tower attached to Montezuma's own palace, from which missiles fell with telling effect. Cortés goes with 200 men to reduce it, and is hotly received; yet the Indians, relying upon the execution to be made by some loose beams which are to be rolled down upon the assailants at a favorable moment, allow the Spaniards to rush forward and gain the tower, putting almost every occupant to the sword. This story is probably a version of the temple fight.

CHAPTER XXV.

DEATH OF MONTEZUMA.

JUNE, 1520.

A LIVING DEATH—THE OLD IMPERIAL PARTY AND THE NEW POWER—AZTEC DEFIANCE—PERILOUS POSITION OF THE SPANIARDS—DISAPPOINTMENT TO CORTÉS—ANOTHER SALLY—THE DYING MONARCH—HE HAS NO DESIRE TO LIVE—HIS REJECTION OF A NEW FAITH—HE WILL NONE OF THE HEAVEN OF THE SPANIARDS—COMMENDS HIS CHILDREN TO CORTÉS—THE CHARACTER OF MONTEZUMA AND OF HIS REIGN.

LONG before this the Spaniards had learned that the power which had arisen in Montezuma's stead was of a different quality from that lately wielded by the poor caged monarch, whose proud spirit they had so blighted and brought low. No Quetzalcoatl or other personage, fair or dark, heaven-descended or of import infernal, might now interpose to prevent the killing and cooking of the strangers. Cortés had thought that the late spoliation of idols would fill the people with awe toward beings so superior to their gods. But when he threatened that if they did not lay down their arms not a man of them should remain alive, nor one stone be left on another throughout all their city, they laughed at him, the priests abetting. "How speak you so foolishly," they said, "mortal as we now know you to be, when for every Spanish life we are prepared to sacrifice, if need be, twenty-five thousand of our own lives?" They had cut off retreat at the causeways, so that the lake alone was open to exit, and here they were prepared with fleets of canoes filled with resolute men. Even should the Spaniards hold out against

assault, hunger and thirst must overcome them in the end. "The truth of this was too evident," observes Cortés, "for hunger alone would have soon killed us."

The imperial party, which had sunk to insignificance since the elevation of Cuitlahuatzin to the leadership, and was now sustained only by a few relatives of Montezuma, had no longer a voice in the direction of affairs. Their efforts to make terms with the Spaniards might have gained public approval, but the ambition of Cuitlahuatzin stood in the way of any compromise. To release the strangers would be to restore Montezuma, and he preferred to occupy the throne himself. He was also covetous of military fame; and knowing the desperate condition of the besieged, he hoped by their reduction to add to his record of glorious achievements.[1]

The soldiers felt the peril of their position more than the general. They had been cheered for a moment by victory, only to find how barren it was; only to realize that many such triumphs would prove their ruin. In order to counteract this growing despondency, Cortés resolved on a night sally with half his force. The Indians being unprepared for this, the party advanced with comparative impunity, destroyed several barricades, and fired a large number of houses along the Tlacopan road, where the roof assault had been so severe. The warriors having finally gathered in sufficient force to render retreat advisable, the Spaniards destroyed a number of buildings in the vicinity of their quarters before entering, and thus secured additional immunity.[2]

The present purpose of the Spaniards was to open an exit from the city. At a council, called to con-

[1] In *Manuscrit de 1528, Aubin, Col.*, Cihuacohuatl and Tzihuacpopocatzin, brothers of Montezuma, are named as the leaders of the opposition party, connected also with the followers of Quetzalcoatl, who abhorred the cruel rites of the Aztecs. They succeeded, it is said, in introducing provisions for the besieged. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 317–18. But this is doubtful.

[2] This is probably the sally which Herrera intrusts to Salcedo. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. viii.

sider the situation, it was admitted that delay would only reduce their strength without corresponding gain, and with the prospect of closing more effectually the gate against them.[3] It was a great disappointment to Cortés thus to abandon his hard-earned advantage. There were those who would exult over his misfortunes, and never could he hope to win favor from the king except by some brilliant success. But this he would yet achieve, God willing, or perish in the attempt.

The engines were strengthened, and every preparation was made to meet the rapidly accumulating difficulties. At dawn a large force set out in the direction of the Tlacopan causeway to secure its approaches.[4] The advance was made in the order of the day previous, with guns and pioneers, and with cavalry in front and rear. The late destruction of houses proved of no considerable advantage, but the cannon being brought to play on the barricades, an opening was soon made. The engines, with their fortified sides and covers, proved more efficient than formerly in checking assaults from the roofs. The soldiers accordingly advanced with firmer resolution, and although the showers from the house-tops were still troublesome, and resistance on the streets was as fierce as ever, yet one after another the first four canals were captured. The nearest houses were razed, and with the débris roadways were thrown across the channels.

These operations were carried on in the face of a bitter onslaught, and occupied the entire day. Evening being at hand the crossings were left in charge of a strong guard, composed of the freshest men, while the rest returned to the fort.

[3] 'Por importunidad de muchos....acordó de salir della.' *Carta del Ejército*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 429. 'El....capitan dilataba de cada dia la dicha salida,' but the officers insisted that he should leave. *Segunda Probanza de Lejalde*, in *Id.*, 423.

[4] Clavigero directs the operation against the Iztapalapan road, which would have been a useless manœuvre. Cortés is explicit enough on the point.

Montezuma the while lay a-dying, prostrate a-dying, not as Vespasian would have an emperor die—standing; but with manhood, and the aspirations of man, ay, even the regrets and remorse incident to foiled endeavor, all crushed he was killed when the insults of his people fell upon him; he scarcely heeded their darts and stones.

It is not necessary always that breath shall cease before one can be dead. From Ianthe's spirit fell the shackles of sense, the body being left with its animal life, but soulless. And though corporal life was yet present in Montezuma, the soul was already free: the accursed aliens had done their worst. When the might of sacred sovereignty was extinguished, the remains were less than man, though they walked, and talked, and wept.

Compared with his present condition, how dignified and happy death would have been by the hands of his brother priests, before the gods, in the eyes of the nation, on the sacred sacrificial stone! Or, like that among the Massagetæ, told of by Herodotus, who sacrificed and ate their old people, holding natural death a misfortune—even this or any other stepping down and out would have been preferable to thus dying like a silly hare in a trap!

He refused food and any attention to the wounds, which were far from fatal. He tore off the bandages, threw from him all medicines, and bared his body to disease, even as his soul had been long since bared, and stretched out his hand to hasten the cold stony grasp of death. What a farce was life, and honor, and majesty, all to end in poverty and disgrace! Feeling the all-changing moment at hand, he summoned Cortés; for despite his long maltreatment he entertained a kind of affection for the monster, who might even yet prove to be the demi-god of some far away incomprehensible world. Moreover, the Spaniard's intellect and arm were the stronger; he was his son-in-law and probable successor; therefore, though his jailer, he would speak

with him. And when he came Montezuma said: "The end for me approaches, Malinche; it is even here. You cannot harm me further, nor help me if you would. I have given you all; you have taken all—my liberty, my kingdom, my life, and that which is more to me than kingdom, liberty, or life, the affection of my people, the love of my counsellors and friends; and respect—respect of self, and that sacred respect which, living or dead, is mine by inheritance, and by virtue of my office. But I would not upbraid you; I pray only that my ruin will benefit you; I beg of you care for my children, and I conjure you to avenge me on my rebel subjects and their leaders."[5]

Moved by the touching appeal, Cortés promised all that was asked of him, while remonstrating with the monarch for rejecting food and medicine. Montezuma then, in like manner, exhorted his nobles who were prisoners with him, and was touched by their sorrow for the sad state of the empire, and their manifestation of affection for himself. Father Olmedo, who had never relaxed his efforts for the captive's conversion, now pressed to his aid the general. But in vain. All else these beings maledict had taken from him; they should not now rob him of his religion. His faith was as dear to him, as true, as pure, as efficacious, as was theirs to them. Away with another's gods! Let each live and die by his own. He was high-priest, too, and for him to prove recreant to the national faith would overshadow all his former crimes combined. "What is this they would have of me?" he groaned within himself. Then turning suddenly to Olmedo, he asked, "Do Spaniards go to

[5] In a *privilegio* in favor of the daughter Isabel, Cortés refers to this interview, saying that three daughters were intrusted to him. No allusion is made to any son. The affectionate terms in which he herein speaks of Montezuma must be due to political reasons, and perhaps to a regard for the princesses. *Panes, Vireyes*, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 67–8. Ramirez ridicules the idea of an appeal by the emperor to Cortés, who was on unfriendly terms with him. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, x. 359 et seq. But the effort of Montezuma to save the Spaniards shows that intercourse had been reëstablished; and was not Cortés, as the husband of one or more of his daughters, the proper person to protect their sisters?

this heaven of yours?" "Assuredly," was the reply; "it was made for them, and is held by Christians, against all others, as the reward of their pure belief and gentle deeds." "It is enough; I will none of it," said Montezuma, who from that moment would not listen to a word of Christian exhortation.[6] It was early in the morning of the 30th of June,[7] three days

[6] The question of his conversion has been much discussed. 'No le pudo atraer a que se bolviesse Cristiano,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 105; and Herrera is even more explicit. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x. Cortés and his followers, Martyr and Oviedo, give no indications to the contrary. Ixtlilxochitl states, however, that he had learned several prayers, and even begged for baptism, but that the rite was deferred 'por la pascua siguiente, que era de la resurreccion, y fue tan desdichado, que nunca alcanzó tanto bien.' *Hist. Chich.*, 299. Yet he adds that it has been said 'que se bautizó y se llamó Don Juan.' *Relaciones*, 457. According to Gomara he asked for baptism in the beginning of lent, but it was determined to postpone the rite till pentecost, for greater effect, and as more appropriate for so high a personage. Owing to the troubles arising out of Narvaez' arrival nothing was done then, 'y despues de herido oluido se con la prissa del pelear!' *Hist. Mex.*, 154. Cortés had persuaded him, says Vetancurt, during the early days of his imprisonment, to accept baptism, and he was taken to the temple for the purpose, but at the last moment he excused himself on the ground that the Indians would elect another lord and attack them all if he abandoned the faith. *Teatro Mex.*, iii. 132–3. Father Duran, on the contrary, ever zealous for the natives, and particularly for his hero, Montezuma, asserts that trustworthy men had vouched for his baptism. Padre Olmedo had also expressed belief therein, although he had not been present when it was administered. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 445. The father's memory must have failed him with respect to Olmedo. Camargo has also been assured of his baptism, with Cortés and Alvarado for sponsors. *Hist. Tlax.*, 166. Tezozomoc, who claims to have investigated the point, declares explicitly that the rite was administered on his death-bed, when he received the name of Cárlos, and that Cortés, Olid, and Alvarado were the sponsors. *Recopilacion de verídicas tradiciones, probando que el emperador Moteuhsoma recibió el santo sacramento del bautismo.* This author wrote at the close of the sixteenth century, and follows traditions only. Bustamante, in modern times, has also reviewed the question, and follows Tezozomoc implicitly. In support thereof he quotes a poem, by Captain Angel Betancourt, wherein he refers to Montezuma as the 'indio *bautizado*,' introduces the vague utterance of Ixtlilxochitl, and even attempts to misconstrue a certain expression of Cortés. Montezuma tells the latter to baptize his daughters, and this Bustamante regards as proof that he himself desired the rite. He does not suppose that the religion of the vicious Spaniards could have had great attractions for him, but when about to die he accepted it, 'as the drowning man does the saving plank.' Article in *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, i. 287–95. Still fuller is the review of Ramirez, who follows Torquemada in pointing out the fact that neither Cortés nor Alvarado ever referred to their supposed sponsorship, as they certainly would have done in connection with so distinguished a personage had they felt empowered. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin.*

[7] Cortés' chronology, as indicated in the *Cartas*, shows clearly that he left Mexico during the night of June 30th, as will be demonstrated. He also implies what Bernal Diaz and Herrera distinctly assert, that considerable fighting took place on the Tlacopan road between the time the corpse was surrendered to the Aztecs and the Spaniards returned to their quarters preparatory to evacuation. Hence the death must have occurred early on that

after the trying scene in the presence of his people, that the monarch breathed his last. And even the Spaniards forgot for a moment their diabolisms, and allowed their minds to dwell on the virtues of this magnificent heathen, this mighty sovereign, their sweet-tempered prisoner, and kind and generous host.[8]

Of a truth, despite his pusillanimity with regard to the Spaniards, which was indeed little else than pardonable superstition, this man was in many respects not unworthy the title of Great so freely betowed upon him. Montezuma was but forty-one[9] at the time of his death, and had wielded the sceptre for nearly eighteen years with wonderful success. Under him the Aztec empire acquired its widest extent and greatest glory. While his armies by well directed operations spread the terror of his name to distant provinces and increased the national domain by fresh conquests, his subtle intrigues secured advantages at home, and established the supremacy of Mexico in the tripartite alliance. With a high regard for the dignity of his throne, he caused the sovereign to be worshipped almost like a god, and sustained the grandeur of his surroundings with lavish expenditure. This severe and ostentatious pride kept him above the reach of his people, and failing to understand their wants or to sympathize with their condition, he ruled not by love, but by fear. Thus it is that we find the native records dwell upon his fitful

day. Herrera confirms Cortés' testimony that he could not have died before the 30th, by saying, 'en quatro dias se murio.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x. It is also generally admitted that he was not wounded before the third day of the siege.

[8] 'Cortes lloró por èl, y todos nuestros Capitanes, y soldados: è hombres huvo entre nosotros....que tan llorado fue, como si fuera nuestro padre.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 104. Cortés speaks highly of him, 'y siempre tuvo mui buena voluntad á los Españoles,' but this is in the deed presented to his daughter. See *Privilegio, Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 66. In the *Cartas* he is referred to merely as a captive who dies. After saying that he never consented to the death of a Spaniard nor to injury against Cortés, Gomara adds: 'Tambien ay quien lo cõtrario diga.' *Hist. Mex.*, 154–5.

[9] Clavigero says 54, but Bernal Diaz, who was so much in his company, could hardly have been mistaken, and the comparative youth of his children also indicates that 41 is more correct.

cold-blooded cruelty and superstition, not as a tyrant, however, but as an administrator of their own cruel yet revered rites. He was reputed just, but this quality was to be found rather in the intention than in the act. With all his pride he appears to have been most affable and kind to those with whom he came in contact. The Spaniards certainly found him so. In their later intercourse other considerations may have ruled him, however, and with the cunning and secrecy of his race he may have submitted to the inevitable demands of circumstances.[10]

Surrounded by fawning ministers, whose existence depended on his favor, he was encouraged in the extravagant habits of a magnificent court, which promoted their schemes at the expense of a tax-ridden people. The ambition to extend his fame and power required the maintenance of immense armies, of numerous garrisons, and of costly campaigns, which proved another drain on the people. This was augmented in subjected provinces by the extortions of imperial officers, who found means to prevent the cry of the oppressed from reaching the throne. Perhaps the most terrible infliction was the levy on the youth of both sexes for slaves, and for sacrificial victims to appease the bloody appetite of Aztec gods—an appetite which had increased in horror with the abject superstition of this otherwise enlightened monarch. Enlightened he undoubtedly was, for as high-priest he had become versed in the higher learning of the priesthood. The study of mythology came naturally to him, while astronomy and natural history were favorite subjects with the lords of the lake peoples, the former connected with myths and divinations, the latter illustrated by specimens from different regions, and col-

[10] 'Antes ni despues huvo en este mundo quien le igualase en magestad y profanidad....fuemuy justiciero....decondicion muy severo, aunque cuerdo y gracioso.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 301. 'Dizen los Indios que fue el mejor de su linaje, y el mayor rey de Mexico.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 155. 'Fu circospetto, magnifico, liberale....sua giustizia degenerava in crudeltà.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 132; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x.; *Torquemada*, i. 499–500.

lected in the botanic and zoölogic gardens of Mexico and other cities. The studies of his youth had gained for him a well merited respect from his priestly confrères, and the prudence and sagacity which controlled the well stored mind commanded attention in the council.[11] While yet a young man there seemed to develop qualities which fitted him for the position of high-priest, also as counsellor, to which his princely rank paved an easy way. Besides this he had shown himself possessed of great courage, and had established his fame as a general by many victories.

It was with this reputation, as zealous and learned priest, prudent statesman, and brave soldier, that he ascended the throne in 1503, while only twenty-three years of age. It is in such terms that his colleague Nezahualpilli in his coronation address refers to the hopes entertained of the youthful ruler.[12] Though ever a devout servant of the gods, the effeminate pleasures of the court weakened the nerves and energy of the soldier, till his warlike ardor survived only in a taste for military reviews and for the chase. The caution of the general remained, but timidity saves few leaders from disaster. Vanity and designing ministers overruled too often the dictates of wisdom in the administration of affairs.[13] His path had been prepared by able predecessors, and answered well for the policy of aggrandizement which became the leading feature of his reign. In this his natural liberality and talent for intrigue, fostered by priestly training, served him well and procured blindly devoted instruments for his plans. Thus, by fair means and foul, the empire was raised to the pinnacle of its glory, but not being of a natural or healthy growth it proved unstable, and crumbling under the strong commotion

[11] 'Fue muy sabio, pues passaua por las cosas assi, o muy necio q̄ no las sentia.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 155. 'El hombre mas sábio de su siglo,' is Bustamante's interpretation. He also discovers that Montezuma objected to sacrifices! *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, 292–3.

[12] See *Native Races*, ii. 149–50.

[13] 'Pareva aver cangiato di sesso, sicome dicevano i suoi sudditi.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 132.

created by the approach of Castilians, it revived only for a moment in the present uprising like the mental illumination preceding death. Montezuma could not have failed to recognize the insecurity of the bonds which held it, and influenced by the predictions of its downfall he readily fell beneath the spell of the superior intellects which were to assume control. It was his misfortune to have lost the sanguine energy of his youth, which might have enabled him to rise above the weaknesses of himself and his age. Duty and honor were overcome by superstition and absorbing love of power, of life, and he reaped the natural fruit of puerile and misdirected efforts by losing both. Resistance might not long have delayed the inevitable, but it would at least have procured for him an end worthy of his grandeur.

Of his many wives may be named the princesses Teitlalco, Acatlan, and Miahuaxochitl, of whom the first named appears to have been the only legitimate consort.[14] By her he left a son, Asupacaci, who fell during the *noche triste*, and a daughter, Tecuichpo, baptized as Isabel, married consecutively to Quauhtemotzin, the last Mexican sovereign, to visitador general Alonso Grado, to Pedro Andrade Gallego, and to Juan Cano de Saavedra. She had children by the latter two, from whom descend the illustrious families of Andrade-Montezuma and Cano-Montezuma.

By the Princess Acatlan were left two daughters, baptized as María and Mariana. The latter alone left offspring, from whom descends the Sotelo-Montezuma family. By the third wife came to the emperor the son Tlacahuepantzin, known after baptism as Pedro Yohualicahuacatzin Montezuma, whose descendants, the condes de Montezuma y de Tula, intermarried with the noblest families of Spain, and

[14] So Cano, the son-in-law, declares, *Oviedo*, iii. 549, and so Cortés intimates in the *privilegio* to Isabel, whom he calls 'su legitima heredera,' especially commended to him.

connected the name with the highest offices of state, and with the title of grandee.[15]

[15] Of the rest of the imperial wives and concubines nothing positive is known, save that a number of them and their daughters were liberally bestowed, as a mark of imperial favor, on prominent personages, including Spaniards. After the conquest they sank into obscurity, although some of them still managed to maintain a certain consideration among the natives, despite their poverty. Bernal Diaz claims that he received one of the concubines; upon Olid was bestowed a daughter, and upon Cortés two, it is said, one baptized as Ana, the other as Inés. Two witnesses declare that Isabel also 'cinco meses questava casada con.... Gallego e que pario una fija y que hera del.... Cortes.' *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 242, 39, 244; i. 63, 99, 221, 263. The three daughters confided to Cortés on their father's death-bed were not in the Spanish quarters at the time, at least not all of them, but were found after the conquest and baptized. The eldest and legitimate, the attractive Tecuichpo, was then the wife of the last and captive sovereign, Quauhtemotzin, her cousin, who had married her chiefly with a view to strengthen his hold on the throne, for she was too young for the married state. She was baptized as Isabel, and her Indian husband having been executed, Cortés, on his return from Honduras, gave her in marriage to the hidalgo Alonso Grado, of Alcántara, who had succeeded Ávila as contador, and now held the position of visitador general of New Spain. In consideration partly of Grado's services and partly of Isabel's rank, the captain-general bestowed as dower, in the emperor's name, the town of Tacuba (Tlacopan), with the villages and farms subject to it, together with the title of señora thereof. The deed, which recounts the services of her father and the intrusting of his daughters to Cortés, is signed by him as captain-general and governor of New Spain, and dated June 27, 1526. It is given, among other books, in *Monumentos Domin. Esp.*, MS., 65–8. Grado dying soon after, without issue, she married Pedro Andrade Gallego, by whom she had one son, Juan Andrade, the founder of the Andrade-Montezuma family. This branch inherited the Villa Alta villages, in Oajaca, and other estates, which in 1745 were bought up by the crown for a pension of 3000 pesos, continued by the Mexican government in irregular payments. A member of this branch was the bishop of Chiapas a few years later. *Certificacion de las Mercedes*, MS., 14–18. M. Fossey describes a visit, in 1849, to the poverty-stricken yet proud descendants. *Mexique*, 497–500. The omission of Gallego's middle name has led the critical Alaman, among others, to assume that this family descends from Isabel's fifth marriage with Juan Andrade. *Prescott's Mex.* (Mex. 1844), ii. 31. Nor is Prescott free from error in connection with Montezuma's descendants. The Andrade branch became allied to the Condes de Miravalle, and a daughter of this house was the wife of General Barragan, who became *presidente interino* of the republic, thus raising a descendant of Montezuma once again to the supreme place in the country. The Princess Isabel was married a fourth time, to Juan Cano de Saavedra, by whom she had five children, the inheritors of the Tacuba estates, also exchanged for a pension which was continued by the republic. Of the Princess Acatlan's two daughters, María and Mariana, the former left no issue. Mariana married the conquistador Juan de Paz, bringing a dower of three towns, and after his death she took for husband the conqueror Cristóbal de Valderrama. By him she had a daughter, Leonor, who, marrying Diego Arias Sotelo, gave origin to the Sotelo-Montezuma family. *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, i. 464. This work, with its collection of official papers and extracts, gives a mass of information about the imperial descendants and estates. Prescott confounds the mother and daughter. *Mex.*, ii. 351–2. Viceroy Mendoza, in a despatch to the emperor of December 10, 1537, refers to the death, three weeks before, of Valderrama, and speaks of children by the former husband, which are not admitted in Fonseca. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 208. Cortés refers to three sons of Montezuma: the heir, who fell on the causeway during the

noche triste, and two surviving boys, 'one said to be insane, the other paralyzed.' On leaving Mexico he took with him one son and two daughters, his concubines probably, all of whom perished. *Cartas*, 135, 153. Sahagun names two sons, who perished on that occasion. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 122, 128. Ixtlilxochitl gives them different names. *Hist. Chich.*, 302. Cano gives the name Asupacaci to the heir, or only legitimate son, the brother of his wife Isabel, and states that he was killed by Quauhtemotzin, who feared him as the only rival to the throne. *Oviedo*, iii. 549. Brasseur de Bourbourg follows him, but prefers the name of Cipocatzin for the young prince, while Axayoca is also applied. Cortés' version is more likely to be correct, however. One of the surviving sons, 'Signor di Tenajoccan,' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 133, was baptized with the intervention of his sponsor, Rodrigo de Paz, and died three years after the conquest, 'y se enterrò en la Capilla de Sán Joseph.' *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 144. This author assumes that the youth fled with the Spaniards from the capital and hid at Tepotzotlan. The other prince, son of Miahuaxochitl, daughter of the lord of Tula, and niece of Montezuma—baptized as María, says Vetancurt—received the name of Don Pedro. He accompanied Cortés to Spain in 1528, it appears, at the age of eighteen, and made repeated appeals to the emperor for a maintenance in accordance with his rank. At first some trifling favors were granted, and he, together with a cousin, was educated by the Franciscans in Madrid. *Puga, Cedulario*, 85. President Fuenleal, of the audiencia, and other prominent persons having added their recommendation, regular pensions and encomiendas were bestowed, including the town of Tula, the seat of his maternal grandparents, upon which was based the second title of Condes de Montezuma y de Tula, conferred on his grandson. The line expired on the male side with the great great-grandson of the emperor, whose daughter married Sarmiento de Valladares, duke of Atlixco, and viceroy of New Spain, thus raising the name again to the highest position in the country. Prescott, following Humboldt, *Essai Pol.*, i. 191, 203, calls Valladares, by mistake, a descendant of Montezuma. The cousin of the vice-queen married Silva, the first marquis of Tenebron, whose descendants inherited the title and estates from the other branch, and became grandees in 1765. Their pension amounted at this time to 40,000 pesos, says Berni, *Titulos de Castilla*, which represented in part the encomiendas withdrawn by the government. The republic recognized this portion, as it had the pensions to the other branches. Shortly after the independence of Mexico the holder of the title, Alonso Marcilla de Teruel Montezuma, came over with the intention of asserting his claim to the throne of his forefathers, but the prudent possessors of the power thought it best not to admit him, and he passed on to New Orleans, there to put an end to his life some years later. Prescott understands that the septuagenarian had been disappointed in love. *Mex.*, ii. 352. Several members of the Spanish nobility have intermarried with this line, among them a branch of the Guzman family, whence the claim made for the consort of Napoleon III. of having Montezuma's blood in her veins. Gondra gives a portrait of a member married into the Mendoza family. *Prescott's Mex.* (ed. Mex. 1845), 219. One of the line, Padre Louis de Montezuma, wrote the *Historia del Emperador*, which has been consulted by Alaman, *Disert.*, i. app. ii. 158. Clavigero gives a genealogic table in *Storia Mess.*, iii. 235, and Carbajal, while plagiarizing the statements and blunders of others, adds a few of his own. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 378–88. In *Fonseca, Hist. Hacienda*, i. 455 et seq., are to be found several valuable extracts concerning titles and estates; also in *Reales Cédulas*, MS., i. pt. i. 5, ii. 4 etc.; *Certificacion de las Mercedes*, MS.; *Mex. Mem. Hacienda, 1848*, 35–6; *Fuenleal, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 222. The family name has been spelled in different ways, also by its possessors, as Motezuma, Muteczuma, Moctezuma, Mocthecuzoma, Motecuhzuma, Motenhzuma; but Montezuma is the most common form.

The *Historia de las Indias de Nueva-España y Islas de Tierra Firme*, by Father Diego Duran, is claimed by its author, in the introductory to chapter lxxiv., to be devoted essentially to the life and rule of this monarch, 'cuya

vida é história yo escribo.' The preparation of the work was more directly prompted by a compassion for the maltreated natives, whose champion he constituted himself, in common with so many of the friars. This spirit led him naturally to color the occurrences of the conquest; and a non-critical acceptance of whimsical legends and statements in favor of his protégés tends further to reduce the value of the work. His deep interest in the aborigines and their history may be explained by the fact that he was born at Tezcuco, of a native mother. Franco wrongly calls him Pedro, and Clavigero, Fernando. He professed as a Dominican at Mexico, in 1556, with missionary aspirations, no doubt, but a delicate constitution and constant suffering confined him rather to the monastery, and directed his efforts to researches and writing. Castellanos, *Defensa*, 28, attributes several works to him, and Eguiara, *Bib. Mex.*, 324, the compilation of the Dominican history of Dávila Padilla, though not the style and form. `Dávila also, 'scrisse la Storia antica de' Messicani, servendosi de' materiali raccolti già da Ferdinando Duran Domenicano da Tezcuco; ma questa opera non si trova.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, i. 13. But this may be a mistake. A similar rewriting would have greatly improved the *Historia de las Indias*, which is exceedingly unpolished and slovenly, full of repetitions and bad spelling, and showing great poverty of expression. On the other hand, it is relieved by an admirable portrayal of character and knowledge of human nature, and by a minute study of the effect of conversion on the natives. The work consists of three tratados, the first in 78 chapters, giving the history of Mexico from its origin to the conquest, terminating with the expedition to Honduras. This was completed in 1581, while the other two were finished two years before. The second tratado, in 23 chapters, treats of Mexican divinities and rites, and the third, in two, or more properly nineteen, chapters, of calendar and festivals. Padre Duran died in 1588, leaving the manuscripts to Juan Tovar, *Dávila Padilla, Hist. Fvnd. Mex.*, 653, who gave them to Acosta, then occupied in preparing his *Natura Novi Orbis*, and other works. The contribution came most opportunely, and was used chiefly for his account of Mexico, as he frankly admits, though giving the credit to Tovar, who may have claimed the authorship. On the strength of this statement Clavigero, with others, confirms the claim to the 'nobilissimo Gesuita Messicano.' Torquemada, i. 170–1, ii. 120, himself not spotless, takes advantage of the confession to rail at Acosta for borrowed plumage, mutilated at that. The manuscripts, now in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, are written in double columns and illustrated with numerous plates. Pinelo, *Epitome*, ii. 711, refers to them as in two parts. A few copies have been taken, mine forming three volumes. A set obtained by José Fernando Ramirez, one of Maximilian's ministers, was prepared by him for publication, but, owing to the death of the imperial patron, only the first 68 chapters were issued at Mexico, 1867, in one volume, with notes and considerable changes of the style. This mutilation, as some term it, may have been a reason for the seizure of the whole edition, together with the separate plates, by the republican government. Only a few copies escaped this fate, one of which I succeeded in obtaining. Although independent issue was long withheld from Duran, he has at least enjoyed the honor of being associated with one possessed of far greater fame than he himself could ever hope to achieve.

The motives which impelled Joseph de Acosta to write on America were quite pretentious. Among the many Spanish books on the New World, he says: 'I have not seene any other author which treates of the causes and reasons of these novelties and wonders of nature, or that hath made any search thereof. Neither have I read any booke which maketh mention of the histories of the antient Indians, and naturall inhabitants.' With a view to repair these omissions he issued *De Natvra Novi Orbis libri dvo, et de Promvlgatione Evangelii, apvd Barbaros, sive de Procvranda Indorvm Salvte Libri sex.* Salmanticæ, 1589. The first part, *De Natura*, is a philosophic dissertation on physical features, on the probable knowledge among the ancients of a western hemisphere, and on the origin of the Indians. The second part, in

six books, bearing a separate imprint under 1588, though published only in connection with the previous two books, treats entirely of the method and progress of Indian conversion. The *Natura* was translated into Spanish, and incorporated, with some amendments, in the *Historia Natvral y moral de las Indias*, Sevilla, 1590, dedicated to Infanta Isabel, which treats also of Indian history and customs, and refers briefly to the conquest. The work achieved great success, and was reproduced in numerous editions, in nearly every language, though often without Acosta's name, and in distorted form, as in De Bry and some German versions. This may not be considered bad treatment by those who charge Acosta with plagiarism, although he frankly admits following a number of authors, among them 'es vno Polo Ondegardo, aquien communmente sigo en las cosas de el Piru: y en las materias de Mexico Ioan de Touar prebendado que fue de la Iglesia de Mexico, y agora es religioso de nuestra Compañia de Iesvs. El qual por orden del Virrey hizo dō Martin Enriquez diligēte, y copiosa auerigaciō de las historias antiguas.' See p. 396. There is no doubt that the interest and value of the work are owing chiefly to the circumstance that the original authorities have remained sealed, until lately at least; for, despite its pretentious aim, the pages are marred by frequent indications of the then prevalent superstition and credulity. The *Procvrando Indorvm Salvte* is more in consonance with the character of the Jesuit missionary and scholastic.

Born at Medina del Campo about 1539, he had in his fourteenth year joined the Society, to which four brothers already belonged. After studying and teaching theology at Ocana, he proceeded in 1571 to Peru, where he became the second provincial of his order. Returning to Spain seventeen years later—'post annos in Peruano regno exactos quindeciem, in Mexicano & Insularibus duos,' says the dedication of 1588 to Philip II., in *De Natvra* of 1589—he gained the favor of the king, occupied the offices of visitador and superior, and died as rector at Salamanca, February 15, 1600. Several other works, in print and manuscript, chiefly theologic, are attributed to him—see *Canus*, 104–13—among them *De la crianca de Cyro*, dedicated to Filipe III. in 1592, which was also a borrowed text, from Xenophon, and remained a manuscript in the Royal Library.

CHAPTER XXVI.

LA NOCHE TRISTE.

JUNE 30, 1520.

THE CAPTIVE-KING DRAMA CARRIED TOO FAR—BETTER HAD THE SPANIARDS TAKEN MONTEZUMA'S ADVICE, AND HAVE DEPARTED WHILE OPPORTUNITY OFFERED—DIPLOMATIC VALUE OF A DEAD BODY—NECESSITY FOR AN IMMEDIATE EVACUATION OF THE CITY—DEPARTURE FROM THE FORT—MIDNIGHT SILENCE—THE CITY ROUSED BY A WOMAN'S CRY—THE FUGITIVES FIERCELY ATTACKED ON ALL SIDES—MORE HORRORS.

AND now what must have been the feelings of the invaders, who, like the ancient mariner, had killed the bird that made the breeze blow! For assuredly they were responsible for the emperor's death. Indeed, the direct charge of murder against Cortés has not been wanting, even among Spanish chroniclers; but this was owing greatly to the effort of the general to extricate the army from its desperate situation while the enemy was supposed to be distracted by grief and engaged in solemn obsequies. We may be sure, however, that the Spaniards did not kill Montezuma; that they did not even desire his death; but regarded it at this juncture as the greatest misfortune which could happen to them.[1] For in the vast evolvings of their fast, unfathomable destiny, they were now all like sea-gulls poised in mid-air while following a swiftly flying ship.

[1] According to the version of the rabid Duran, based on native paintings and narratives, the bodies of the prisoners were found in the fort after its evacuation, that of Montezuma with five stabs in the breast. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 477–9. Acosta seems rather to favor the story, improbable as several of its points are. *Hist. Ind.*, 524. To some extent it rests on the statement repeated by Ixtlilxochitl, which assumes that Cacama, who had

It is interesting to note the manœuvring on both sides over the dead monarch, who having ministered so faithfully to his enemies while living, must needs continue in the service after death. The hostile chiefs were called and informed of the sad conse-

made himself particularly obnoxious to the Spaniards, was killed with 47 stabs before the fort was evacuated. *Hist. Chich.*, 301. A more severe account is found in a manuscript fragment in Ramirez' collection, written by a Tezcucan, wherein it is related that a sword was thrust into the intestines, 'por la parte baxa.' The body was thereupon taken to the roof, as if to address the people. A stone struck the head, and now the Spaniards proclaimed that this had caused the death. *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, x. 362. This is substantially repeated in *Ixtlilxochitl, Rel.*, 457. A stronger testimony, however, comes from Sahagun, who states that Cortés recommended to his followers the murder of the prisoners in order to terrify the natives and to assume the mastery. 'Y lo primero que hicieron, fue dàr Garrote à Motecuhçuma, y à Itzquauhtzin, Señor de Tlatelolco, y à otros.' Version in *Torquemada*, i. 498, and in *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* [ed. 1840], 113. The issue, modified by the censor, merely states that the bodies were found near a stone, Teoaioc, outside the fort. *Id.* [ed. 1829], 31. This account has received its chief support in the *quasi* admission of Torquemada; and when he, the otherwise zealous champion of the conquerors, takes such a view, others may be pardoned for accepting it. 'Y que esto aia sido asi, puede ser posible, pues para tenerse por seguros, le avian prendido; y viendo agora, que no bastaba la prision, vsarian de este vltimo medio, para vèr si le aplacaban, y atemoriçaban estos Mexicanos.' i. 498–9. Brasseur de Bourbourg accepts the version, and adds that Montezuma was told of his fate and urged to accept baptism. 'On répandit aussitôt la nouvelle de sa mort comme s'il eût expiré naturellement.' Hence even the soldiers did not know of the murder. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 330–1. Bustamante, of course, adopts anything Sahagun may say against the Spaniards; and Carbajal takes Torquemada's view. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 375, as does Beltrami, eager for any sensation. *Mex.*, ii. 145. Vetancurt seeks to reconcile conflicting opinions by assuming that when Montezuma died Itzquauhtzin and several other prisoners were murdered and cast out together with the emperor's body, in order to terrify the Mexicans and occupy their attention while the Spaniards hurried away. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 142. 'Io non posso persuadermi,' says Clavigero, 'che gli Spagnuoli si risolvessero a toglier la vita ad un Re, a cui doveano tanti beni, e dalla cui morte non potevano aspettarsi, se non molti mali.' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 131. Solis cannot believe Cortés guilty of an act so bad and reckless. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 150–1. Prescott disposes of the charge as an 'absurdity' and a 'monstrous imputation.' *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 321. It must be considered, however, that the Spaniards did seek to profit by the death; and scruples about 'killing a dog of an Indian,' as they had so lately termed him, could not have weighed with such men when their interests were concerned; how much less when their lives were at stake? The whole argument, then, may be said to depend on the question whether Montezuma was more valuable as captive or as corpse. If the people manifested little respect for the living ruler, the Spaniards could have had no reason to expect more for the dead. His death would only have loosened the bond which still restrained a vast number, whether of kindred or of mere subjects, and given the hostile leaders fresh motives and strength for their operations. Besides, Montezuma must have retained a great influence outside the city, which a fugitive army would have found of service. The recognition of this influence is shown by the efforts made to save the imperial children, as noticed even by the most rabid accusers of the Spaniards. It may be mentioned that no charge is brought forward in the residencias either against Cortés or Alvarado.

quences of their outrage on the emperor. The body would be sent to them, so that they might accord it the last honors. The leaders replied curtly that they had now a new chief, and cared no longer for Montezuma, dead or alive. The corpse was nevertheless carefully arrayed in fitting robes and given in charge of two prisoners, a priest and a chief,[2] with instructions to carry it to the Mexican camp, and explain the circumstances of the death and the grief of the Spaniards. On appearing outside the fort a leader motioned them back, and would probably have used force but for the priestly character of the bearers, behind whom the gate had been closed. A few moments later they disappeared from view. The disrespect shown the living was not spared the dead. As the corpse was borne through the streets jeers and insults fell from lips which formerly kissed the ground on which the monarch had stood. Many declared that a coward like Montezuma, who had brought so many misfortunes on the country, was not worthy of even ordinary burial.[3] The imperial party managed, however, to secure the body, and, assisted by those to whom the royal blood and high priestly character of the deceased outweighed other feelings, an honorable though quiet cremation was accorded in the Celpalco, where Sahagun intimates that the ashes remained.[4]

[2] Apanecatl, according to Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 332. Bernal Diaz sends these men to carry the news of the death, and following them were six high personages and most of the captive priests, carrying the body. *Hist. Verdad.*, 105.

[3] Stones were thrown upon the cortege, and it was driven from quarter to quarter. Finally Apanecatl took refuge in the palace where Cuitlahuatzin held forth, and appealed to him, only to be repulsed by his courtiers. The body was nevertheless secured by a friendly party. *Manuscrit Nahuatl, 1576*, in *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 333.

[4] 'Hicieron todas las solemnidades que solian hacer....Mocthecuzoma lo enterraron en México....algunos decian mal de Mocthecuzoma porque habia sido muy cruel.' *Hist. Conq.*, 31. 'Vimos q̃ hizierõ muy gran llanto, q̃ biẽ oimos las gritas, y aullidos q̃ por èl dauan.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 105. 'Hizieron muy gran llanto, para enterrar al rey en Chapultepec. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 154. Herrera combines these two authorities in saying 'le deuieron de enterrar en el monte de Chapultepèque, porque alli se oyò vn gran llanto.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x. He forgets that Chapultepec lay three miles off. Torquemada corrects Herrera, and insists that the 'Copalco' was

Shortly after the body had left the Spanish quarters Cortés sent a fresh message to the Mexicans, believing that by this time the presence of the august dead might have had its effect on them. He pointed out the respect due to the remains of a sovereign, and proposed a cessation of hostilities with that view, and till they had elected a successor, one more worthy than the present leader, who had driven them to rebel.[5] The chiefs replied that the Spaniards need trouble themselves about nothing but their own safety. They might come forth, they added tauntingly, to arrange a truce with their new leader, whose heart was not so easily moulded as that of Montezuma. Respect for the emperor, the Spaniards replied, had made them hitherto lenient toward his people, but if they remained obstinate no further mercy would be shown, and not one Mexican would be spared. "Two days hence not one Spaniard will be alive!" was the retort.

Hostilities were thereupon resumed, and Cortés did not delay the prearranged attempt to complete the capture of the approach to Tlacopan. The presence of the imperial corpse had either a retarding influence on the movements of the enemy, or else the Spaniards sallied unexpectedly and fought with greater energy, for the four remaining bridges were gained with little difficulty, and twenty horsemen passed on to the shore, while the infantry and allies took possession of the route, and began filling in the channels with débris, so as to form a solid path, or to repair the

the place. He gives specimens of the insults offered during the cremation. i. 499. 'Estaban indignados contra él.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 301. It has been asserted by some, says Duran, that the ashes were scattered to the winds, as unworthy of preservation. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 479. Acosta attempts a modification by stating that the body being contemptuously rejected, a servant burned it, 'y puso sus cenizas dôde pudo en lugar harto desechado.' *Hist. Ind.*, 524. The burial-place has certainly not been pointed out to posterity. According to Sahagun, the body of Itzquauhtzin was 'cast forth' from the quarters, together with that of Montezuma, and was taken in charge by his subjects of Tlatelulco, by whom he was greatly beloved and mourned. ubi sup. To 'cast forth' the bodies could have been only a needless insult, which Cortés was too prudent to inflict on the people.

[5] 'Que alçassen a su primo del Montecuma, que con nosotros estaua, por Rey.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 105. 'Dixo Cortes....el se queria hallar a sus honras.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. x.

bridges at the deeper places. At this time a messenger arrived with the announcement from the chiefs who were directing the siege of the fort that they were willing to treat for peace. Leaving the forces in charge of Velazquez, Cortés hurried with some horsemen to answer the welcome summons. The chiefs proposed that if pardon was granted them for past offences they would raise the siege, repair the bridges and causeways, and return to peaceful intercourse. In order to arrange the conditions they demanded the liberation of the captured high-priest. This was at once agreed to, and after some discussion messengers were despatched to different parts of the city, bearing orders, it was said, to stay hostilities.

It is somewhat singular that the astute Cortés should have given such ready credence to proposals so advantageous to himself. Yet this appears to have been the case. Delighted with the happy adjustment of affairs, he ordered prepared a grand supper; but he had hardly seated himself at table before tidings reached him that the Mexicans had returned to the attack on the causeway, largely reinforced by land and water, and were regaining the bridges taken that day. The conference had been a ruse to throw the Spaniards off their guard, to obtain the release of the high-priest, from whom besides much information was expected about the condition of the besieged, and to gain time for bringing up reinforcements.[6] Fearful that his retreat would yet be cut off, Cortés galloped back to the causeway, threw himself on the enemy, recovered the bridges, and was soon in hot pursuit of the flying Mexicans. He had not proceeded far, however, when the Indians, who had rushed for safety into the lake and the canals, were

[6] Prescott, following Clavigero, assumes that the whole was an artifice to liberate the two captive priests, one of whom was indispensable in the event of a coronation. *Mex.*, ii. 338. Brasseur de Bourbourg supposes that the parley was conducted by the party favorable to the Spaniards, and duped by the stronger faction, which never intended to adhere to the arrangement. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, 321.

encouraged to return to the attack and cut off the cavalry. With furious charges they drove the guard from the bridges, and began to destroy them and remove the filling.[7] The causeway swarmed again with foes, and the water round it was alive with canoes, whence myriads of missiles were directed against the horsemen as they pushed their way back. On reaching the last causeway breach, nearest the city, the riders feared they would be overwhelmed, for here the enemy was gathered in masses and had destroyed the passage. Nothing was left for them but to take to the water, midst a storm of stones and darts, while lines of spears and javelins pressed against them from the land and from canoes. The party was thrown in disorder, and one rider was pitched from his saddle during the mêlée, obstructing the passage to the rest.[8] Cortés remained the last to cover the retreat, and single-handed now and then turned on the swarming warriors, striking with the energy of despair. Eager to secure the great general, the enemy pressed heavily upon him, and but for the stout armor protecting himself and the horse he would certainly have perished. As it was, he received two severe wounds in the knee, besides many scratches. The last Spaniard having left the bank, Cortés rang loud his San Pedro cry, and clearing the way he leaped his heavily laden horse across the chasm, six feet in width, and quickly left behind him the discomfited crowd. "Had not God helped me," he writes, "that moment would have been my last." Indeed, it was already rumored in the city that he was dead. It being found impossible to hold the causeway bridges, a guard was left only at the others, while the remainder of the troops returned to the fort, worn-out and demoralized.[9]

[7] 'Como los peones estaban cansados y heridos y atemorizados; . . . . ninguno me siguió. A cuya causa, después de pasadas yo las puentes. . . . las hallé tomadas.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 134. Where had he left his prudence?

[8] 'Hallé á todos los de caballo que conmigo iban, caidos en ella, y un caballo suelto.' *Id.*

[9] With a loss of over twenty men. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 105. This author places all the fighting on the causeway on one day, a Thursday, the

Long since it had been agreed among the Spaniards that the city must be evacuated; time and method were the only questions. The former of these was now resolved on by the council: it should be this very night. It was safer to meet the issue now than later. The enemy was hourly reinforced. Perilous indeed was the undertaking to pass with luggage, war stores, prisoners, and women over the broken causeway in the darkness; but to remain was death. Botello, the astrologer, had declared for this time, and so it was determined. For Botello was wise and prudent, knowing Latin and the stars; he had foretold the greatness of Cortés, and had recommended his night attack on Narvaez, and general and soldiers believed in him.[10] Had he lived a century or two later his words might have been employed as the *vox stellarum* by the almanac makers. The Mexicans had said that they would make it a time of sore distress, any attempted escape of the intruders, a time when men must struggle, and women would pray and weep; and if so, it were no worse for the fugitives that black night should fling her mantle over the bloody scene.

Since the Indians were supposed to have destroyed the crossing at the causeway channels, a portable

day of evacuating Mexico, and the day following the surrender of Montezuma's body. Herrera, who is far more confused, has a sally on this day in three directions, one being the Tlacopan road; but the operations on the latter route are only partially told, and the rest referred to the third day of the siege. There are also several contradictions to aid in confusing the many who follow him. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xi. Prescott abandons himself to the guidance of Clavigero for the occurrences of these days, but embellishes the narrative with some incidents belonging to the siege of Alvarado.

[10] 'Botello....afirmò que....supiessen que moriria el o su hermano, y algunos de la cõpañia, y qui se saluaria el Capitan, y otros muchos, y ninguno si salian de dia.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xi. 'Hora lo creyesen, hora no.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 159. 'Anteponendo le vane osservazioni di quel meschino Soldato alla luce della prudenza militare,' is the indignant comment of Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 135. But there is no doubt that 'military prudence' had more weight in the matter than Botello's words, and that the result was not due to his advice. Solis casts the blame of crediting the 'ignorant charlatan' Botello chiefly on the majority of the council, to whom Cortés yielded. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 171–2. In order to lull any suspicions among the Mexicans, says Bernal Diaz, a leading priest and some other captives were sent to the Mexican camp with a proposal to surrender all the gold if the Spaniards were allowed to leave in peace eight days later. *Hist. Verdad.*, 105.

bridge was made with which to effect the passage. Two more would probably have been made had time and convenience permitted, but misfortune willed it otherwise. It was agreed that a large portion of the effects must be left behind in order not to encumber the march, but the gold demanded special care. The royal officials, Mejía and Ávila, were charged to secure it, and for this purpose a number of carriers were assigned, the general giving also one of his own mares. Their convoy was intrusted to a body of infantry, under Alonso de Escobar.[11] The secretary, Hernandez, and the royal notaries were called to testify that all had been done that was possible. There still remained a large quantity of the bulky jewels belonging to the king, besides a mass of unappropriated treasure, which could not be intrusted to carriers, or for which no carriers were found, and rather than leave them to the 'Indian dogs' Cortés announced that the soldiers might take all they wished—after permitting his favorites the first selection. He warned them, however, that the more they took the more their safety would be endangered. The adherents of Cortés do not appear to have been eager to encumber themselves, and Bernal Diaz shared this prudence in taking only four chalchiuite stones. The men of Narvaez practised less restraint, and many loaded themselves with the metal. Cortés was afterward charged with having appropriated a considerable share of the wealth thus thrown open; he certainly had funds with which to send for horses, war material, and supplies.[12]

[11] *Lejalde, Segunda Prob.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, ii. 424. For carrying the royal treasures 'les dió siete cauallos heridos, y cojos, y vna yegua, y muchos Indios Tlascaltecas, que segun dixeron, fueron mas de ochenta.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 106.

[12] Bernal Diaz, for instance, states that he had hardly taken the four chalchiuites for his share, from a collection in a mat, when Cortés gave orders to his mayordomo to secure it. loc. cit. His penchant for appropriating large shares to himself is well known. Greed of gold was not now his motive, however, but rather a prudential care to secure means for his plans, and he could hardly neglect them when taking so great care of the royal portion. Martyr, Gomara, and Herrera estimate the treasure at 700,000 ducats, chiefly in bulky jewels according to Gomara. Bernal Diaz reckons in pesos, which may mean pesos de oro. Peter Martyr assumes it to have been the general fund,

Sandoval was appointed to lead the van, with two hundred infantry and twenty horsemen, assisted by Ordaz, Andrés de Tapia, and others. With him went fifty men under Captain Magarino to carry the bridge. They were pledged to remain at their post to the last, and were escorted by a select body of infantry and allies. For the middle were destined the baggage and treasure, the prisoners and the sick, under a large escort, supervised by Cortés himself, who, with Olid, Morla, Ávila, and other captains, and a special force of one hundred men, were to render aid where needed. The artillery was intrusted to two hundred and fifty Tlascaltecs and fifty soldiers, and the rear was placed in charge of Alvarado and Velazquez, with thirty horsemen and about one hundred adherents of Cortés, with most of the men of Narvaez. The allied forces, of whom a number appear to have returned home during the inaction of Montezuma's captivity, and who had suffered greatly during the siege, must still have numbered nearly six thousand men, including carriers, distributed among the three divisions.[13] Among the prisoners Cortés enumerates the legitimate son of Montezuma, and two of his daughters, probably those bestowed on the general in marriage, King Cacama and his younger brother and successor, and several

from which the royal fifth had been set apart only at the last moment, but not apportioned. dec. v. cap. vi. Solis assumes that 700,000 pesos remained after the king's portion had been deducted. *Hist. Mex.*, 174–5. One witness estimates that over 2,000,000 pesos were lost during that night, *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 414. The *Carta del Ejército* reduces the loss to 400,000 pesos de oro. Another witness states that 300,000 castellanos remained when the soldiers were told to help themselves; afterward the general compelled them to surrender what had been thus given, only to keep it for himself. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 241–2. 'Lo demás....lo dimos y repartimos por los españoles para que lo sacasen,' says Cortés, *Cartas*, 135, which may be interpreted as either giving or intrusting. Whatever may have been left after the Spaniards had taken their loads was gleaned by the allies. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 159.

[13] Bernal Diaz gives Sandoval 100 young unmarried soldiers, with Francisco de Acevedo, the dandy, Ordaz, Tapia, and eight or nine of Narvaez' men, captains on his staff. To Cortés he gives 50 men, and adds B. V. de Tapia to his staff. *Hist. Verdad.*, 105. This author is contradictory, however. Herrera places Antonio de Quiñones as Sandoval's chief aid, and Olid and Ordaz in the rear. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xi.; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 160; *Cortés, Cartas*, 134; *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 30 et seq.

other high personages.[14] The sick were to be carried in hammocks and behind riders.

It is the evening of the 30th of June.[15] Fiery copper has been the sky that day; the sun blood-red and moon-like, turning day to night, when night is so soon to be employed as day. As the hour approaches, a fog sets in, which thickens into mist and denser moisture until, to favor the Spaniards, providence turns it to a drizzling rain,[16] thus to veil their movements, and make substantial the silence of the city, the lake, the distant wood; and thereupon all join fervently in the prayer of Father Olmedo and commend their lives to almighty God.

About midnight the order is given to march.[17] Stealthily they creep down the temple square and

[14] Herrera adds a brother of Montezuma, and Sahagun names two sons. *Hist. Conq.*, 33. So does Vetancurt, although he assumes that one was saved. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 142–3. Ixtlilxochitl gives a longer list, including two sons of Montezuma, and two sons and four daughters of Nezahualpilli, of Tezcuco. One of the daughters escaped, but it was not the beloved of Cortés, who had been baptized and named Juana. Cacama is not included in the list, because he is assumed to have been stabbed to death before the fort was evacuated. *Hist. Chich.*, 302; *Relaciones*, 390. With the prisoners' division went Marina, the interpreter, the Tlascaltec princesses Luisa and Elvira, and some other women, protected, says Bernal Diaz, by 30 soldiers and 300 Tlascaltecs.

[15] This date is based on Cortés' letter, wherein he places the arrival on Tlascala's border on Sunday, July 8th, after giving a clear account of the intermediate days. Any doubt about this date is removed by the testimony in *Lejalde, Segunda Probanza*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 423, wherein the leading captains state that the siege lasted six days. This testimony also clears up the only doubtful point in Cortés' account of the siege operations, where he disposes of the wounding and death of Montezuma in one sentence, and then resumes the description of the fighting in a manner that has assisted to mislead Gomara and many others into extending the stay in Mexico till July 10th. Ixtlilxochitl adopts this date, yet in the *Relaciones*, 390, 412–13, he states that the siege lasted only seven days. Bernal Diaz places the eve of the departure on a Thursday, July 10th [with Cortés it is Saturday], yet he dates the battle of Otumba just one week later than Cortés. *Hist. Verdad.*, 105, 108. This latter date induces Zamacois to change the date of flight to July 8th. *Hist. Méj.*, iii. 406–7. 'La notte del 1 Luglio,' says Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 135, but his reasons for the date are wrong, and the term he uses may apply also to the night following that adopted in the text.

[16] The Spaniards recognized this as a favoring shield direct from God, says Duran, *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 473–4.

[17] Ojeda was instructed to see that no somnolent or sick person was left. He found one man asleep on the roof and roused him. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xi. Gomara takes the trouble to deny the statement of Cano that 270 men, ignorant of Cortés' departure, were left behind to perish. *Oviedo*, iii. 551. A later note will explain the cause of this rumor.

reach the Tlacopan road.[18] The streets are wholly deserted. All is quiet, save the dull rumble of tramping soldiers. The blessed rain, or some supernatural interposition, seems to keep the whole city within doors. And if this kind power will but have patience and not desert them for one brief hour—ah, it is so easy for Omnipotence to help! Along the road like a phantom the army moves. The van picks up the guard at the canal crossings. The causeway is almost reached. Already they begin to breathe freer; a feeling of intense relief steals into their breasts, and—Mother of God! what noise is that? It is the piercing outcry of a woman[19]—may the foul fiend seize her!—breaking upon the stillness like a warning note from the watch-tower of Avernus. On the instant the war-drum of the Tlatelulco temple sends forth its doleful sound, chilling the fugitives to the very heart's core. Quickly its tones are drowned by the nearer, shriller trumpet-blasts and shouts of warriors, echoed and reëchoed from every quarter.

Meanwhile the advance column had reached the sixth bridge crossing,[20] the first to connect with the causeway, and had obliged the Mexican picket to retire, after exchanging a few shots. The portable bridge was here laid, and the van crossed with quickened steps, followed by the centre with the baggage and artillery. At this juncture the enemy fell upon the rear, rending the air with their yells, send-

[18] The ravaging sallies of the preceding days, which had involved the destruction of houses in the vicinity and along the approaches to Tlacopan, had evidently obliged the enemy to retire from these streets and seek shelter elsewhere for the night. Oviedo assumes that Cortés led the way, but Diaz and Herrera let him advance only when the first troops are guided into Tlacopan.

[19] 'Pasaron cuatro acequias, y antes que pasasen las demas salió vna muger á tomar agua y viólos.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 32. 'A devil, without doubt,' adds Camargo, who describes her as a keeper of an eating-house, and indicates exactly the location of her house. *Hist. Tlax.*, 167. Cortés states that the alarm was given by the guard at the first breach held by the Mexicans, where the portable bridge was laid down. *Cartas*, 136.

[20] Sahagun names this Mictlantonco, and the next two Tlantecayocan and Petlacalco. In another place he names the first Tecpantzinco, and the second or third Toltesacali. *Hist. Conq.*, loc. cit., and [ed. 1840] 121-2. Torquemada gives the second breach of the causeway the latter name. The names should probably be written Tecpantzinco, Tolteca-Acalulco, and Petlacalco.

ing their missiles fast and furious, while from the cross-roads issued a swarm, with lance and sword, on Alvarado's flank. Over the water resounded their cries, and canoes came crowding round the causeway to attack the forward ranks. To add to the horrors of the tumult, several men and horses slipped on the wet bridge and fell into the water; others, midst heart-rending cries, were crowded over the edge by those behind. All the rest succeeded in crossing, however, except about one hundred soldiers. These, it is said, bewildered by the battle cries and death shrieks, turned back to the fort, and there held out for three days, till hunger forced them to surrender and meet the fate of sacrificial victims at the coronation feast of Cuitlahuatzin.[21]

The half mile of causeway extending between the first and second breaches was now completely filled with Spaniards and allies, whose flanks were harassed by the forces brought forward in canoes on either side. Dark and foggy as the night was, the outline of the Indian crews could be distinguished by the white and colored *tilmatli* in which many of them were clad, owing to the coldness of the air. Fearlessly they jumped to the banks, and fought the Spaniards with lance and javelin, retreating into the water the moment the charge was over. Some crept up the road sides, and seizing the legs of the fugitives endeavored to drag them into the water. So crowded were the soldiers that they could scarcely defend themselves; aggressive movements were out of the question.

Repeated orders had been transmitted to Magarino to hurry forward the removal of his bridge to the second channel, and, seeing no more soldiers on the opposite bank of the first opening, he prepared to

[21] This native rumor, as recorded in the manuscripts used by Duran, *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 476–7, is probably the foundation for Cano's statement, that Cortés abandoned 270 men in the fort. Herrera reduces them to 100. 'Que se boluieron a la torre del templo, adonde se hizieron fuertes tres dias.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii.

obey, but the structure had been so deeply imbedded in the banks from the heavy traffic that his men labored for some time in vain to lift it, exposed all the while to a fierce onslaught. Finally, after a number of the devoted band had succumbed, the bridge was released, but before it could be drawn over the causeway the enemy had borne it down at the other end so as effectually to wreck it.[72] The loss of the bridge was a great calamity, and was so regarded by the troops, hemmed in as they were between two deep channels, on a causeway which in width would hold only twenty men in a line. On all sides were enemies thirsting for blood. Presently a rush was made for the second channel, where the soldiers had already begun, in face of the foe, to cross on a single beam, which had been left intact when the bridge was destroyed. As this was an exceedingly slow process, many took to the water, only to receive their death-blow at the hands of the watermen. Some were taken prisoners; some sank beneath their burden of gold; the horses found a ford on one side where the water was not above the saddle

The canoes, however, were as numerous here as elsewhere, and their occupants as determined; and the horsemen had the greatest trouble to keep their seats while resisting them. The general, being at the head, suffered most. At one time some Indians seized him by the legs and tried to drag him off. The footing of the horse being so insecure, the attempt would probably have succeeded but for the prompt aid of Antonio de Quiñones, and Texmaxahuitzin, a Tlascaltec, known afterward as Antonio. Olid, who also came to the rescue, was almost overpowered, but managed to free himself by means of backhanded blows from his muscular arm. One of the cavalry, Juan de Salazar, the page of Cortés, then took the

[72] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 106, assumes that the enemy bore it down before the baggage train had crossed, and that the channel was filled in consequence with artillery, baggage, and dead bodies. Gomara gets the bridge across the second breach. Both must be mistaken, however.

lead to clear the way for the rest, only to fall a victim to his zeal. The next moment his master had gained the bank, and thereupon directed the troops by the ford.[22]

Thus in the darkness the wild roar of battle continued, the commingling shouts and strokes of combatants falling on the distant ear as one continuous moan. The canoes now pressed on the fugitives in greater number at the ford than in the channel. Sandoval, with his party, had swum the channel before the Mexicans assembled there in great numbers, and was now leading the van down the causeway, scattering the assailants right and left. Little regular fighting was attempted, the Spaniards being intent on escaping and the Mexicans quickly yielding before the cavalry, taking refuge in and round the canoes. With greater hardihood and success, however, they harassed those on foot. On reaching the next channel, which was the last, the fugitives found with dismay that it was wider and deeper than the others, and with bitter regret they saw their mistake in not bringing three portable bridges. The enemy was here also gathering in ever increasing force, to watch the death trap. Every effort to clear a passage was stubbornly resisted, and, the soldiers growing more irresolute, a rider was sent to bring Cortés. Before he arrived, however, Sandoval had already plunged in with a number of the cavalry, followed by foot-soldiers, who seized the opportunity to fall into the wake, by either holding on to the trappings of the horses or striking out for themselves. The passage was extremely difficult, and more than one horseman reeled and fell, from the united pressure of friends and foes. Those who followed suffered yet more, being pushed down by comrades, struck by clubs and stones, pierced by spears, or, most

[22] Camargo relates the incidents of the passage in detail, and says that Cortés fell into a hole as the enemy pounced upon him. The two deliverers disputed the honor of having rescued the general. *Hist. Tlax.*, 169.

horrible of all, drawn in by dusky boatmen, who carefully guarded them for the dread stone of sacrifice.

With five horsemen Cortés led a body of one hundred infantry to the mainland. Accompanying this force was a number of carriers with treasures secured by the general and his friends. Leaving the gold in charge of Jaramillo, with orders to hold the entrance of the causeway against assailants from the shore, Cortés returned to the channel where Sandoval had taken a stand to keep clear the bank and protect the passage. Tidings coming that Alvarado was in danger, Cortés proceeded to the rear, beyond the second channel, and found it hotly contested. His opportune arrival infused fresh courage, as with gallant charges he relieved the troops from the terrible pressure. He looked in vain for many comrades who had been placed at this post, and would have gone in search of them had not Alvarado assured him that all the living were there. He was told that the guns reserved for the rear had for a while been directed with sweeping effect against the ever growing masses of warriors around them; but finally a simultaneous attack from the canoe crews on either side, and from the land forces to the rear, impelled by their own volume, had overwhelmed the narrow columns nearest the city, together with their cannon, killing and capturing a large number, and throwing the rest into the panic-stricken condition from which he had just extricated them.

Leaving Alvarado to cover the rear as best he could, Cortés hastened to direct the passage of the middle channel. What a sight was there! Of all the bloody terrors of that dark, sorrowful night, this was the most terrible! A bridge had been wanting, and behold, the bridge was there! With dead and living fugitives the chasm on either side the slippery beam had been filled,[24] and now the soldiers and allies

[24] 'El foso se hinchó hasta arriba;....y los de la retroguardia pasaron sobre los muertos. Los españoles que aquí quedaron muertos fueron trescientos, y de los tlaxcaltecas y otros indios amigos fueron mas de dos mil.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 122.

were rushing, heedless of the groans beneath them, across this gory support, still narrow and full of gaps, to be filled by the next tripping fugitive. Scattered pell-mell on the bank lay the baggage and artillery, abandoned by the fleeing carriers, which, proving only an obstruction, Cortés ordered it thrown into the channel in order to widen the crossing.

But the end was not yet. Great as had been the woe, it was yet to be increased at the last and wider channel. Here was indeed a yawning abyss, having likewise a single remaining beam, whose narrow slippery surface served rather as a snare than a support.[25] The necessarily slow motion of the train had enabled the Mexicans to come up in swarms, and like sharks surround the chasm. Harassed on every side, and with an avalanche rolling against the rear, the retreating thought only of escaping the new danger, and at once. They threw aside their arms and treasures and plunged in, bearing one another down regardless of any claims of friendship or humanity. And woful to hear were the heart-rending cries from that pit of Acheron. Some begged help of Mary and Santiago; some cursed their fate and him who had brought them to it, while many sank with mute despair into the arms of death; and over all roared the wild cries and insults of the Mexicans. In strong contrast to the panic-stricken men appeared a woman, María de Estrada, who, with shield and sword, faced the enemy like a lioness, standing forth among the men as a leader, and astonishing friend and foe with her prowess.[26]

Cortés did all he could, as became an able commander and valiant soldier, to save his men. He was indefatigable in his efforts, being everywhere present, encouraging, guiding, and protecting. Yet his position was most trying; there were that night so many

[25] *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 4, 53, 68.

[26] 'Casò esta Señora, con Pedro Sanchez Farfan [who seized Narvaez], y dieronle en Encomienda el Pueblo de Tetela.' She married a second time, and died in Puebla. *Torquemada*, i. 504.

brave soldiers given over to despair, so many ears deaf to commands and prudent counsel. Unable to do more at the channels, he hastened to look to those who had crossed and were proceeding in straggling bands to join Jaramillo. Heedless of companies or officers, the soldiers had banded in parties of a score or two, and sword in hand, where this had not been thrown away, they were hurrying down the causeway.[27] The assailants fell off somewhat beyond the last channel, and finding the advance comparatively safe, guided by his soldierly impulses Cortés again returned with a few horsemen[28] and foot-soldiers to cover the remnant of the army. The rear, composed chiefly of the Narvaez party, were approaching the last channel, but under the continued onslaught panic had seized them. They made hardly an effort to defend themselves, and like the Indians during the massacre by Alvarado they huddled one against the other, offering their backs as a target for unsparing attack. Among this number was the loyal and noble Velazquez de Leon, who shared with the Tonatiuh the command of this section. How he fell is not known, but he never crossed the last breach.[29]

Alvarado had been wounded and had lost his horse, in common with most of his party. Finding it impossible to control the men, he gathered a small band round him and sought the channel, leaving the rest to look to themselves.[30] On reaching the spot he saw

[27] Bernal Diaz formed one of a band of 50, who were repeatedly attacked with arms and midst insults. He quotes some of the low expressions used. *Hist. Verdad.*, 106.

[28] One authority states that Cortés was nearing Tlacopan, when Olid and others called out to him that the fugitives were accusing the captains of abandoning them, and urged that they should turn back. 'It is a miracle to have escaped,' was his reply, 'and fewer will be left if we return.' Saying this he headed a dozen horsemen and a few foot-soldiers and galloped back. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 106. But Cortés was not the man to wait in such a case till entreaty came. 'Yo con tres ó cuatro de caballo,' he says, 'y hasta veinte peones, que osaron quedar conmigo, me fuí en la rezaga.' *Cartas*, 135. He takes the palm from all American conquerors, exclaims Oviedo, iii. 326.

[29] Zamacois makes atonement for a lack of research by inventing doughty deeds for this hero. *Hist. Méj.*, iii. 417–18.

[30] Among the soldiers contributed in later times by Garay's expedition was one Ocampo, who, fond of scandal and pasquinades, libelled many of the

a confused mass of struggling humanity in the water, but the solitary beam which spanned it was vacant, and steadying himself with his lance he sprang swiftly across. Narrow and slippery as was the beam, it was no insignificant feat for a wounded man to cross upon it, but time magnified the performance to something miraculous. When Alvarado came to the channel, it is related, no friendly beam spanned the wide, deep gap. His life turned on brief resolve and instant action. Lithe, strong, and determined, even though wounded, he was not yet ready to yield all. With a searching glance into the troubled pool and across the awful chasm he stepped back for a preparatory spring. Then, rushing forward, he planted the long pike upon the yielding débris and vaulted across, to the wonder of all witnesses. The Indians, says Camargo, prostrated themselves in admiration, and tearing up grass, ate it, with the exclamation, "Truly, this man is the Tonatiuh!" So runs the story, preserved by tradition, and by the name yet given to the spot, 'El Salto de Alvarado.'[31]

captains, among them Alvarado, declaring that he had left Velazquez with over 200 men to die. *Bernal Diaz., Hist. Verdad.*, 106–7. The charge came forward in the residencia, but Alvarado brought witnesses to prove that he had lost all control over the men, and could do nothing else than to save himself, wounded and unhorsed as he was. There were other witnesses who did all they could to blacken his fame, and to attribute to his neglect of duty a great portion of the loss sustained during that sad night. *Ramirez, Proceso*, 4, 38, 53, 68, and 288. Ramirez decides against the accused. But Alvarado was admittedly brave, recklessly so, and it must be regarded rather as his misfortune that a panic seized the men. Perhaps, as commander intrusted with this section, he should have remained longer at his post. This signified death, and such men as then comprised his command he regarded as hardly worth dying for. He chose to save life at the expense of a blemish on his honor. More it never amounted to, for the court absolved him. He redeemed the fault afterward by brave achievements.

[31] Camargo intimates that several Tlascalan chiefs of the expedition testified to the feat. *Hist. Tlax.*, 168; and Gomara adds that several followers tried to imitate it, but failed, and were drowned. *Hist. Mex.*, 160. Contradictory as Bernal Diaz is about the incidents of the night, he strenuously insists that the channel was examined during the following siege and found to be too wide and too deep to allow of such a leap. *Hist. Verdad.*, 107. This solitary denial of a story which has been adopted by almost every writer, from Oviedo to Prescott, finds support in testimony during the hero's residencia, wherein it is distinctly stated that he crossed the channel on a fixed beam. His own testimony gives assent to the charge so formulated, although hitherto he had no doubt allowed the other version to be believed. *Ramirez, Proceso*, 4, 53, 68 et seq.

Cortés and his small band of rescuers came up as Alvarado appeared, pike in hand and bleeding, accompanied by a few stragglers.[32] Among these was Juan Tirado, who, in gratitude for his deliverance, erected at this bridge after the conquest a hermitage to San Acacio, known also as De los Mártires—martyrs to avarice, as Torquemada intimates.[33] The badly wounded were now mounted behind the horsemen,[34] and repelling the foes who still pressed on them, Cortés in person covered the remnant of the army in its retreat toward Tlacopan,[35] losing in this final struggle the gallant Captain Morla.[36] The route lay through Popotla village or suburb; and here, according to tradition, Cortés seated himself on a stone to weep over the misfortunes of this Sorrowful Night.[37]

By a similar process of annealing, gold is made soft and iron hard; so by misfortune the wise man is made wiser while the fool is hardened in his folly.

[32] Seven Spaniards and eight Tlascaltecs, all badly wounded. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 106.

[33] 'Durò poco este nombre, pues tampoco les convenia à los muertos, que iban cargados de Oro.' *Monarq. Ind.*, i. 504. Zamacois describes the site as he found it not long ago. *Hist. Méj.*, iii. 421–3. Bernal Diaz implies that the 'martyr' name was given in honor of those captured and sacrificed during the siege, a year later. *Hist. Verdad.*, 153.

[34] Alvarado was taken on Gamboa's horse, Laso on Sandoval's. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 69, 119.

[35] Alvarado said that only the dead remained behind, but Olid insisted that a number were still fighting the enemy. Cortés accordingly went back again and rescued several more. *Castañeda*, in *Id.*, 44. Bernal Diaz also states that Cortés returned as far as the bridges. *Hist. Verdad.*, 106.

[36] The same who sprang into the sea, off Yucatan, to replace the rudder of his vessel, unshipped during the storm.

[37] La Noche Triste, as it has ever since been called. Amid so much that is romantic the tendency to further romance is often uncontrollable. The truth of this statement is open to grave doubts. 'Llegó [Alvarado] á Cortés, que estaba encima de unas gradas de un qü, sentado diçiendo muchas lástimas.' *Oviedo*, iii. 514. Zamacois describes the enormous tree, yet standing, which shaded the stone and bears the name of '*Arbol de la Noche Triste.*' *Hist. Méj.*, iii. 424. Prescott improves the occasion by allowing the army to file past in sad dilapidation, regardless of the fact that the army was already gathered in Tlacopan. *Mex.*, ii. 371–2. Testimony confirms the statement of Cortés that 'fuí en la rezaga, peleando con los indios hasta llegar á una ciudad que se dice Tacuba' [Tlacopan]. *Cartas*, 135–6.

CHAPTER XXVII.

RETREAT TO TLASCALA.

JULY, 1520.

FATAL MISTAKE OF THE MEXICANS—A BRIEF RESPITE ALLOWED THE SPANIARDS—THE REMNANT OF THE ARMY AT TLACOPAN—THEY SET OUT FOR TLASCALA—AN EVER INCREASING FORCE AT THEIR HEELS—REST AT THE TEPZOLAC TEMPLE—CORTÉS REVIEWS HIS DISASTERS—THE MARCH CONTINUED AMIDST GREAT TRIBULATION—ENCOUNTER OF THE GRAND ARMY—IMPORTANT BATTLE AND REMARKABLE VICTORY—ARRIVAL AT TLASCALA—THE FRIENDLY RECEPTION ACCORDED THEM THERE.

WHAT would Emperor Charles have said to Hernan Cortés had they met on the morning after the Sorrowful Night! It is related of Xerxes that with a golden crown he rewarded a pilot who had saved his life, and thereupon ordered him beheaded for having sacrificed in the operation the lives of so many of his Persian subjects. Now Cortés had not saved the emperor's life, nor yet the emperor's gold; he had sacrificed many lives, and had little to show for them. Had Charles been there, and had he valued Spaniards as did Xerxes Persians, he might have cut off the Estremaduran's head; but Cortés was yet worth to Charles more than all that had been thus far lost in New Spain.

Prosperity implies ability; adversity, weakness of mind and character. In the high-souled and chivalrous, prosperity tends to yet loftier heights, while adversity sinks the unfortunate still lower; nevertheless, the fortitude and dignity which come to the really great under misfortune are among the grandest sights in this universe. I have said that Cortés might have

ridden to Mexico over palm branches, midst hosannas, had he but known it; but had he done so, there would have been no greatness attending the act. The door of peaceable exit from the city of Mexico had long been open to him; but to have accepted Montezuma's invitation hence would not have raised Cortés in the estimation either of himself or of his soldiers.

After all the terrible disasters of the Noche Triste the Spaniards were not wholly forsaken by fortune, though they called it the irrepressible Santiago on his milk-white steed who caused the Mexicans to neglect their opportunity of vigorously pursuing the fugitives beyond the last channel, and in their helpless state to exterminate them. Yet we cannot help asking why Santiago did not come to their assistance sooner, and save them untold woe. The Spaniards, however, were not captious in their criticisms of benefactors, and so a small stone was erected on the Tacuba road in honor of the mounted saint.[1] If we would have the real cause why the Mexicans did not follow up the Spaniards, we may find it in their greed for spoils, as Sahagun observes, which detained the warriors, especially round the channels. A thorough search was soon instituted by them; the canals were dragged, and quantities of arms, baggage, and personal effects were secured, beside the gold and jewels which had been taken by the Spaniards. Their own dead they decently buried, while those of the Spaniards and their allies were more summarily disposed of, and the whole road cleared of obstructions and whatever might infect the atmosphere.[2]

According to Gomara the discovery of the bodies of Montezuma's son and heir and other princes created such sorrow that pursuit was on this account suspended. It seems not unreasonable that the na-

[1] 'Esto despues lo declararon los mismos Indios.' *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 143. Nor do they omit the ever recurring story of the virgin image casting dust into the eyes of the pursuers.

[2] The Tlascaltec and Cempoalan bodies were thrown among the reeds, and the Spanish into deeper water. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 126–7.

tives should have charged their death wounds to the Spaniards, who, rather than see men like King Cacama free to create mischief, should have preferred to dispatch them, offering, Medea-like, a bribe to reverence and love with a view to retard the Colchian pursuers.[3] Although this accusation could not be proven, their death was nevertheless to be avenged. At least forty Spaniards and a number of allies had been captured during the night, and at the obsequies, which were of the most imposing order, they added solemnity to the occasion by yielding their hearts' blood; while those who, according to native tradition, turned back to hold the fort for three days before they swelled the throng of victims, were reserved for the coronation soon to follow.

The respite from close pursuit had enabled the fugitive army to join, in detached groups, the nucleus already gathered under Jamarillo in one of the squares of Tlacopan,[4] the capital of the smallest tripartite state, half a league from Mexico. A sorry spectacle was this remainder of the brilliant army which had so lately entered Mexico as conquerors. A haggard, bleeding, ragged crowd, dreggy with mire and smeared with gore, many without weapons, and without a vestige of their baggage and war stores. When Cortés arrived with the last remnant the sun was rising, and fearing the danger of an attack in the narrow streets, such as had made the sallies in Mexico so disastrous, he hastened to conduct his men into the open field. The movement was made none too soon, for imme-

[3] Duran and Ixtlilxochitl make the murders take place in the Spanish quarters, as we have seen. Sahagun permits two of Montezuma's sons to fall between the last channel and Popotla, while guiding the fugitives. *Hist. Conq.*, 33 (ed. 1840), 122. Gomara assumes also that the pursuers may have been content with the injury inflicted, or cared not to renew the fight on more open ground. *Hist. Mex.*, 161. Solis attributes the respite wholly to the discovery of the bodies. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 185–6.

[4] 'Llegado á la dicha ciudad de Tacuba, hallé toda la gente remolinada en una plaza, que no sabían dónde ir.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 136. 'Hasta cerca de Tlacupan hasta un lugar que se llama *Tilihucan*.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 33. 'Tacuba....is at the present day chiefly noted for the large and noble church which was erected there by Cortez.' *Latrobe's Rambler*, 128.

diately after the scouts gave warning of approaching hosts, magnified to a hundred thousand or more, speedily the war shrieks again broke on the ears of the startled troops. The Mexicans had sent word to Tlacopan and the neighboring towns to intercept the fugitives, and assistance coming with the dawn they joined in the attack.[5]

A Tlascaltec chief had recommended a northward course, round the lakes, as the least exposed to pursuit, and offered himself as guide.[6] The march was accordingly directed north-westward through some maize-fields, with Cortés leading. The enemy were upon them before the rear left the city, and several soldiers fell in the onslaught. A short distance before them rose the hill of Totoltepec, Bird Mountain,[7] surmounted by a temple with several strong buildings,[8]

[5] Gomara assumes that the Tlacopan people were not aware of the broken condition of the troops. Now they joined the 40,000 Mexicans who had set forth prepared for pursuit. *Hist. Mex.*, 161. 'Ya auian venido de Mexico.... dar mandado a Tacuba, y a Escapuçalco, y a Tenayuca, para que nos saliessen al encuentro.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 106. The Mexicans were disgusted with those of Tlacopan for their neglect. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii.

[6] 'Un Angel de Guarda, ó San Pedro, como otros quieren, ó Santiago Apostol,' observes the enthusiastic Lorenzana. *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 145.

[7] 'Totolpec.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 302; Toltotepec is Vetancurt's misspelling. 'Cerro llamado de Muteczuma.' *Lorenzana*, ubi sup.

[8] 'Una torre y aposento fuerte.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 136. 'Vnas caserias q̃ en vn cerro estauan, y alli jũto a vn Cu, e adoratorio, y como fortaleza.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 107. 'A este templo llamaron de la Vitoria, y despues nuestra Señora de los remedios.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii. Sahagun calls the rise Acueco, and places upon it the Otomí village of Otoncapulco. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 122. Vetancurt follows, *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 143, while Camargo calls it Tzacuyocan. The variations in Sahagun's editions lead Torquemada to say that the Spaniards moved the same day from Otoncalpulco pueblo to Acueco, an Otomí village. i. 504–5. This, Brasseur de Bourbourg follows. The Spaniards may have passed through it on departing, but would hardly move from a stronghold to a probably open village while surrounded by enemies. If food was the object, the able-bodied soldiers would have made a sally for it. It appears that the army camped for the night on the hill now occupied by the Remedios shrine, and in the fortress-like temple, to which a small village was attached. Alzate, however, who took pains to inquire into the subject, found that the natives applied the name Otoncapulco, not to the Remedios hill, but to the mountain, three fourths of a league off. On this mountain he found the ruins of a strong building, and none on the hill, whence he assumes that the camp was not made on the site of the shrine, but on the mountain. *Gacetas de Lit.*, ii. 457–9. Bustamante accepts this view, but Archbishop Lorenzana, whose testimony in the matter must be reliable, says: 'Se conservan aun algunos vestigios de la antigua Fortaleza, y esta se ha convertido dichosamente en el célebre Santuario de N. Sra. de los Remedios.' *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, p. xiii. He also intimates that the

and a small village. This appeared an eligible spot for the rest which they so much needed. Crossing the Tepzolac Creek, at its foot, Cortés ordered the advance guard, under Ordaz, to capture it, while he faced the pursuers. Little resistance was offered at the temple, but the general was hotly pressed, as the enemy perceived that their prey was about to escape. At this juncture it was said that the Vírgen de los Remedios appeared, and by casting dust into the eyes of the foe enabled the Spaniards to effect their escape with little loss into the temple. "By this time," writes Cortés, "we had not a horse that could run, or a horseman who could lift an arm, or a foot-soldier who could move."[9]

A few additional intrenchments were thrown up, and the necessary guards posted to watch the baffled enemy, who perceiving the strength of the place contented themselves with flinging their missiles and filling the air with shouts. Feeling comparatively secure, the troops abandoned themselves to rest round blazing fires. The food found in the place, although insufficient for the demands of the half-starved men, afforded some comfort, which was increased by grateful sleep.[10]

Thus were refreshed the wounded and disheartened. And with grateful hearts the remnant of the brave army returned thanks to God for deliverance. Some, however, attributed their escape to the presence among them of the image of the Vírgen de los Reme-

Otoncapulco name is misapplied. Hence it may be assumed that the common application of Otoncapulco to this hill is due to a misinterpretation of Sahagun's versions, which have been greatly tampered with, for that matter, and that the ruins mentioned by Lorenzana had disappeared by the time Alzate examined the place.

[9] *Cartas*, 136; *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 110. 'Aqui se señalò mucho Gonçalo Dominguez, hombre diestro y valiente.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii. Prescott makes several blunders and omissions in connection with this day.

[10] A few stragglers managed to reach the camp, and among them one Sopuerta, who had escaped death by feigning it. *Herrera*, ubi sup. Sahagun states that Otomís from Teucalhuican, and from the immediate neighborhood, no doubt, brought food, and invited the Spaniards to the former town, a few leagues from there. *Hist. Conq.*, 33. Torquemada follows him, but the story is probably an exaggeration.

dios, which Rodriguez de Villafuerte is said to have afterward placed in the great temple of Mexico. It had been brought here by the owner, although some supposed it might have come over of its own accord, as it is said to have miraculously done in later times when detained in Mexico against its will.[11] Some years after the Noche Triste it was found on this hill under a bush, by a converted cacique named Juan de Tobar, who kept it for a long time, and then by divine direction built a hermitage for it on the hill, where it had been found. The many miracles reported of the shrine induced the City of Mexico in 1574 to adopt it as a patron, and by the following year the simple chapel was replaced by a fine temple worthy of the sanctity of the image which has absorbed so large a share of holy pilgrimage.[12]

The review held on Remedios Hill revealed the full extent of the blow suffered, "one which Spaniards alone could have endured," says Peter Martyr. At the beginning of the siege the army mustered twelve hundred and fifty Spaniards and six thousand allies, with arms and ammunition in abundance, and now

[11] It has been shown previously, by testimony not accessible till later years, that the image placed in the great temple was a picture on a tablet, while that of Remedios is a doll. But, of course, the image that could move through the air could also transform its shape. Bernal Diaz assumes, as we have seen, that Montezuma had ordered the image to be cared for; yet many believe that Rodriguez secured it before or after the massacre, while the more pious prefer to suppose that he could not find it, for want of time, perhaps, and that it moved miraculously to the camp. *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, 524; *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 302. After the departure of the troops the image hid itself on the spot, or Rodriguez, tired of the burden which had saved his life, ungratefully left it there. It is also supposed to have been carried to Tlascala ere it reappeared on its later site. *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 106 et seq.; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 122. Lorenzana accepts it as the image from Mexico's temple. *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 138.

[12] It has frequently been brought to Mexico, and is still brought to avert epidemics and other ills, to bring rain or other blessings. When detained it would travel back of its own accord to the shrine, a proof of which was afforded by the travel stains on the dress. One rainy night it arrived covered with mud. *Latrobe's Rambler*, 133. Thompson describes it as 'a little alabaster doll, with the nose broken, and the eye out....about eight inches high.' Her wardrobe and jewels are valued at over $1,000,000. *Recollections*, 103–9. He gives an account of the veneration for the image and its miraculous power. The history of its origin and worship is to be found in a multitude of books, among which may be mentioned, *Medina, Chrón. S. Diego Mex.*, 30 et seq.; *Cabrera, Escudo Armas*, 106 et seq.; *Bustamante, Mem. Piedad., Mex.*, 1–52.

little more than five hundred soldiers and less than two thousand allies remained.[13] The baggage, artillery and ammunition, intrusted to the trains of carriers, had all been lost, and a great portion of the arms carried by the men, so that only twelve battered cross-bows and seven firelocks could be counted. What better commentary could we have on the night's disaster! The side arms were fortunately better preserved, and there were twenty-four horses left, now the only formidable element of the army.[14] Of the treasure none could tell what had been saved, the holders keeping the fact secret. It was whispered, however, that Cortés had taken good care of the portion appropriated by him, Bernal Diaz, among others, insisting that with the first party conducted by the general to Tlacopan went a number of carriers with gold bars and jewels. Among these is said to have been some of the royal treasure, but the officers declared that it had all been lost, including the mare with the fifth proper, and the account books and records. The loss of the papers, however unfortunate for history, must have been

[13] Cortés prudently limits, and we must add untruthfully, the loss to 150 soldiers and some 2000 allies. It is with a view to this estimate that he reduced the force brought into Mexico to 570 men, to which must be added the 140 composing the garrison. Deducting the 150 lost, 560 remain, and since he would hardly overestimate the number, for obvious reasons, this figure is probably near the truth. Bernal Diaz musters 1300 at Tlascala, and has 80 at Mexico. Deducting from this 800 men stated to have been lost before entering Tlascala, not counting those who fell in other provinces, leaves about 580; yet he acknowledges only 440 alive. *Hist. Verdad.*, 108 et seq. Herrera is also contradictory, admitting in one place 500, and in another 'less than' 400 soldiers and 600 allies. Oviedo reduces the soldiers to 340. iii. 513. Vetancurt adopts Bernal Diaz' 440 soldiers and Herrera's 600 allies. Prescott hastily declares Gomara as nearest to the truth, yet he departs from him in the result. With regard to the allies, he reckons the full number of all who were brought to Mexico, while it is pretty obvious, from figures and facts, that a portion must have been allowed to return home during the inaction of the emperor's captivity. The list of losses, as given by different authorities, stands as follows: 150 soldiers, over 2000 allies, *Cortés;* over 200 soldiers, over 2000 allies, *Lejalde, Probanza;* nearly 200 soldiers, over 1000 allies, *Solis;* 300 soldiers, over 2000 allies, at one bridge, *Sahagun*, 122; 450 soldiers, 4000 allies, *Gomara*, followed by Ixtlilxochitl, Clavigero, Camargo, and others; over 500 soldiers in all New Spain, *Carta del Ejército;* over 600 soldiers, *Robertson;* over 600 soldiers, *B. V. de Tapia*, in *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 38; 800 soldiers in all New Spain, *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 42; 870 soldiers in all New Spain, *Bernal Diaz;* 1170 soldiers, 8000 allies, *Cano*, in *Oviedo*, iii. 551.

[14] The loss in horses varies from 45, in *Cortés*, to 56, in *Lejalde, Probanza*, both acknowledging 24 left.

rather convenient to Cortés, at least, who had a fancy for adjusting facts and figures to suit his schemes.[15]

Deeply stricken was Cortés, and bitterly did he repent of the mistakes which had contributed to this sad result: of having left Alvarado in charge to follow his rash bent; of having treated Montezuma and his chiefs so inconsiderately on his arrival; and, above all, the faulty arrangements for the flight by night.[16] His had been the greatest conquest yet undertaken in the New World, and his the greatest disaster. The men of Narvaez had suffered most, partly, it is said, because they were most eager to burden themselves with gold, but rather because they were inexperienced, and assigned chiefly to the rear. It was the gaps in the ranks of his veterans that touched Cortés most. Gone was the dear dandy Francisco de Salcedo, whom slovenly comrades should no more trouble! The cavalry, so sadly depleted, missed

[15] 'Perdido se todo el oro y joyas y ropa,' etc. *Cortés, Cartas*, 135. It had been confided to Tlascaltecs, and was nearly all lost, says their chief. *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 169–70. The officers testified afterward before public notary: 'Se perdió todo el dicho oro é joyas de SS. AA., é mataron la yegua que lo traia.' *Lejalde, Probanza*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 425. Two witnesses during the residencia of Cortés stated that the general had two mares, one given to carry the royal treasures and the other laden with his own. The latter being lost, he claimed the other to be his, and in this manner appropriated 45,000 pesos or more which belonged to the king. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 69, 101–2. Not long after the retreat he called on all to declare, under penalty, what gold they had saved of that taken from the unappropriated piles. From those who did so the treasures were taken, although it was understood that they had been given to them. All this Cortés kept. *Id.*, 101–2, 241–2; ii. 402. Many refused to surrender, and since the leaders had also secured shares from the common pile, the order to reveal possession thereof was not enforced, says Bernal Diaz. He adds that one third was to be retained by the possessor as a reward. Cortés kept as a forced loan what had been surrendered. *Hist. Verdad.*, 117–18. The loss of treasure, that thrown away by carriers and pressed soldiers, or sunken with their bodies, has been estimated at from several hundred thousand pesos to over two millions, in the values of that time; to which Wilson sarcastically objects, that 'nothing was really lost but the *imaginary treasure*, now grown inconveniently large, and which had to be accounted for to the emperor. The *Conquistador* was too good a soldier to hazard his gold; it was therefore in the advance, and came safely off.' *Conq. Mex.*, 412–13.

[16] 'Si esta cosa fuera de dia, por ventura no murieran tantos,' adds Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 161. While grieving he recognized 'el manifiesto milagro que la reyna de los angeles su abogada, el apostol San Pedro, y el de los egércitos Españoles Santiago, habian hecho en haberse escapado él.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 302. Vetancurt moralizes on the flight as a chastisement by God, who saved the remnant to spread the faith. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 145–6.

among its number the dashing Láres[17] and the brave Morla. Neither could Botello be injured by the curses freely given him for his false reading of the stars.[18] The death which most deeply moved Cortés, however, was that of the true-hearted and brave Velazquez, whose standing and influence, as a relative of the Cuban governor and as a man of high birth, had so greatly assisted the general in carrying out his schemes. Cortés had in return conferred on him some of the most important commissions, ever regarding him as among the truest of his friends. With him had died his native wife, Elvira, the daughter of the Tlascaltec lord Maxixcatzin, and nearly every prisoner.[19]

With so many losses to deplore, it proved a solace for Cortés to find present his favorite captains, Sandoval, Alvarado, and Olid. His interpreters were also here, and foremost the loving Marina, whose life, together with that of Luisa, Xicotencatl's daughter, was due to the zealous care of the latter's brothers. Martin Lopez, the ship-builder, also survived, and the sight of him assisted to give the thoughts of the general a hopeful bent, rousing in his enterprising spirit projects for vengeance and recuperation. Remnants though they were, his forces were still larger than those with which he had overcome Narvaez, and which he had till then regarded as sufficient for the conquest of the empire. The experience gained and a knowledge of the country were in themselves an army; and, thank fortune, he had some gold, and better still, allies. Tlascala was now his hope. Everything, indeed, depended on the little republic, and

[17] On a later page Bernal Diaz says he fell at Otumba. *Hist. Verdad.*, 107, 246.

[18] Herrera attempts to save somewhat the reputation of the astrologer by the statement that he prophesied death for himself or his brother.

[19] Every one, say Cortés and Herrera; but Ixtlilxochitl states that one sister of King Cacama was saved, and he intimates that one or two of his brothers also escaped. He is contradictory, however. *Hist. Chich.*, 302, 390. The one who escaped must have been Cuicuitzcatl, the newly made king of Tezcuco. Brasseur de Bourbourg adds two of his brothers, probably from misinterpreting Ixtlilxochitl. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 339.

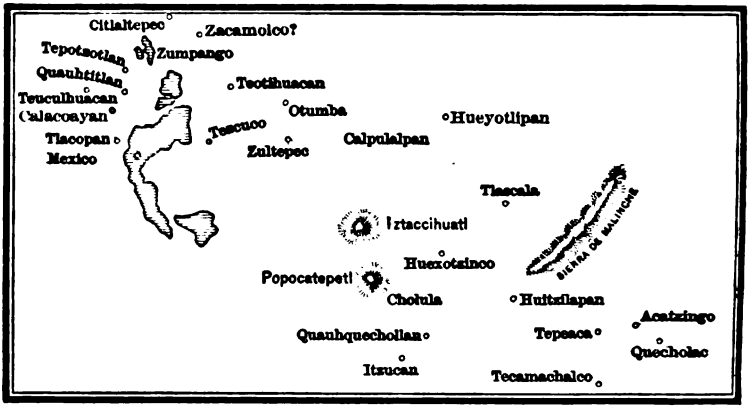
whether it would afford him shelter and aid. He knew that the loss of so many of its warriors under his banner had brought wide-spread affliction, which might turn to hatred toward him as the cause. Thereupon he talked to the Tlascaltec chiefs who were yet alive, and endeavored to stir in them the thirst for revenge, and excite their desires for rich spoils and increased domain.[20]

Besiegers and besieged sat watching each other the whole day, but the latter made no signs of stirring. Thinking that they would not venture forth for some time, many of the former began to file off homeward, leaving, nevertheless, a strong force round the hill. Cortés feared that the morrow would bring them back with reinforcements and make escape difficult. Trusting again therefore to the darkness, now joined to the more advantageous circumstance of an open field, he set forth, leaving the fires blazing to lull the watchfulness of the foe. Eight captains were appointed for the different sections to maintain the arranged order of march,[21] Cortés with a portion of the cavalry taking the rear, as the post of danger. The rest of the horsemen led the van, while the sound infantry formed a cordon for the centre, wherein the wounded were carried in hammocks, or hobbled along on hastily prepared crutches, a few being taken up behind the horsemen. The rear had hardly left the temple before the enemy were upon them with swords and lances, many of the captured and recovered weapons of the Spaniards being now used against themselves. But the attack was not severe, partly because the pursuers had been reduced to irregular bands from the mainland settlements, whose chief object was plunder. At dawn the town of Calacoayan was

[20] Ixtlilxochitl names some of the chiefs to whom these offers were made. *Hist. Chich.*, 302.

[21] Ávila, a veritable martinet, maimed a soldier with a blow for stepping from the ranks to pluck some fruit. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii. The same story has been told of Ávila in Cempoala.

sighted, and on approaching it the mounted scouts came in a ravine upon an ambuscade formed by its warriors. Believing them to be numerous the horsemen galloped back, and joined by others returned to charge. It is related that the leader halting for a moment to arrange for the attack, a soldier became impatient, and hoisting an improvised flag on his lance he called out, "Santiago! follow me who dare!" The rest responded, and the enemy was routed with slaughter.[22] The town was ransacked for food and



fired as a warning to the assailants. The march was resumed, and the plain of Tizaapan reached, but owing to the fight at the town and the constant skirmishing only three leagues were made that day. Toward sunset they reached the hamlet of Teuculhuacan, and took peaceable possession of the temple for the night.[23]

[22] Cortés allows the five scouts to defeat the enemy, who are frightened by the supposition that a larger force is upon them. *Cartas*, 137. Herrera is more explicit with regard to the ambuscade, and makes Ordaz lead up the reinforcements. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii.

[23] 'Mas no cenar.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 162. Sahagun states, however, that this was the town to which the Otomís had on the preceding day invited them, chiefly because they were related to the Otomís of the Tlascaltec division under Cortés. *Hist. Conq.*, 34–5. A risky proceeding, if true, for an isolated community, on whom might fall the vengeance of the hostile Mexicans. In

At noon on the 3d the march was resumed, with quickened steps and with less interruption. Though persistent in harassing, the pursuers fled whenever the

the account of the route followed to Tlascala Cortés is still the best guide, for he not only kept a record, but wrote his report while the occurrences were yet fresh. He is wanting in details, however, and fails to give names to localities. These omissions are remedied by Sahagun, who now seems more reliable. Other authors are vague or misleading for the route, but the occasional incidents told by them are noteworthy. Bernal Diaz indicates only one stopping place, Quauhtitlan evidently, before Otumba is reached. Camargo skips to a place adjoining Otumba, and Ixtlilxochitl takes the army to Quauhximalpan, a place which modern maps locate south of Remedios. He resumes the northern route, but names some towns that cannot be identified. Gomara adheres pretty well to Cortés, but his commentator, Chimalpain, supplies names for places, which differ from Sahagun and indicate a deviation from the extreme northern course, as will be seen. Torquemada follows chiefly Sahagun, whom he recommends. Orozco y Berra has closely studied the journey, and throws much light on it, more so than any other writer; yet his conclusions are not always satisfactory. *Itinerario del Ejercito Español*, in *Mex. Not. Ciudad.*, 246 et seq. I have already spoken at length, in *Native Races*, iii. 231–6, on the life and writings of Father Sahagun, and will here refer only to the twelfth book of his *Historia General*, inserted by Bustamante, at the beginning of the set, under the title of *Historia de la Conquista de Mexico*. This copy is from one found by Muñoz in the Franciscan convent of Tolosa, in Navarre. Another copy of the twelfth book, in possession of Conde de Cortina, claimed as the true original, was published separately by the same editor, at Mexico, 1840, with lengthy notes from Clavigero and other writers to complete the chain of events, and to comment on the suppression in the former issue of statements concerning Spanish misdeeds. It has also an additional chapter. Neither copy, however, corresponds quite to that used by Torquemada, who in more than one instance quotes passages that are startling compared with the modified expressions in the others. The severity of the friar toward Spanish conquerors was no doubt a strong reason for the suppression of his work. The twelfth book begins with Grijalva's arrival and the omens preceding it, and carries the narrative of the conquest down to the fall of Mexico. According to his own statement, on page 132, it is founded to a great extent on the relations given him by eye-witnesses, soldiers who had assumed the Franciscan robe and associated daily with the friar; but much is adopted, with little or no critique, from superstitious natives, the whole forming a rather confusing medley, so that it is difficult to extract the many valuable points which it contains. This difficulty is, of course, not encountered by such followers as Bustamante and Brasseur de Bourbourg, and similar supporters of native records or anti-Spanish versions.

In the *Native Races* I give the traits which characterize the French abbé and his famous works on Central American culture and antiquities, and it remains only to refer briefly to his version of the conquest, comprised in the fourth volume of the *Histoire des Nations Civilisées*. His pleasing style lends attraction to every page, but his faults become more conspicuous from the comparison presented by a vast array of authorities, revealing the indiscreet and enthusiastic readiness to accept native tales, or anything that favors the hypotheses by which he is ruled, and in the disposition to build magnificent structures on airy foundation. His version, indeed, strives rather to narrate the conquest from a native standpoint, and to use Spanish chronicles only as supplementary authority. To this end he relies chiefly on the now well known writings of Sahagun, Ixtlilxochitl, Camargo, and Torquemada, and it is but rarely that he is able to quote the often startling original manuscripts possessed only by himself.

cavalry charged, and took refuge on the hill-slopes, flinging with their missiles jeers and insults. "Women!" they cried; "cowards, who fight only when mounted! You are going whence none of you shall escape!" The latter threat was frequently heard, but its meaning failed as yet to be understood. There was a worse enemy than the Mexicans, however, and that was hunger, which made itself severely felt, "although Spaniards can endure its pangs better than any other nation," vaunts Gomara, "and this band of Cortés' better than all." Eagerly they scanned the road side for fruit or roots, and many ate grass, while the Tlascaltecs threw themselves upon the ground and begged their gods to take pity upon them.[24] One soldier opened a dead body and ate the liver, and when Cortés heard of it he ordered the man hanged, but the sentence was not executed. The route, at first craggy, passed through the towns of Quauhtitlan and Tepotzotlan, along the lake of Zumpango, to Citlaltepec, where camp was formed. The inhabitants had fled, but food was there to eat, and even to carry on their journey, and there they remained all the next day.[25]

[24] 'Mordiendo la tierra, arrancando yeruas, y alçádo los ojos al cielo, dezian, dioses no nos desampareys en este peligro, pues teneys poder sobre todos los hombres, hazed que con vuestra ayuda salgamos del.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xii.

[25] Herrera conforms to Cortés and Gomara in admitting a stay of two nights at one place, but makes this Tecopatlan, called 'duck town,' from its many fowl. This is evidently Tepotzotlan. But it was not near the lake like Citlaltepec, and 'duck town' applies rather to a lake town, in this region, at least. Cortés also writes, in *Cartas*, 137, 'fuimos aquel dia por cerca de unas lagunas hasta que llegamos á una poblacion,' and this does not apply well to Tepotzotlan, which lies a goodly distance from the lakes, requiring certainly no march along 'some' lakes to reach it. Hence the Citlaltepec of Sahagun must be meant. This author, however, supposes the Spaniards to stay one night at each place. *Hist. Conq.*, 36 (ed. 1840), 129. Ixtlilxochitl calls the place after Tepotzotlan, Aychqualco. *Hist. Chich.*, 302. At Tepotzotlan, says Vetancurt, some of the people remained to receive the Spaniards—this is in accordance with one of Sahagun's versions—and here remained to hide the son of Montezuma, whom he supposes to have escaped with the troops. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 144. According to Chimalpain's interpretation the Spaniards stay the two nights at Quauhtitlan, and thence proceed by way of Ecatepec, now San Cristóbal, skirting the northern shore of Tezcuco Lake, and on to Otumba. *Hist. Conq.*, i. 304–5. This route certainly appears the most direct, but there is no authority for it. The sentence from Cortés might no doubt be adopted equally well for this road; but Sahagun, Ixtlilxochitl, and Herrera

On the morning of the 5th of July they skirted the lake and turned westward to Tlascala, pursued by increasing forces;[26] owing to which, or to the roughness of the road, or to the guide, less progress was made than on the previous day, and camp was pitched at the deserted hamlet of Xoloc. The following day they proceeded toward the Azaquemecan Mountains, and halted at the town Zacamolco.[27] Observing a mysterious movement among the Indians on the slope, Cortés set out with five horsemen and a dozen foot-soldiers to reconnoitre. After skirting the mountain he came in sight of a large army,[28] with a portion of which he came to close quarters, the fleet natives having gained on the foot-soldiers in making the turn of the hill. In the mêlée Cortés was badly wounded in the head.[29] He retreated to camp and had the wound bandaged, and the forces were hurried away from the town, which appeared too exposed for an attack. The Indians pursued them so closely that two men were killed and a number wounded, beside four or five horses. One of the animals died, and although the troops deplored its loss, the meat proved acceptable, for roasted maize with a little fruit had been their only food for several days.[30] Camp appears to have

name towns which lie east and north of the Zumpango Lake, and during the rainy season now prevailing the passages between the lakes were rather swampy. Tezcuco was beside too close for the fleeing army. Alaman accepts the route south of Zumpango, *Disert.*, i. 122, against which nearly all the above reasons apply.

[26] 'Nos convenia ir muchas veces fuera de camino.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 138. Owing to the guide's inefficiency, adds Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 162.

[27] Sahagun also calls the mountain, or the slope, Tona. His confusing versions sometimes reverse all the names. Cortés places it two leagues from the last camp.

[28] 'Detrás dél [hill] estaba una gran ciudad de mucha gente.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 138. Zacamolco is also called a large town. There could hardly be two large towns so close together in a district like this, so that the other must have been Teotihuacan, 'city of the gods,' with its ancient and lofty pyramids, sacred to all Anáhuac, and one of the chief centres of pilgrimage. For description of ruins, see *Native Races*, iv. 529–44.

[29] 'Con un golpe de piedra en la cabeza tan violento, que abollando las armas, le rompió la primera tunica del cerebro.' So Solis defines the wound, which afterward grew dangerous. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 203. He supposes that it was received at Otumba.

[30] 'Le comieron sin dexar [como dizen] pelo ni huesso.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 162. 'La cabeza cupo a siete o ocho.' The horse was Gamboa's, on

been formed for the night in a hamlet among the hills, the enemy being left on the opposite western slope of the range.

A serious encounter being apprehended the next day, additional crutches and hammocks were prepared for those of the wounded who had hitherto been carried on horseback, so as to leave the cavalry free in its movements.[31] Before dawn on July 7th[32] the march was resumed, in the hope of eluding the forces in the rear, little suspecting that this was but a wing of the main body now preparing to surround them. They had proceeded about a league, and were on the point of entering the large plain of Otumba,[33] when the scouts came galloping back with the information that the whole field was filled with warriors in battle array. The hearts of the Spaniards sank within them. They were hoping to escape an enemy such as this.[34] Cortés ordered a halt, and with his captains talked over the situation. Retreat was out of the question, and to turn aside would be useless. "We must charge upon this host," said Cortés; "we must make our path through its very centre. Remember your dead comrades; remember your God; comport yourselves like Christian soldiers, and this idolatrous horde will melt before you like the morning mist." He thereupon issued the necessary instructions for charging and

which Alvarado was saved after his leap. *Herrera*, ii. x. xii.; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 107. Ixtlilxochitl says that Zinacatzin, of Teotihuacan, killed it—he whom we shall find leading the enemy on the morrow.

[31] 'Y pareció que el Espíritu Santo me alumbró con este aviso,' exclaims Cortés, *Cartas*, 139. Many a soldier carried a comrade on his back. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 163.

[32] According to Cortés, whose dates I have already shown to be reliable. He makes it a Saturday. Prescott makes it the 8th, a mistake which has been copied by several writers, including Brasseur de Bourbourg and Carbajal Espinosa.

[33] 'Llanos de la provincia de Otupam.' The battle taking place near Metepec. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 302–3. Plain of Otumpan, also called Atztaquemecan. *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 170. 'Los Llanos de Apan.' 'El Valle de Otumba.' *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, xiv. 148. Clavigero calls it the plain of Toran, derived from Sahagun, who applies the name to the slope of the range bordering it.

[34] Following the intimation given by Sahagun, Torquemada states that the enemy came pouring in from rear and sides to surround the troops. i. 508.

resisting, and for protecting the disabled. The horsemen were to ride with loose rein, lancing at the faces, so as to break the enemy's lines, and open a path for the infantry, who were to follow and thrust their side-arms at the bowels of their assailants.[35]

Commending themselves to the virgin, and invoking the aid of Santiago, the troops advanced and entered the plain, skirted on the east by the lower ranges of the Tlaloc, which inclosed in the distance the town of Otumba. The sight was as grand as it was terrifying. In every direction were seemingly endless columns, with flowing plumage, brilliant shields of varied designs, and above and beyond these a forest of glittering iztli points. "It was the finest army Spaniards ever encountered in the Indies," exclaims Bernal Diaz. Their number was legion, and the richness of their attire signified the presence of the strength and nobility of the empire. The original estimate was doubled, and that was increased fourfold, until, like Don Quixote's sheep, two hundred thousand seemed small. Aware of the route taken and the destination of the Spaniards, Cuitlahuatzin had sent orders to the caciques of Otumba, Teotihuacan, Calpùlalpan, and adjoining region, to mass their forces here and exterminate the intruders. This order came most opportune, for at the time a fair was held at Otumba, which attracted a large concourse, from which volunteers were readily obtained for so laudable an object, represented not only as easy of achievement, but as profitable from the spoils that were to follow. A strong force from the lake region had come to form the nucleus of the army, the command of which was assumed by Cihuacatzin, lord of Teotihuacan.[36]

[35] While they were halting, writes Ojeda, a big Indian with club and shield advanced to challenge any Spaniard to single combat. Ojeda responded, but in advancing against the man his negro slave followed him, and either the sight of two frightened the native or he sought to decoy them, for he retreated into a copse. *Herrera*, ii. x. xiii.

[36] *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 171–2; *Torquemada*, i. 509. Ixtlilxochitl spells the name Zihuatcatlzin, and Oviedo calls it Xiaquetenga, based probably on that of the Tlascaltec chief. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 480. 'La flor de Mexico, y de Tezcuco, y Saltocan.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 108.

The sight of the sorry remnant of the Spanish army was greeted by the native host with triumphant shouts, trumpet blasts, and the clashing of weapons. Nothing should now prevent their escape; they were doomed! Cautiously the Indians advanced to surround them; for though the wounded and bedraggled band was small, it still looked viperish. Like the French in Egypt the Mexicans might have said that the centuries were looking down on them from the mystic towers of Teotihuacan, consecrated to the sacred past. It was natural enough for them to feel glad and proud; surely the invaders had brought them misery enough to justify any return. But let them not forget that there are still strong men, now nerved to desperation. And just beyond the mountain fringe, toward which pointed their holy banner of the cross, was a promised land, 'the land of bread,' and, as they hoped, of trusty friends.

Cortés did not wait for them to advance too near before he made a charge. With head and arm bandaged he led the cavalry, which in parties of five rushed at the enemy, lancing straight at the face, and opening a way for the infantry, which followed at a quick pace, thrusting sword and pike as they had been directed.[87] This tactic disconcerted the natives somewhat, and discarding their projectile weapons the front ranks seized on lances, two-handed swords, and heavy clubs, encouraging one another by shouting the names of their towns and districts. After breaking the lines the horsemen turned to open another path in the direction of the infantry, throwing the Indians in a disorderly pressure one against the other, and keeping them in a state of apprehension as to where the mounted avalanche would next roll over them. Again the horsemen turned, dashing close along the flanks of the troops, scattering the intermediate assailants in confusion, and rendering them an easy prey to the

[87] Solis clears the way with volleys, but only seven muskets remained and no ammunition.

foot-soldiers. Swift as the wind the gallant Sandoval flew past, crying to his comrades: "We win to-day, señores! We win to-day, God helping us!" María de Estrada was likewise there, cheering onward the men, and sharing danger with the foremost of the brave.

It would indeed seem to persons of less confidence than the Spaniards that some supernatural power had been necessary on this day to deliver them. Nor did the Tlascaltecs belie their fame as warriors, for they fought like lions, as the soldier-chronicler declares, the chief Calmecahua being particularly conspicuous for his bravery.[38]

For a while the horsemen had it all their own way, chiefly, as Cortés observes, because the enemy consisted of such disorganized masses as to prevent one another either from fighting or fleeing; but as they became more used to the Spanish tactics they offered firmer resistance. The horse of the general being so severely struck in the mouth as to become unmanageable, Cortés dismounted and turned it loose to seek another. The injured animal, seemingly imbued with its master's spirit, dashed at the enemy in mad career, creating quite a panic in its course. The cavalry took advantage of the confusion to follow, partly with a view to secure the animal; after regaining the main body they indulged in a brief rest. The heat no less than the fighting had tired out both men and horses; but there was for them little respite, for no sooner had the foes observed their inaction than they closed in round them with renewed courage. "Thrust well and deep," came the order to the soldiers, "for they are all chiefs!" And so they seemed, from their rich dress, their elaborate devices, and their glittering ornaments. Cortés now mounted a horse whose viciousness had hitherto consigned him to the

[38] Camargo states that he lived to an age exceeding 130 years. Heroes in all ages have enjoyed the privilege of not being tied down to laws governing ordinary mortals.

baggage department,[39] and again the cavalry formed, this time in more compact order. But the enemy, ever relieved by fresh men, maintained the firmness with which they had begun the charge, and both horsemen and foot-soldiers found the pressure becoming greater and the fight hotter. Thus the battle continued during the greater part of the forenoon,[40] the natives evidently as fresh as ever, and the Spaniards visibly failing. "We thought surely that this was to be our last day," writes Cortés, "in view of the great strength of the Indians and the little resistance they could find in us, tired as we were, and nearly all wounded, and faint with hunger."

A feeling of suffocation and deathly despair comes over the Spaniards as the dusky host fold them in closer and yet fiercer embrace. Hot falls the blood-reeking breath upon their faces, as, flushed with success and sure of their victims, the foe lay hold of the Spaniards to drag them away to the sacrifice. Rare offerings to the gods, indeed, are these magnificent men! And such they will surely become if Mary, Santiago, or the ready genius of Cortés appears not quickly to the rescue! But how shall there be rescue? What rescue is there to the sinking ship alone in mid-ocean? Can this Cortés for the release of his comrades baffle death like Hercules for the release of Alcestis?

So it would seem. Behold yonder grand personage, borne aloft in open litter, high over the others, with plumed head-dress, and above it the gold-net standard, the *tlahuizmatlaxopilli*, set with precious feathers, and secured to his back by a staff, according to custom.[41]

[39] An ill-natured brute, which attacked the enemy with teeth and hoofs. He did good service all through the following campaign, till he fell in one of the last battles of the great siege. *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 172.

[40] 'Duró este terrible conflicto por mas de cuatro horas.... Llegado el medio dia, con el intolerable trabajo de la pelea, los españoles comenzaron á desmayar.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 132.

[41] 'En vnas Andas, vn Caballero mandando, con vna Rodela Dorada, y que la Vandera, y Señal Real, que le salia por las Espaldas, era vna Red de Oro, que los Indios llamaban Tlahuizmatlaxopilli, que le subia diez palmos.' *Torquemada*, i. 509. 'Su vandera tendida, con ricas armas de oro, y grandes penachos

This is the generalissimo of all the native forces there gathered, and around him are the flower of the army in feathered armor of rich designs, guarding with zealous care the banner, and encouraging the rest to renewed efforts and brave deeds. Cortés sees him, and his purpose for weal or woe is fixed almost before his comrades are aware of the chieftain's approach; for he comes as captain of the hounds to be in at the death of these Spanish foxes. Cortés is well aware of the importance attached by natives to the person of the general, and to the safe-keeping of the standard. In these centre all the hope of their armies: success is theirs so long as they remain; but once brought low, and the Indian regards all as lost. Even at this juncture Cortés does not fail to observe the increased firmness and spirit among the warriors as the banner approaches. Here, then, is the one chance more, which is all the brave man asks. With a quick motion to his mounted followers, pointing to the sacred insignia, and as if he would throw the whole might of Spain into his brief words, Cortés cries out: "Señores, let us break with them! In the name of God and St Peter, señores, let us close with them!" Not a man there but knew that the next moment would determine all, would determine the fate of every Spaniard in New Spain.

Throwing themselves with the compact force of one of their own cannon-balls against the heaving mass, they mow an instant path to the charmed centre. The wave of disorder strikes the sacred guard, while the unruly horse of Cortés, bearing him unresistingly onward, overturns the litter of the generalissimo, and hurls the bearers to the ground. "Victory!" shouts Cortés, when he recovers his breath; and "victory! victory!" echo his people, while Juan de Salamanca plunges his lance into the body of the prostrate chief,

de argenteria.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 108. Ixtlilxochitl calls the gold net *matlaxopili. Hist. Chich.*, 303. Camargo more correctly agrees with Torquemada.

and seizing the sacred banner, presents it to the general as his rightful trophy.[42]

The welcome cry of Cortés electrified the whole Spanish line, while the warriors lately so triumphant stood stupefied with dismay. With the disappearance of the palladium their courage had fallen, while the Spanish soldiers, with the confidence and strength of joy, rushed from wing to wing upon them. The warriors wavered; then, with one more searching glance in the direction of the guiding emblem, they became convinced that their leader had indeed fallen. Consternation followed; the panic from the centre overtook the more distant, and valiantly

[42] The accounts of this incident vary greatly. According to Bernal Dias 'Cortes dió vn encuẽtro cõ el cauallo al Capitã Mexicano, q̃le hizo abatir su vãdera....quiẽ siguiò al Capitan q̃ traia la vandera que aun no auia caido del encuentro que Cortes le diò, fue vn Juan de Salamanca, natural de Ontiueros, con vna buena yegua ouera, que le acabò de matar.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 108. The banner could not have fallen without the general. Gomara intimates that Cortés charged alone against the 'capitan general, y dio le dos lançadas, de que cayo y murio.' *Hist. Mex.*, 163. This is also substantially the view of Duran and Camargo. Herrera leaves the impression that Salamanca alone follows Cortés in the charge, and cuts off the head and banner of the commander after his chief had wounded and overthrown him. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiii. Torquemada, Clavigero, Prescott, and others, also assume that Cortés lances the generalissimo, but they let the cavalry follow. Sahagun, who obtained his information from participants that afterward became friars, merely states that Cortés and one other led the charge, which resulted in the overthrow of the general and his banner. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 132. Cortés is still more reticent in saying: 'quiso Dios que murió una persona dellos, que debia ser tan principal, que con su muerte cesó toda aquella guerra.' *Cartas*, 139. The assumption that Cortés overthrew the commander with his lance rests chiefly on the fact that Cortés as leader of the charge receives credit for everything that happens. Writers also forget that the commander was carried aloft in a litter the better to observe the movements of the army. His burdened carriers would with greater likelihood have been overthrown by the horses or in the disorder created by their advance. This supposition is confirmed by Cortés' reference to the affair, wherein he gives credit to none for the act, his usual custom when some one else performed a noteworthy deed. He was seldom chary in giving credit to himself for achievements, as may be gathered alone from his account of the stay in Mexico City, which announces that he it was who tore down the idols, who captured the temple after another had failed to do so, who single-handed covered the retreat of his comrades on the Tlacopan causeway on the morning preceding the flight, and who with less than a score that 'dared stay with him' protected the retreat of the last remnant from the city. The supposition receives further support from the permission given by the emperor to Salamanca to add to his escutcheon the trophy taken from the commander. This implies that although the victory was due to Cortés he could not have inflicted the mortal wound. Salamanca became alcalde mayor of Goazacoalco. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 108, 111.

as they had fought before, as cravenly did they now flee.[43]

Forgetful of wounds and hunger, and regardless of the imminent danger attending such a course, the Spaniards pursued the foolish fugitives, thrusting and slashing at them until they had killed twenty thousand—a round figure, truly, and one which accords well with the estimates of the entire force. But after all, what the natives had hitherto suffered must have been little compared with the present slaughter, for their dead lay very thick along the line of retreat. Hardly one among the Spaniards had come off scathless, while few of the poor Tlascaltecs were left to share in the rich spoils.[44]

After recalling the troops from their bloody pursuit, the first care of Cortés was to see that the wounded soldiers had rest and refreshment. Then a solemn thanksgiving service was held, and right earnestly did they all join in its offering. Cortés ascribed the victory to St Peter, as with his name on his lips he had made the miraculous charge. But Santiago was the soldiers' favorite, as they declared he was present and fought with them; and near the village of Tenexcalco a chapel was afterward erected to commemorate his appearance.[45]

Obviously this battle was the most important so far in the New World; and it must ever be regarded as one of the most remarkable in history. The natives were probably much less numerous than the estimates of the boastful victors; still they were immensely superior in number and condition to the Spaniards, enfeebled by recent defeat, by wounds, and want.

[43] 'Los principales, lleuarõ cõ grã llanto, el cuerpo de su general,' says Herrera; but this is doubtful, to judge also from his subsequent observations.

[44] 'Murieron....casi todos los amigos de los españoles, y algunos de ellos mismos.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 132. Solis acknowledges only wounded, of whom two or three died afterward. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 203. Cortés did not escape additional wounds, from which he was soon to suffer intensely.

[45] The natives were particularly ready to testify to this supernatural aid, as Camargo relates, *Hist. Tlax.*, 172, perhaps for their own credit, as good converts and brave warriors.

Further, the latter had no fire-arms wherewith to terrify the natives, only swords and pikes. Their main advantage lay in their horses, their discipline, and the genius of their leader;[46] all strengthened by the enthusiasm born of a national pride, and a certain knowledge that failure meant utter destruction.

Fatigued as all were, and weakened from battle, Cortés resolved nevertheless to push on toward Tlascala the same day, fearing that the enemy might be shamed into a rally, or receive such reinforcements to their already immense numbers as to encourage them to return. In this he was not mistaken, for Cuitlahuatzin had ordered Tezcuco, Chalco, and neighboring districts to send larger forces, and so insure an assumed victory for the Otumban army. The reinforcements appear to have been already in motion when news came of the defeat, accompanied by the rumor that a Tlascaltec army was on the way to aid the Spaniards. The hasty march eastward of the fugitives offered in itself sufficient encouragement for straggling marauders from the surrounding villages to follow in their wake and harass them with occasional missiles.[47]

By night the town of Temalacayocan[48] was reached, and here the army obtained some food and camped in and around the temple. Badly wounded as he was, Cortés took charge of the watch, for sleep had no power over his mind at that moment. Before him rose invitingly the ranges of the Tlascaltec border,

[46] 'Never,' writes Gomara, 'did a man show such prowess as he, and never were men so well led. He by his own personal efforts saved them.' *Hist. Mex.*, 163. 'Se tuuo la vitoria despues de Dios, por el valor de Cortés.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiii. While quite prepared to uphold the general as a hero, Bernal Diaz takes exception to this praise as unjust to his many followers, who not only did wonders in sustaining him, but in saving his life. *Hist. Verdad.*, 111.

[47] Ixtlilxochitl assumes that another army was encountered and routed with great slaughter, a few leagues ahead, at Teyocan. *Hist. Chich.*, 303.

[48] *Ixtlilxochitl.* Chimalpain calls it Apam, which appears to have been situated farther north. Lorenzana refers to all this extent as the plains of Apan, the name which it now bears. Camargo names the plains of Apantema, Tacacatitlan, and Atlmoloyan as traversed by the army to reach Tlascala. *Hist. Tlax.*, 172.

where he hoped to find a haven. It was only hope, however; for Cortés came not as before, heralded as the invincible conqueror, to whose bravery and deeds the warlike republic was delighted to offer homage; nor with the vision of the mighty Montezuma bending before him; nor with the prospect of entering to assume control of a great empire. All this was changed. He had lost his former prestige, and could present himself only as a fugitive to seek protection for a remnant of his army. And this at the hands of those who might yet smart under the stigma of defeat by a handful, and who might now find it prudent and convenient to accept the friendship and wealth of the victorious Aztecs. What if the people of Tlascala should reject him? "We were not very confident in finding the natives of the said province faithful and friends of ours," writes Cortés; "for we feared that they, on seeing us so dismembered, might seek our lives, in order to recover the liberty which they formerly enjoyed. This thought and fear kept us in as great an affliction as when we marched along harassed by those of Culúa."[49] Nevertheless he sought to cheer his men with hopes for the best, and to remind them how necessary it was, now above all, to guard their conduct so as to give rise to no jealousies or unpleasantness, since even a petty quarrel might raise a whirlwind to overwhelm them. Should God, however, not permit them to rest in Tlascala, they must recall their many glorious victories over greater forces than could henceforth be brought against them, and be prepared with stout hearts and vigorous arms to meet the issue.

The march was resumed in the morning with the usual precautions, although the pursuers fell off as the border was approached. Soon the Spaniards reached a fountain on the slope of a hill, close to an ancient fortress, which marked the boundary of the

[49] *Cartas*, 140. 'Pues quizà sabiamos cierto, que nos auian de ser leales, ò que voluntad ternian.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 108.

republic.[50] Resting there for a while, they drank of the water and were refreshed. Then they passed on to Hueyotlipan, a town of three or four thousand families, about four leagues from the capital.[51] Here food was obtained in sufficient abundance, yet not without the stimulus of presents. The women, however, were most sympathetic in their offers to tend the wounded, although only too many were deep in mourning and clamoring for vengeance for brothers, sons, or husbands, who had fallen during the retreat. The captains did their best to console them with the prospect of speedy victories, with bitter retaliation on the hated Aztecs. Whatever doubt yet remained of Tlascaltec disposition was dispelled in the afternoon by the arrival of the lords, including the ruler of Huexotzinco, with a large suite, bearing provisions and other presents, and cheering the hearts of the discomfited with the most cordial greeting. They still showed admiration for the white heroes, and extended a sympathy for their sufferings which displayed itself even to tears. This feeling was particularly strong in Maxixcatzin, the most powerful of the four chiefs, who gently upbraided Cortés and his captains for not having listened to his warnings. Remonstrances were now out of place, however, and he and his could only bid them welcome, and tender their estates and services. They were to regard themselves as in their own house. Their escape from the plots and overwhelming forces of the Mexicans had raised them and their prowess in the estimation of the Tlascaltecs, and they were prepared, as friends and as vassals of the Spanish king, to shed their last drop of blood in the task of avenging the common injury suffered at the hands of their ancient enemies. How inexpressibly dear is the prospect of revenge! The hatred of the

[50] Brasseur de Bourbourg gives to a village here the name of Xaltelolco. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 352. Ixtlilxochitl refers to it as Huexoyotlipan, and states that Citlalquiauhtzin came up with food and presents from the lords.

[51] Cortés calls the town Gualipan; Bernal Diaz, Gualiopar; Gomara, Huazilipan; Herrera gives it 2000 houses.

Tlascaltecs for the Mexicans was too deep to be smothered by one reverse, and the desire to avenge their fallen brethren intensified it. When the news came of the hostile gathering at Otumba they had endeavored to procure reinforcements for their allies, but had not been able to collect a sufficient number in time.[52]

Cortés was deeply moved by the kind expressions and offers accorded him, and sought in every way to strengthen this so vital friendship. He exhibited profound grief over the death of so many Tlascaltec allies, and sympathized in particular with Maxixcatzin over the loss of his daughter Elvira, who had fallen with her husband Velazquez. He also distributed presents, chiefly such as had been obtained from the Otumba battle-field, and induced his men to follow the example. Maxixcatzin's heart was completely won by the gift of the banner taken from the Mexican generalissimo,[53] and other chiefs were gladdened with different trophies. The troops remained at Hueyotlipan for three days,[54] in order to recruit somewhat, and then, assisted by a number of carriers, they passed

[52] 'Yo queria,' said Maxixcatzin, 'yr en vuestra busca con treynta mil guerreros.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 109. This is confirmed by the Aztec version of Duran, which says that the rumor of Tlascaltec preparations helped to intimidate the proposed Mexican reinforcements for Otumba. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 483. According to Oviedo, 50,000 warriors, followed by 20,000 carriers, met the Spaniards at the frontier. iii. 514. Camargo extends the number to 200,000, 'who came too late, but served nevertheless to check pursuit from the enemy.' *Hist. Tlax.*, 173. Gomara stamps Oviedo's statement as hearsay, but adds that the Tlascaltecs declared themselves prepared to return with the Spaniards at once against Mexico. This Cortés declined to do for the present, but allowed a few soldiers to join a band in pursuit of marauding stragglers. *Hist. Mex.*, 164. The delay in collecting the proposed reinforcements may have been due to the small faction hostile to the Spaniards, headed by the captain-general, Xicotencatl the younger, who seems never to have forgiven the disgrace of defeat which they had been the first to inflict upon him. He had accompanied the lords to Hueyotlipan, perhaps to gloat over the misfortune of his victors. According to Herrera, Captain Juan Paez—Torquemada writes Perez—was one of the invalids at Tlascala, and to him 100,000 warriors had been offered to go to the aid of his general; but he declined, on the ground that his strict orders were to remain with his 80 men at Tlascala. For this he was naturally upbraided by Cortés as a coward, fit for hanging. The story is not very probable. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiv.; *Torquemada*, i. 512.

[53] 'Que estimó él mucho, y puso por una de sus armas.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 303.

[54] *Cortés, Cartas*, 140. Bernal Diaz intimates one day.

on to the capital. Here the whole population came forth, headed by the lords, to welcome them, with music, and flowers, and acclamations.[55] Cortés was taken in charge by Maxixcatzin and lodged in his palace; Alvarado became the guest of old Xicotencatl, and the others received every attention. The reception concluded with a series of festivities.[56]

[55] 'Cō mas de duzientos mil hombres en orden: yuan las mugeres, y niños, en la delantera.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiii. This order may have been intended to signify peace and welcome.

[56] Camargo differs from Bernal Diaz, in intimating that all were lodged in Maxixcatzin's palace, while Ixtlilxochitl assumes that Cortés was the guest of Xicotencatl. 'Magiscacin me trajo una cama de madera encajada, con alguna ropa....y á todos hizo reparar de lo que él tuvo.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 141.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

INVALUABLE FRIENDSHIP.

JULY–SEPTEMBER, 1520.

DIVERS DISASTERS TO THE SPANIARDS—MEXICO MAKES OVERTURES TO TLASCALA—A COUNCIL HELD—TLASCALA REMAINS TRUE TO THE SPANIARDS—DISAFFECTION IN THE SPANISH ARMY—CORTÉS AGAIN WINS THE SOLDIERS TO HIS VIEWS—RENEWAL OF ACTIVE OPERATIONS AGAINST THE AZTECS—SUCCESS OF THE SPANISH ARMS—LARGE REINFORCEMENTS OF NATIVE ALLIES—ONE AZTEC STRONGHOLD AFTER ANOTHER SUCCUMBS.

AT Tlascala were certain invalid Spaniards, who praised the natives for their kind treatment, and for the almost universal sympathy exhibited with regard to the misfortunes at Mexico. The army now learned that disaster had also befallen the Spaniards in other parts of the country. The news of the flight had spread with marvellous rapidity, and Cuitlahuatzin's envoys had not failed to magnify the successes of his arms while urging throughout the country the extermination of the invaders. This advice had found ready acceptance in the provinces west and south of Tlascala, which had additional reasons for hostility in the assumption of the little republic since she became the ally of the strangers.

Shortly after the departure of the army from the coast a party of fifty men with five horses had followed with baggage and valuables. At Tlascala a portion of them, with two horses, under Juan de Alcántara senior, received the portion of treasure set aside during the late repartition for the coast garrison, estimated at sixty thousand pesos. With this they set out on their return to Villa Rica, accompanied by a few in-

valids. On the way they were surprised and slaughtered, the treasures and effects being distributed as spoils.[1]

The larger division of the party, under the hidalgo Juan Yuste,[2] which were to join Cortés, also picked up some convalescents, together with additional treasure and baggage, and proceeded to Mexico by the way of Calpulalpan. They numbered five horsemen, forty-five foot-soldiers, and three hundred Tlascaltecs, the latter under command of one of Maxixcatzin's sons. Advised of their approach the natives of Zultepec, among others, were induced, more by cupidity than patriotic zeal, to form an ambuscade along the steep declivity of a narrow pass which had to be followed. Here they fell upon the party on all sides as they descended in single file, encumbered beside by their burdens. Resistance was ineffective, and those not slain were carried to Tezcuco to be offered up to the idols, while their effects were distributed, some of the trophies being dedicated to temples of the Acolhuan capital, there to tell the mournful tale to the returning conquerors.[3]

[1] This appears to have taken place on the Xocotlan road, followed by the Spaniards on first entering the country, for in the temple of this town, says Bernal Diaz, were found the saddles and other trophies. He estimates the treasure lost at 40,000 pesos. *Hist. Verdad.*, 108, 116–117; *Lejalde, Probanza*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 425.

[2] Herrera writes, under Iuste and Morla. If correct there were two Morlas.

[3] Herrera copies this account, but gives also another in an earlier chapter, which leads one to suppose that Yuste and a few companions escaped to the mountains. They either perished of hunger or were captured at some settlement while offering the remnant of their treasures for food. An inscription by Yuste on a piece of bark recorded their sufferings. 'Por aqui passò el desdichado Iuan Iuste, con sus desdichados compañeros, con tãta hambre, que por pocas tortillas de mayz, diò vno vna barra de oro, que pesaua ochocientos ducados.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiii.; dec. iii. lib. i. cap. v. Torquemada repeats both versions. i. 530–1. Peter Martyr and Gomara are also confused, allowing the Yuste party in one page to fall at the pass, and on another to turn back to Villa Rica from Tlascala. *Hist. Mex.*, 165, 181–2. A misinterpretation of a vague passage by Cortés is the cause of the mistake, into which nearly every writer has fallen. The party carried, according to the *Cartas*, 141, 183–4, a number of agreements with the natives, and other valuable documents, beside Cortés' personal effects and valuables, worth over 30,000 pesos de oro. Bernal Diaz says three loads of gold. The inhabitants said that people from Tezcuco and Mexico had done the deed to avenge Cacama. But none except the natives of the district could have had time to gather for the attack.

About this time a vessel arrived at Villa Rica with three or four score of adventurers, under Captain Coronado, and being told of the fabulously rich Mexico they resolved to lose no time in following the army, in order to secure a share of treasures. It was just after the flight from Mexico, and the provinces were in arms, elated at the triumphs at the lake. On approaching the Tepeaca district the party was surprised, and partly slaughtered, partly captured, the prisoners being distributed among the towns of the province for sacrifice.[4]

These reports created no small alarm for the safety of Villa Rica, and several Tlascaltec messengers were sent with letters, by different routes, to bring news. Orders were also given to the comandante to forward powder, fire-arms, bows, and other necessaries that he could spare, together with some men, sailors, if no others were available. The reply was reassuring, for although the natives had fuller particulars of the disaster at Mexico than Cortés had chosen to impart to the garrison, yet everything remained quiet. The

[4] Herrera places the number of the party at 50 or 60. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xv. Bernal Diaz speaks of the slaughter in Tochtepec of 72 men and 5 women, and he leaves the impression that they were a part of the Narvaez force which had followed the army at their leisure. *Hist. Verdad.*, 108. This is no doubt the party described in the text. Yet Herrera, in cap. xvii., refers to the destruction at Tochtepec of a force of 80 men under Captain Salcedo, who was sent to reduce this province a few months later. This incident, mentioned by no other original authority, may be identical with the preceding. Had the party in question belonged to the original force of Narvaez it would have accompanied Yuste and Alcántara. Such not being the case, it must have arrived after their departure. This receives confirmation from Gomara's statement that several small parties, who had been attracted to New Spain by Cortés' conquests, were killed in Tepeaca and Xalacinco. *Hist. Mex.*, 173. The narratives of Bernal Diaz and Cortés specify some of these, numbering from ten to eighteen men, who fell at Quecholac, Tepeaca, and other places. It is not likely that so many small parties could have arrived on the coast during the short interval of Cortés' departure from Cempoala and his retreat to Tlascala; nor that they would have ventured in small numbers into a strange country, during so unquiet a period; nor would a mere dozen have been allowed to penetrate so far as Tepeaca ere they met their fate. Hence they must have belonged to the large party spoken of in the text, whose members, dead or captive, were distributed among the different towns which had aided in their defeat. This appears to be the only way to reconcile the differing statements, which have so confused every writer as to lead them into apparent blunders or into the omission of facts. See *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, ii. 99; *Prescott's Mex.*, ii. 409–10; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 353–5.

remittance of war material was small, and the men who convoyed it numbered less than a dozen, men stricken by disease, and led by Lencero, who became the butt of the *drôles de corps*.[5]

Every attention and comfort was tendered at Tlascala to the Spaniards while caring for their wounds and awaiting the development of projects. Hardly a man had arrived scathless, and quite a number had received injuries which maimed them for life or resulted in death.[6] Cortés' wounds were most serious. The indomitable spirit which sustained him so far now yielded with the failing body. Severe scalp cuts brought on fever,[7] which caused his life to hang in the balance for some time. Finally his strong constitution and the excellent empiric methods of the native herb doctors prevailed, to the joy, not alone of Spaniards, but of Tlascaltecs, who had shown the utmost anxiety during the crisis.

During this period of Spanish inaction the Mexicans were energetically striving to follow up their blow against the invaders. The first act after ridding the capital of their presence was one of purgation, in which the victorious party fell on those whose lukewarmness, or whose friendly disposition toward Montezuma and his guests, had hindered the siege operations and aided the enemy. A tumult was soon raised, wherein perished four royal princes, brothers and sons of Montezuma,[8] whose death may be at-

[5] Bernal Diaz intimates that only two vessels remained of Narvaez' fleet, and one of these was now destroyed so that the crew might be sent to Tlascala. The reinforcements numbered four soldiers and three sailors, two of whom suffered from swollen stomachs, and the rest from venereal diseases. *Hist. Verdad.*, 109.

[6] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 109, mentions only four deaths.

[7] 'Se le pasmo la cabeça, o porque no le curaron bien, sacâdo le cascos: o por el demasiado trabajo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 162. Solis describes the progress of the cure with a minuteness that would do credit to a medical journal. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 212–14.

[8] The Cihuacohuatl, Tzihuacpopocatzin, Cipocatli, and Tencuecuenotzin. The account of this tumult is given in a memorial on the conquest by an Indian, possessed by Torquemada. i. 509–10. Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes Tzihuacpopocatzin and the Cihuacohuatl to be sons of Tizoc, and the last two

tributed to Cuitlahuatzin's desire to remove any dangerous rival to the throne. Not that this was a necessary precaution, since his standing, as a younger brother of Montezuma, and his successful operations against the Spaniards, were sufficient to raise him above every other candidate.[9] Furthermore, as commander-in-chief of the army and as leader of the successful party, he held the key to the position, and accordingly was unanimously chosen. About the same time Cohuanacoch was elected king at Tezcuco, in lieu of the younger brother forced on the people by Cortés, and Quauhtemotzin, nephew of Montezuma, rose to the office of high-priest to Huitzilopochtli. The coronation was the next prominent event,[10] for which the indispensable captives had already been secured from the fleeing army. What more precious victims, indeed, could have been desired for the inaugural than the powerful Spaniards and the hated warriors of brave Tlascala? And what grander site for the ceremony than the great temple, recovered from the detested intruders and purified from foreign emblems? In connection with this came a series of festivals.[11]

The utmost activity was displayed in repairing the damage caused by the Spaniards, and in fortifying the city and its approaches against a possible future invasion. The construction and discipline of the army were improved in some degree after the examples given by the Europeans; its tactics were revised, and its arms perfected with the aid of captured weapons,

to be the sons of Montezuma, the last named a bastard. Cipocatli, accepted by him as the other name for Asupacaci, the legitimate heir of the emperor, he assumes with Cano to have been murdered by Quauhtemotzin. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 345. But we have seen that Cortés appears more correct in saying that the prince fell with him during the Noche Triste. Brasseur de Bourbourg's assumption serves merely to show how hasty and untrustworthy his statements often are.

[9] Cortés assumes only two rivals, the natural sons of Montezuma, 'el uno diz que es loco y el otro perlático.' *Cartas*, 153.

[10] Twenty days after Montezuma's death. *Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones*, 413, 304.

[11] Of which Sahagun gives some account. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 137. See also *Torquemada*, i. 511.

the Chinantec pike being also introduced and tipped with Toledo blades or other metal points. Envoys were despatched to near and distant provinces, bidding for their support by remission of taxes and tributes, by restoration of conquered territories, by patriotic appeals, and by roseate views and promises.[12] The Spaniards were painted as selfish, perfidious, and cruel, intent on conquering the whole country, on enslaving the people, on extorting their substance, and on overthrowing social and religious institutions. Spoils and heads of Spanish men and horses were sent round to disabuse the people of their supposed invulnerability; and as a further encouragement the dreaded Cortés was declared to have fallen.

The most important missions were those to Michoacan and Tlascala, the former an independent kingdom of considerable extent, stretching westward beyond the lake region to the Pacific, over an undulating, well watered territory, which abounded in all the resources of a rich soil and a tropic climate. The inhabitants, the Tarascos, were distinct from the Aztecs in language, but fully their equals in culture, which was of the Nahua type, and as a rule successful in resisting the armed encroachments of the lake allies. The present ruler was Zwanga, who held court at Tzintzuntzan, on Lake Patzcuaro. He received the embassadors of Cuitlahuatzin with due attention, but hesitated about the answer to be given. The Aztecs had from time immemorial been the enemies of his people, and to aid them would surely bring upon him the wrath of the Spaniards, who must still be powerful, since the Mexicans came to plead for his alliance. In this dilemma it was resolved, with the advice of the council, to send plenipotentiaries to Mexico, in order to learn more fully the condition of affairs, and there determine what should be done.[13]

[12] 'Él les hace gracia por un año de todos los tributos y servicios que son obligados á le hacer.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 155; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 173.

[13] *Beaumont, Crón. Mech.*, MS., 68 etc.; *Native Races*, ii. 107–8; v. 508 et seq.

More decisive in its results was the mission to Tlascala. Regarded as the most important of all, it was intrusted to six prominent men, of acknowledged talent for negotiation. They came fortified with choice presents of robes, feathers, salt, and similar desirable commodities, and were received with customary courtesy by the assembled lords and council. The eldest was the first to speak. He recalled the intimate relationship between Mexico and Tlascala in blood and language, deplored the feud which had so long existed, and urged the establishment of permanent peace, for mutual benefit, whereby the Tlascaltecs would gain all the advantages of a long prohibited trade. One obstacle alone interposed to prevent a happy harmony, which was the presence of the Spaniards, to whom was due the unfortunate condition of the whole country. Their only aim was to make themselves masters, to overthrow the gods of the natives, to enslave the inhabitants, and impoverish them by exactions.

The Tlascaltecs would after rendering service be treated with the same base ingratitude and perfidy as the over generous Montezuma, and reap not only universal detestation, but the anger of the gods. Better, therefore, to seize the present favorable opportunity to deliver themselves from dreadful calamities, to establish prosperity and independence on a firm basis, and by a joint alliance recover the alienated provinces and share the revenues therefrom.[14] The first step to this desirable end was the destruction of the Spaniards, now at their mercy, whereby they would gain also the gratitude of neighboring peoples, the fame of patriots, and the blessing of the gods.

The speech delivered, together with the presents, the envoys withdrew to let the council deliberate. Bitter as was the enmity between the two peoples, intensified by the recent defeat, there were not want-

[14] 'Entrarian en parte de todas las rentas de las provincias sugetas por el imperio.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 304.

ing persons to whom the argument and offers seemed all that the most brilliant fortune could bring. What, indeed, had they in common with a strange race by whom they had been conquered, and whose presence portended many changes in their social and religious institutions, transmitted by their forefathers, and upheld with the blood of generations? Their independence would be endangered. Besides, the invaders had been shamefully defeated, and might never again hold up their heads. The whole country was mustering to drive them out, and, if successful, woe to Tlascala, as their ally. In any case a struggle was in prospect, wherein their sons and brethren would be sacrificed by the thousands. And for what? For the benefit of strangers, always ready with their yoke of slavery. On the other hand, they were offered the peace so long desired, with its accompanying blessings; deliverance from the trade blockade and seclusion which had so long afflicted them, together with the attractive adjunct of assured independence, and the triumphant and profitable position of conquering allies of the Mexicans.[15]

The strongest advocate of these views was Xicotencatl junior, who had never forgotten the several Spanish victories that checked his triumphal career as soldier and general, and humiliated him in the eyes of the whole people. Yet this feeling was tinged with love for the independence and welfare of the country, threatened, in his eyes, by the invaders. With the news of disaster at Mexico his party had assumed respectable proportions. Some of its members were impelled by motives similar to his own; some were bribed by Mexican gifts, and promises of wealth and preferment; some were tempted by the arms, baggage, and treasure of the fugitives, whom it seemed

[15] 'Tanto supieron decir á la señoría estos embajadores, que casi toda ella, ... la redugeron á su voluntad y deseo.' Old Xicotencatl being one of the most devoted. *Id.* Herrera also assumes that this chief favors the Mexicans, but the supposition is due to confounding the two men of this name. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiv.

easy now to overcome. Not a few considered the burden of maintaining a horde of strangers, with the prospect of afterward yielding them service and blood for their aggrandizement. When the collectors of provisions for the Spaniards made their rounds they could not but observe the bitter feeling which prevailed in some quarters.[16] The elder Xicotencatl appears to have remonstrated with his son for breeding trouble; but this availed little, as may be supposed. During the deliberation of the council on the Mexican proposal the young chieftain stepped beyond the timid suggestions of those who inclined toward an Aztec alliance, and boldly advocated it as the only salvation for Tlascala.

Next spoke the wise Maxixcatzin, the leading representative of the republic. In his chivalrous nature devotion to the Spaniards exercised an influence, while as ruler of the richest district, in agriculture and trade, he had also an eye to the benefits which would accrue from an alliance with them. He recalled the many instances of treachery and want of good faith on the part of the Mexicans to show how little their promises could be relied on. It was merely the presence of the Spaniards that prompted their offer of alliance, which was to restore Mexico to its former terrorizing strength. This accomplished, the ancient enemy would not fail to remember that Tlascala, in addition to the old-standing enmity, had been one of the chief instruments in their late suffering and humiliation, and had figured as conqueror and master over them. They would lose no time in avenging themselves, and by the destruction of the republic remove forever so dangerous an enemy. Far better, then, to maintain the friendship of the Spaniards, whose good faith had been tried, and whose prowess was not broken by one defeat. Previous to their arrival they had been suffering from the want even

[16] 'A q̄ venistes, a comernos nuestra hazienda, anda que boluistes destroçados de Mexico, echados como viles mugeres.' *Id.*

of necessaries, and had been exposed to incessant ravages and warfare, which threatened their very existence. With the Spaniards' aid they had been freed from this want and danger; they had enriched themselves with trade and spoils, and had raised the republic to the most prominent position it had ever occupied, all far beyond what the Mexicans would ever permit. What did the gods say? Oracles and omens had foretold the doom of the empire. It was in vain to struggle with fate, which had decreed the control to the new-comers. The interests of the state demanded the friendship of these destined victors, who offered them wealth and glory, while good faith and honor demanded loyalty to the invited guests, from whom so many benefits had already sprung.

Observing the effect of the appeal on the wavering members, young Xicotencatl hastened to defend his cherished plans, but with such imprudence as to rouse Maxixcatzin to strike him. He was thereupon jostled out of the council-chamber, badly bruised and with torn clothes.[17] Against this expulsion none of his sup-

[17] Bernal Diaz assumes that the young chief had been brought before the council a prisoner, to be arraigned for his machinations. His father was so deeply incensed against him as to decree his death, but the other chiefs were lenient out of respect for the father; the conspirators were arrested. *Hist. Verdad.*, 109–10. A later writer states, on doubtful authority, that the chieftain was also removed from the command of the army; and Solis assumes that the act of jostling him down the steps in the council-hall was the form of degradation, which took place during a special session, after the deliberation. He appealed to Cortés, who caused him to be reinstated. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 220–3. According to Camargo, the elder Xicotencatl had ceded his place as ruler to the son, owing to his advanced age. *Hist. Tlax.*, 173–4. In such a case no imprisonment or degradation could have been admitted; perhaps in no case, since he merely advocated what he considered to be the best for the country. Duran states that he was surrendered to Cortés, who 'le puso en prisiones, y creo que al cabo le mandó matar,' *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 485, a statement which may have aided to confuse Gomara, who allows Cortés to execute him already during his first stay at Tlascala. On the present occasion he lets Maxixcatzin strike the leader of the opposite faction. *Hist. Mex.*, 90, 164. His blunder and vagueness helped Herrera to confound the two Xicotencatls, and Brasseur de Bourbourg to attribute to father and son the same opinion. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 365–7. This is also the view of Ixtlilxochitl. The discussion was held in the hall or oratory of Xicotencatl, where Cortés had planted the cross. While Maxixcatzin was advocating the Spanish cause a cloud settled on the cross and darkened the room. This miracle encouraged the orator, who threw down the younger Xicotencatl and won all to his side. The Mexican envoys were now dismissed with a refusal, whereupon the

porters ventured to remonstrate, and the vote being unanimously in favor of Maxixcatzin's views, the Aztec envoys were notified accordingly.[18] How momentous this discussion! And did the council of Tlascala realize the full import of their acts? For thereby they determined the present and permanent fate of many powerful nations besides themselves. Undoubtedly the country would at some time have fallen before the dominant power; but, had it been possible for the nations of the great plateau to combine and act in unison, very different might have been their ultimate condition. Cortés and his company owed their safety to a decision which kept alive discord between the native tribes, while the Tlascaltecs were saved from what probably would have been a treacherous alliance, perhaps from annihilation, only to sink into peaceful obscurity and merge into the mass of conquered people.[19] They endeavored to keep the disagreement in the council-chamber a secret from Cortés, but he heard of it, and failed not to confirm Maxixcatzin in his devotion by holding forth the most brilliant prospects as the result of this alliance. The

cloud dissipated, leaving the room bright and the cross resplendent, and attracting many believers. *Hist. Chich.*, 304–5. Sahagun allows Xicotencatl, chief among the lords, to attack the second lord for urging the murder of the Spaniards. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 138.

[18] With reference to the attack on Xicotencatl in the council-chamber, Herrera says, 'Sin tener los Mexicanos otra respuesta se boluieron, con relacion de lo que passaua,' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiv., a sentence which Clavigero elaborates into a flight of the envoy on observing the agitation of the people. 'E' però da credersi, che il Senato mandasse degli Ambasciatori Tlascallesi per portar la risposta.' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 149. Prescott and others also suppose that they fled; but this is unlikely, since personages so conspicuous as envoys could hardly have escaped from the centre of the republic without the knowledge of the senate, who had, beside, given them a guard, as well for their honor and protection as for preventing the undue exercise of their curiosity. Envoys enjoyed great respect among these peoples. Camargo and Ixtlilxochitl assume more correctly that the envoys were notified and dismissed.

[19] Tlascala sealed her enslavement, as some view it, ignoring national interests for the sake of shameful revenge. Behold now the punishment in her decay, and in the odium cast on her descendants by other peoples. So says Bustamante, in *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 140. They have certainly dwindled away ever since Cortés began to scatter them as colonists in different directions; but this was the natural and inevitable consequence of the presence of the stronger element. During Spanish dominion they enjoyed some slight privileges, and since then no odium has attached to them except in casual references to the conquest by prejudiced writers.

words by which the council decided for Cortés were to him as drops of perspiration on the lately fevered brow, which tell that the crisis is passed.

There was another cloud about this time appearing on the horizon of the fortunes of Cortés. During his stay at Tlascala the men of Narvaez began again to moot the subject of return. The golden vision of Mexico's treasures had been rudely dissipated, leaving only the remembrance of hardships and disgrace. The flowery Antilles appeared more alluring than ever to these gold-seekers, only too many of whom were more accustomed to the farm than to the camp. They could think of nothing but the ease and security of the fertile plantations, where nature unloaded its wealth, and where docile natives ministered to every want. In furtherance of this idea it was urged on Cortés, by Duero and other leaders, to retire to Villa Rica before the Mexicans had succeeded in their efforts to cut off his retreat. There they would intrench themselves while awaiting aid from the islands and arranging a fresh campaign, having the vessels to fall back on, if necessary. But to these intimations Cortés would not for a moment listen. And there were many reasons for this—his ambition to be all or nothing in this enterprise, his crimes against Velazquez, his irregularities regarding the king's interests, which only brilliant success could redeem. As well might they talk to the unyielding hills; he would join his dead comrades in the canals of Mexico, or voluntarily ascend to the sacrificial stone, but he would not turn back from this adventure.

When the general revealed his firm intention to renew the campaign as soon as possible, the outcry became loud. The Noche Triste and the narrow escape at Otumba had left impressions too horrible to be easily forgotten. They shuddered at the thought of renewing such risk, and cursed the gold which had allured them to former discomfitures. If the general wished to throw away his life he might do so, but

they were not such madmen. Moreover, it was highly imprudent to place so much faith in the Tlascaltecs, who might at the first encounter with the enemy abandon or betray allies differing so greatly in language, religion, and customs. A formal demand was therefore addressed to him, through the notary, to return to Villa Rica, on the ground of their small number and dismembered condition, devoid as they were of clothing, arms, ammunition, and horses, and with so many maimed and wounded. They were wholly unfit to undertake any campaign, much less against an enemy who had just defeated them when they were far stronger in number and armament than now. Declared, as it was, in the name of the army, though in truth by the men of Narvaez only,[20] and headed by such persons as Duero, with invocation of the imperial name, the proposal placed Cortés in a dilemma. Yet it roused in him only a firmer determination. He was more master now than ever he could be under the new proposal; and Cortés loved to be master. The same reasons which had moved him before to advance into Mexico in quest of independent fame and wealth, and to evade the prospective disgrace and poverty, imprisonment and death, were reasons stronger now than ever.

Here was another of those delicate points on which the destiny of the Estremaduran seemed ever turning. Rousing himself to meet the issue, though still weak with disease, he summoned an audience. "What is this I hear?" he asked of the assembled soldiers. "Is it true that you would retire from the fertile fields of New Spain, you, Spaniards, Castilians, Christians! leave the ship-loads of gold which in the Aztec capital we saw and handled; leave still standing the abomi-

[20] 'En nombre de todos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 166. Whereat Bernal Diaz is exceedingly wroth. 'We, the old soldiers, stood by Cortés,' he asserts, 'and Gomara's omission to say so is intended to exalt him at our expense.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 110. Cortés himself intimates that the request was general. *Cartas*, 142. But Herrera more justly attributes it to 'la mayor parte.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiv.

nable idols with their bloody ministers, and tamely summon others to enjoy the riches and glories which you are too craven to achieve? Alack! for your patriotism, for duty to your emperor, to God, for the honor of Spanish arms! Know you not that one step further in retreat than necessary is equivalent to the abandonment of all? Or perhaps the fault is my own. I have been too careful of mine ease, too cowardly to expose my person to the dangers into which I directed you; I have fled before the foe—help me to remember, friends—I have left my comrades to die unaided on the battle-field while I sought safety, I have fed while you starved, I have slept while you labored, or my too sluggish brain has refused the duty due by your commander." The speaker paused, but only for a moment. At this, the very beginning of his plea, a hundred eyes were affectionately regarding him through their moisture, a hundred tongues were denying all insinuations of baseness as applied to him, their great and brave commander. Already their hearts were aflame with avarice and ambition; aflame, like St Augustine's, with Christian zeal and fervency of devotion, soldier fanatics as they were, stern, forehead-wrinkled men—for fighting men, no less than fighting dogs, display a gravity in their every-day demeanor unknown to tamer spirits. "Are not my interests yours, and yours mine?" continued Cortés. "Therefore, I pray you, ascribe not my views to disregard of your wishes, but to a desire to promote the good of all. What people going to war that does not sometimes suffer defeat; but what brave men ever abandoned a glorious campaign because of one repulse? And do you not see that it is more dangerous to go than to remain—that to retreat further would only invite further attack? I will not allude before soldiers of mine," concluded the speaker, "to the everlasting infamy of abandoning these brave Tlascaltecs to the enmity of the combined forces of the plateau for having stood the Spaniards' friend in time of danger.

Go, all of you who will! abandon your sacred trusts, and with them the riches in mines, and tributes here awaiting you, and fair encomiendas, with countless servants to attend before your new nobility; for myself, if left alone, then alone will I here remain and general Indians, since Spaniards have all turned cowards!"

Hearts of steel could not withstand such words so spoken; and loud came the shouts of approval from Cortés' old comrades, who swore that not a man should be allowed to endanger the common safety by leaving. This manifestation was in itself sufficient to shame the disaffected into resignation, although not into silence, for mutterings were frequent against the quality of persuasion employed by the general and his beggarly followers, who had nothing to lose except their lives. In order somewhat to allay their discontent Cortés promised that at the conclusion of the next campaign their wishes should be consulted, and the first favorable opportunity for departure be tendered them—a cool proposal, affecting only those who would be left of them, yet made with sober visage by the artless Cortés.[21]

[21] 'Si mal nos sucediere la ida [of the next campaign] hare lo que pedis: y si bien, hareis lo que os ruego.' Thus Cortés, by his skill and firmness, saved not only the conquest but the lives of his men, which must have been sacrificed in a retreat. Had they reached Villa Rica they would not have remained there, but would have passed on to the islands, thus abandoning the country. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 167. Most of the points in the above speech are to be found in the lengthy harangue prepared by this author. Oviedo's is weaker, and loses itself in repetitions and crude elaborations, adorned with learned references ill suiting a soldier addressing rude men, although not altogether inconsistent with Cortés' love of display. Toward the conclusion is said: 'If any one there is who still insists on leaving, let him go; for rather will I remain with a small and brave number than with many, if composed in part of cowards and of those who respect not their honor. Even if all fail in their duty I shall not. We shall now know who, being of us, will drink water from the hand, and who will kneel to drink with the face to the ground, so that they may be bidden to depart, as God said to Gideon.' *Oviedo*, iii. 332–3. The test, if ever intended, was not made, since all acquiesced. Solis, the inveterate speech-maker, has unaccountably subsided for this period; perhaps he is piqued at finding himself so fully anticipated. Cortés gives a brief synopsis of what he indicates to have been a long speech. On no account would he commit so shameful, dangerous, and treasonable an act as to abandon the country. *Cartas*, 142–3; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 151; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xiv.

The determination of Cortés was now what it always had been, namely, to conquer and become master of all New Spain; and the greater the difficulty the greater the glory. Fearing that further evil might result from continued inactivity, and from remaining a burden on the allies, Cortés resolved to lose no time in taking the field.[22] In the fertile plains to the south of Tlascala lay the rich province of Tepeyacac,[23] euphonized into Tepeaca, long hostile to the republic. Intimidated by the subjugation of Tlascala and Cholula, the three brothers who ruled it[24] had tendered their submission to the conquerors, only to return to their old masters, the Aztecs, the moment fortune seemed to favor them. The latter had indeed, in connection with their other preparations, made particular efforts to stir the provinces round Tlascala and toward the coast, sending large garrisons to form centres for the native armies, the object being partly to cut off communication with the coast, so as to prevent reinforcements from reaching the Spaniards, and partly to effect a rear movement when it might be decided to attack the republic. Reinforcements had already been surprised in this region and slaughtered, as we have seen, and raids had been made on the allied frontier.

Here was all the cause the Spaniards required for attack, and as the country was for the most part open, the horsemen would have great advantage over na-

[22] 'Habiendo estado en esta provincia veinte dias, aunque ni yo estaba muy sano de mis heridas, y los de mi compañia todavia bien flacos, salí della.' *Cortés*, 143. Gomara follows, while Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 110, writes that after a stay at Tlascala of 22 days Cortés announced the determination to march on Tepeaca, which provoked murmurs from the men of Narvaez. Preparations for the campaign appear to have intervened before the march began, and negotiations with the province to be assailed. Herrera intimates that fully 50 days had passed before negotiations were opened. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xv.

[23] 'Significa Tepeyacac, remate, o punta de zerro,' owing to the position of the city at the end of a mountain range. *Id.*, cap. xxi.

[24] Their father, Chichtuc, had been sole ruler, but after his death the sons divided the province. *Id.* This author assumes that it was merely an ally of Mexico, but there is little doubt about its being tributary. 'Ixcozauhqui, le principal de ses trois chefs.' *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 368.

tive troops. Its subjugation, therefore, promised to be easy, and would secure the rear. The Tlascaltecs approved of beginning the campaign with the outlying provinces,[25] where the concentration of forces was smaller, and where the memory of Aztec misrule and oppression might readily induce the inhabitants to transfer their allegiance, so as to strengthen the conquerors and allure fresh allies. They were eager to begin the campaign, and offered a large force of warriors. Xicotencatl junior also evinced a promptness to coöperate, as if to remove any ill feeling that might have arisen from his machinations.[26] In order to thoroughly enlist their sympathies Cortés made an arrangement with the lords whereby a number of privileges were assured to their people, together with a fixed proportion of the spoils[27] to be obtained during the war.

The troops were mustered at Tzompantzinco, near Tlascala, amidst a large concourse of people. There were about four hundred and fifty Spanish soldiers, with nearly twenty horses, a few firelocks and field-pieces, and a number of cross-bows, but the arms were chiefly swords and pikes. The reinforcements consisted of six thousand Tlascaltecs, including a few Cholultecs and Huexotzincas, a larger force being prepared under Xicotencatl to follow later.[28] A demand had mean-

[25] The suggestion of thus opening the campaign is claimed by native historians for the Tlascaltec lords, Ixtlilxochitl naming Xicotencatl as the originator. *Hist. Chich.*, 303; *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 177.

[26] And out of gratitude for Cortés' intercession in his behalf, as Solis claims.

[27] Half of the booty obtained in all conquered countries, with incorporation of Cholula, Huexotzinco, and Tepeyacac. *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 176. This extent of jurisdiction is doubtful. 'Les haria en nõbre de su Magestad escriptura de conservarlos en sus tierras, y govierno,' is the moderate arrangement given in *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 146. When in 1655 an attempt was made to encroach on their rights they produced the document and obtained justice.

[28] Bernal Diaz, who alone enters into details, enumerates 420 soldiers, 4000 Tlascaltecs, 17 horses, and 6 cross-bows, without artillery or ammunition. *Hist. Verdad.*, 111. But this is hardly reliable, for a few lines before he refers to 440 men, and there is no doubt that some ammunition, field-pieces, and other war material must have been obtained from Villa Rica. Herrera speaks of muaketeers and 6000 allies, 50,000 more to follow. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xv.

while been sent to Tepeaca to confirm the oath of allegiance once tendered the Spanish sovereign and dismiss the Aztec garrisons, whereupon all past offences would be forgiven. The reply was a contemptuous refusal, with the threat that any attempt at coercion would bring upon the invaders worse punishment than they had received at Mexico, for they all would be dished up at the festive board. Every proposal being rejected, a formal notice was sent condemning the province to be chastised with sword, and fire, and slavery, for rebellion and murder of Spaniards.[29]

The army now advanced on Zacatepec, the first town on the Tepeaca border, where an ambuscade had been prepared in some maize fields. This was discovered in time to prevent a surprise, but a fierce encounter took place, wherein the horsemen did good execution, and victory was soon obtained, with slaughter of the flying. Ojeda, who had led the Tlascaltecs into the thickest of the fight, came during the pursuit to the residence of the cacique and planted there the republican flag, in token of capture. These warriors had suffered severely, owing in part to the use of large lances by the enemy, but the Spaniards had only a dozen wounded, beside two horses, one of which died.[30] During the three days' stay at

Gomara allows 40,000 allies to set out at once, with provisions and carriers. *Hist. Mex.*, 168. Ixtlilxochitl mentions only 4000, and names some of the leaders. *Hist. Chich.*, 305. Herrera states that a question arose as to the prudence of trusting so small a body of soldiers with so large a force of allies—which soon swelled to over 100,000—who might in case of disagreement overwhelm them. A council was held, which decided that the loyalty of the Tlascaltecs had been sufficiently tried, and that a small number of allies would be of no service. ubi sup., cap. xiv.

[29] Cortés' first messengers returned with two Mexicans, who brought the contemptuous reply. They were given presents, and told to summon the native chiefs to a parley. On their return with a threatening answer 'fue acordado,..por ante Escriuano...que se diessen por esclauos à todos los aliados de Mexico, que huviessen muerto Españoles.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 112. 'Respondieron que si mataron Españoles fue con justa razon, pues en tiempo de guerra quisieron passar por su tierra por fuerça, y sin demandar licencia.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 168.

[30] 'Tuuierõ los Indios amigos buena cena aquella noche de piernas, y braços, porque sin los assadores de palo, que eran infinitos, huuo cincuenta mil ollas de carne humana.' The Spaniards suffered from want of water and food. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xv. Rather a strong story. The Spaniards could

this town the neighborhood was reduced, with pillage and enslavement.

The next camp was formed at Acatzingo, which had been abandoned by the enemy after a short fight. These successes so discouraged the Mexican garrisons that they abandoned the province, and the allies, on marching straight for Tepeaca, five days later, entered it without opposition. This now became the headquarters for the different expeditions sent out to reduce the surrounding districts;[31] and rare work they made of it, plundering, and tearing down idols, and making captives. Salt, cotton, feather ware, and other commodities were abundant, and with their share therein the Tlascaltecs were highly delighted, but the Spaniards obtained little gold. The rulers of the country had fled; one of them to Mexico, to remonstrate against the retreat of the garrisons, and to demand additional aid. Finding themselves abandoned, the inhabitants sent to beg mercy of the conquerors, and being assured that no further harm should be done them, they returned to the city and again tendered allegiance. Several other towns were taken, some, like Tecalco, south of Tepeaca, being evacuated, others tendering submission in advance, while still others required hard fighting to subdue.

The reduction of the Tepeaca province, which was virtually accomplished in about a month,[32] produced an immediate and marked effect, not only on the natives, but on the late refractory Spanish soldiers.

not well suffer from hunger in the midst of maize fields, in harvest time. Oviedo takes occasion to dwell on the common practice of devouring the slain on the battle-field, thus saving the trouble of burial. iii. 334. 'Mi pare una favola,' is Clavigero's comment. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 152. See *Native Races*.

[31] 'Padeciendo siempre de agua, y comida.' *Herrera*, ubi sup. But this could hardly be the case in so rich a province, at this time.

[32] 'En obra de veinte dias hobe pacíficas muchas villas y poblaciones á ella sujetas....sin que en toda la dicha guerra me matasen ni hiriesen ni un español.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 143. 'En obra de quarenta dias tuvimos aquellos pueblos pacificos,' but with great hardship, 'porque de sangre, y polvo que estaua quajado en las entrañas, no echauamos otra cosa del cuerpo, y por la boca,' etc. *Bernal Dias, Hist. Verdad.*, 112–13.

The latter were reconciled to the prosecution of the conquest on finding the opening campaign so speedy and comparatively bloodless, and fresh confidence was infused into the Tlascaltecs, and new allies came forward, while the prestige of Spanish arms began again to spread terror among the enemy and open a way into other provinces. This was promoted by messengers, who carried promises of release from Aztec tyranny, and pointed out the fate of rebellious and stubborn Tepeacan towns. The Mexicans, who during the inactivity of the allies had grown somewhat lax in their efforts to conciliate subject provinces, now became more earnest, more free with presents and offers to remit tribute. These endeavors were greatly counteracted by their troops, however, whose insolence and greed drove the inhabitants to tacitly or openly favor the Spaniards.

The withdrawal of the Aztec garrisons from Tepeaca served to strengthen those on its frontier, particularly at Quauhquechollan,[33] ten or eleven leagues south-west of the new Spanish head-quarters, which protected the approach to the southern pass into the valley of Mexico.[34] Its province bordered on Huexotzinco and Cholula, and skirting the snow-crowned Popocatepetl it extended for some distance south and south-east of it. The lord,[35] who had tendered allegiance to Spain simultaneously with Montezuma, had recently sent in the assurance of his loyalty, with the explanation that fear of the Mexicans had prevented him from doing so before. A few days later came his messengers to ask protection against the Aztec garrisons, reinforced to the extent of some thirty thousand men,[36] who, from their camp within a league of the city, were plundering and committing

[33] The name of a beautiful bird, now San Martin de Huaquechula. This town was known to the Spaniards under the name of Guacachula.

[34] 'Á la entrada de un puerto que se pasa para entrar á la provincia de Méjico por allí.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 145. After the conquest it was moved to a more open site, three leagues south. *Torquemada*, i. 316.

[35] Calcozametl. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 372.

[36] Herrera reduces Cortés' figure to 20,000.

outrages. This appeal being quite in accord with the plans of Cortés, he at once complied by sending Olid and Ordaz, with two hundred soldiers, thirteen horses, most of the fire-arms and cross-bows, and thirty thousand allies.[37] It was arranged with the Quauhquechollans that they should begin the attack as soon as the Spaniards came near, and cut off communication between the city garrison and the adjoining camp.

Olid marched by way of Cholula, and received *en route* large accessions of volunteers, chiefly from the province to be aided and from Huexotzinco, all eager for a safe blow at the Aztecs, and for a share of the spoils. So large, indeed, was the enrolment that some of the ever timid men of Narvaez conjured up from this a plot for their betrayal into the hands of the Mexicans, with whom rumor filled every house at Quauhquechollan, making in all a larger number than at Otumba. The loyalty of the new province being wholly untried, and that of Huexotzinco but little proven, the alarm appeared not unfounded, and even the leaders became so infected as to march back to Cholula, whence the chiefs of the suspected allies were sent under guard to Cortés, with a report of the occurrence.[38] The latter examined the prisoners, and readily surmised the cause of the trouble; but, as it would not answer to dampen native ardor for the war by leaving them in that suspicion, he apologized for

[37] Bernal Diaz names Olid alone for the command, and Gomara adds Ordaz and Andrés de Tapia, while Herrera substitutes Ordaz and Avila. The latter is probably wrong in giving them 300 soldiers, and Peter Martyr errs, through his printer, perhaps, in allowing only 3000 allies.

[38] Cortés writes that this occurred in a town of Huexotzinco province, and that here the Spaniards were alarmed by the report of collusion between the Huexotzincas, the Quauhquechollans, and the Aztecs. The leaders described the expedition as difficult. *Cartas*, 146. Gomara follows, naming the captain who brought the chiefs captive to Cortés. *Hist. Mex.*, 169. Bernal Diaz points out very plausibly that Huexotzinco lay wholly out of the way; and, ignoring the accession of volunteers, he assumes that the report of a vast gathering of Mexican troops round Quauhquechollan was the cause for alarm, among the Narvaez party only. Olid appealed to their honor, and did all he could to encourage them, but failed. *Hist. Verdad.*, 112–13. Clavigero believes, on the other hand, that Olid caught the alarm as readily as the rest. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 154. The joining of Huexotzincas may have led to the belief that the march lay through their territory.

what had happened as a misunderstanding, smoothed their ruffled feelings with presents, and encouraged their zeal. With an additional force of one hundred soldiers and some horses he set out for Cholula to assume command in person, shaming the men out of their fears,[39] and accepting the large reinforcements which were offered on the way.

As soon as he came in sight, at the end of the valley, the Quauhquechollans, who had made their preparations in advance, fell on the garrison, securing at the same time the scouts and stragglers. The Aztecs resisted valiantly, encompassed though they were by assailants who filled the roofs and heights round the temple which formed the citadel. An entry was effected by the Spaniards, and the natives rushed upon the warriors with such fury that scarcely one was left to tell the tale. A number of the besieged, outside the citadel, had already fled toward the Aztec camp, whose battalions were now descending, brilliant in feathered mail and ornaments. Entering the further side of the city they began to fire it. Cortés was summoned to the rescue, and hurrying onward with the cavalry he soon routed their disorganized masses, leaving pursuit chiefly to the allies. At a certain pass the enemy rallied, to be dislodged within a few moments and cut off from their camp. Exhausted by battle and flight, under a broiling sun, they turned in disorderly scramble up the steep mountain slope, only to find themselves checked on the summit by fleeter bands of Quauhquechollans and other allies, and obliged to make a stand. By this time they could hardly raise their hands in self-defence, and the battle became little more than a butchery, during which scattered remnants alone managed to escape, leaving the rich garments and jewels of

[39] Bernal Diaz states that Cortés did not go, but sent Olid a sharp letter, which roused him to proceed with the expedition. But our chronicler was sick with fever all this time, and has evidently not been well informed. Cortés' description of the route and of different occurrences indicates that he must have been present.

the dead to stay the pursuers, who now, according to Cortés, numbered over one hundred thousand. Several Spaniards were wounded, and one horse killed.[40] The field being reaped, the victors entered the camp,[41] which was divided into three parts, each large enough, it is said, to form a respectable town, well appointed, with hosts of servants, supplies, and paraphernalia. Laden with spoils they returned to the city to receive a well merited ovation. The citizens were afterward rewarded with several privileges for their loyal aid;[42] deservedly rewarded, for without their coöperation the place could not have been captured without difficulty, since it lay between two rivers[43] coursing through deep ravines, and was shielded on one side by a steep mountain range. Beside its natural strength the city was protected by a breastwork of masonry, which extended toward the mountain and down into the ravines, forming here a smooth facing of some twenty feet, and rising in other places into a distinct wall of great height and width,[44] with a parapet. There were four entrances,[45] wide enough for one horseman only, with staircase approaches, and with maze-like lappings of the walls, which rendered it difficult to force an entrance. Along the walls lay piles of stones and rocks ready for the foe. The population was estimated at five or six thousand families, supported in part by a number of gardens within the city, and subject to it were three towns in the valley, containing an equal number of people.

Four leagues south of Quauhquechollan lay Itzocan,[46] a well built city, with a hundred temples, says

[40] 'Cayeron muchos dellos[enemy] muertos y ahogados de la calor, sin, herida ninguna, y dos caballos se estancaron, y el uno murió.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 149.

[41] 'En Mexinca.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 169.

[42] 'Y se les conservan el día de hoy,' says Lorenzana, in *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 160.

[43] 'Dos tiros de ballesta el uno del otro.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 150.

[44] 'Tres estados en alto, y 14. pies en ancho,' says Herrera, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvi. 'Alto como cuatro estados por de fuera de la ciudad, é por de dentro está casi igual con el suelo.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 150. Meaning, in places.

[45] Herrera says two.

[46] Later Izucar; now Matamoros.

Cortés, and a population of three or four thousand families, situated in a fertile, irrigated valley, which from the climatic protection afforded by the sheltering mountains included cotton as one of its staples, and had also some attractive gold mines. The place lay at the foot of a hill, surmounted by a strong turreted fort, and offered a striking resemblance to Málaga, it was said. The level sides were protected by the banks of a deep river, which here formed a semicircle, and all round the city ran a wall five feet high, well provided with towers and stone ammunition. The cacique was an alien, appointed by Montezuma, whose niece he had married, and possessed strong sympathies for the lake government, which maintained a fine garrison. To reduce the place, so as to root out a stronghold for the dissemination of Aztec influence, was of the first importance.

Thither, therefore, Cortés proceeded with his forces, including allies, who were by this time so numerous as to cover the plains and mountains, wherever the eye could reach, representing at least one hundred and twenty-five thousand men. On arriving before the city it was found occupied only by warriors, estimated at from five to eight thousand, the women and children having all withdrawn. Guided by natives the army passed to a point affording a comparatively easy entrance. The surprised garrison now thought less of resistance than of securing their retreat across the river. It was spanned by a bridge, but this the Spaniards destroyed as they fell upon them, and many of the unfortunate Aztecs took to the water in their confusion, only to add to the list of victims. The cavalry, swimming across with ease, overtook and arrested a large portion of the flying till the allies came up to aid in the slaughter.[47] Two captives were

[47] Bernal Diaz assumes that Olid is the sole leader; that he was here wounded, and lost two horses. Returning to Tepeaca he was received with great honor, and joined in laughing at the alarm which had caused the army to turn back at Cholula. He would never after have anything to do with the opulent and timid soldiers of Narvaez, he said. *Hist. Verdad.*, 114.

sent to offer pardon to the inhabitants, on the condition of their returning and remaining loyal. Soon after the chiefs came to make arrangements, and within a few days the city had resumed its wonted appearance.

Cortés thought it the best policy, in this frontier town of his conquest, to make a favorable impression by extending mercy, and with the rapid flight of his fame as an irresistible conqueror spread also his reputation as a dispenser of justice, lenient or severe, as the case might be. A number of caciques hastened accordingly to propitiate him, during his stay in this quarter,[48] by tendering submission and praying to be confirmed in authority. Among them came a deputation from the inhabitants of Ocopetlahuacan,[49] at the foot of Popocatepetl, who cast the blame for delay on their cacique. He had fled with the retreating Mexicans, and they disowned him, praying that the dignity might be conferred on his brother, who had remained, and who shared the popular desire for Spanish supremacy. After a judicious hesitation the request was granted, with the intimation that future disobedience would be severely chastised.[50]

Still more flattering overtures came from the caciques of eight towns in Cohuaixtlahuacan,[51] some forty leagues to the south, who had already tendered allegiance on the occasion when Pilot Umbría first

Gomara supposes that the bridge had been destroyed before the flight, so that few of the garrison escaped from the sword and the stream. *Hist. Mex.*, 171.

[48] Ixtlilxochitl extends the stay at Ytzocan alone to twenty days. *Hist. Chich.*, 305. Others make it less.

[49] Cortés calls it Ocupatuyo, which Lorenzana corrects into Ocuituco, and Torquemada into Acapetlahuaca, i. 315, while Clavigero insists that it should be Ocopetlajoccan. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 157.

[50] 'Vinieron asimismo á se ofrecer por vasallos de V. M. el señor de.... Guajocingo, y el señor de otra ciudad que está á diez leguas de Izzucan.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 152.

[51] This name is badly misspelled. Chimalpain identifies it with Huaxtéca, which is decidedly out of the way, *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 12, while Orozco y Berra stamps 'en verdad errónea' the suggestion of Lorenzana that it is Oajaca; but modern maps do place it in Oajaca, very slightly modified in spelling.

passed through that province in search of Zacatula's gold mines.[52]

Before leaving Itzucan, Cortés was called upon to appoint a successor to the fugitive cacique. The candidates were a bastard son of the late native cacique, whose death was due to Montezuma, and the son of the deceased ruler's legitimate daughter, married to the lord of Quauhquechollan. The general, being only too eager to please so loyal an ally, decided in favor of his son, on the ground of legitimacy; but since he was not yet ten years old, the regency was intrusted to the bastard uncle, aided by some chiefs.[53] The boy followed the army to imbibe Spanish ideas and instruction, and received baptism not long after, with the name of Alonso,[54] the first Christian prince in New Spain.

Another important yet troublesome expedition was to secure the road to Villa Rica, on which so many Spaniards had fallen, and which was still dangerous. It was intrusted to two hundred men, with ten horses, and a large force of allies.[55] The first reduction in this quarter had been Quecholac, where pillage and enslavement formed the retaliation for murders committed,[56] and Tecamachalco, which gave greater trouble before it fell, and yielded over two thousand slaves,

[52] They had always been loyal, they said, although deterred by fear of Mexico from sooner proclaiming it; the four remaining pueblos of the province would soon send in their allegiance. *Cortés, Cartas*, 152–3.

[53] The construction of sentences in *Cortés, Cartas*, 152, and the complex relationship, have misled nearly every one who notices this incident—as, *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 171; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 147; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 116*a*.

[54] Alonso Coltzin. *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 12. Ixtlilxochitl calls him Ahuecatzin. *Hist. Chich.*, 305. Alvarado stood sponsor. Terrified by some idle gossip, or by the preparations for his baptism, the boy asked the friar when he was to be sacrificed; but received comfort in a pious exhortation. *Torquemada*, i. 520.

[55] Herrera gives the command to Olid and Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte, the owner of the much disputed first madonna image, accompanied by Juan Nuñez, Sedeño, Lagos, and Mata. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvii. Olid may have been detached from Quauhquechollan after the first success had made troops less necessary; yet Herrera indicates that he set out before this expedition.

[56] 'En lo de Cachula fue adonde auian muerto en los aposentos quinze Españoles.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 112.

besides much spoil.[57] The chastisement of these districts had taught the easterly parts a lesson, so that more hardship than fighting was now encountered, for the march lay to a great extent through uninhabited tracts. It was in the region of Las Lagunas that some captive Spaniards had been denuded and fattened, and then goaded to death, like bulls in a ring, for the amusement of the natives. The bodies had then been devoured, a part of the flesh being jerked and distributed over the district as choice morsels, and pronounced savory. Forty of the most guilty tormentors were secured in a yard for execution. Informed of their fate they began to dance and sing, commending themselves quite cheerfully to the gods as they bent their heads to the sword.[58] How blessed the righteous when they die!

[57] B. V de Tapia, in his testimony against Cortés, states that about 6000 prisoners were sent to him from these districts by Olid, all of whom had surrendered without resistance, and that he ordered the men, 2000 in number, to be executed, the women and children being sold or distributed. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 59–60.

[58] 'Boluierõ a Tepeaca, y auiendo estado treynta dias en esta jornada hallaron a Hernando Cortes, que era buelto de Guacachula.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvii. These successes are said to have been dimmed by a severe defeat at Tochtepec, on Rio Papaloapan, whither Salcedo had been sent with 80 men. It was the *entrepôt* for trade in this region, and was held by a strong Aztec garrison, aided by native warriors with Chinantec pikes. Owing partly to the efficient use of this weapon, and partly to the carelessness of Salcedo, the troops were surprised and slaughtered to a man, after selling their lives as dearly as possible. The disaster being a blow also to Spanish prestige which it would never do to overlook, Ordaz and Avila were sent not long after with a larger force, some horses, and 20,000 allies, to exact retaliation in death, captivity, and rich spoil. The victors came back with ample plunder. *Herrera*, ubi sup. See note 4 this chapter for doubts on the massacre.

CHAPTER XXIX.

KING-MAKING AND CONVERTING.

OCTOBER–DECEMBER, 1520.

CONQUEST IN DETAIL—BARBA CAUGHT—OTHER ARRIVALS AND REINFORCEMENTS—THE SMALL-POX COMES TO THE ASSISTANCE OF THE SPANIARDS—LETTERS TO THE EMPEROR—ESTABLISHING OF SEGURA DE LA FRONTERA—CERTAIN OF THE DISAFFECTED WITHDRAW FROM THE ARMY AND RETURN TO CUBA—DIVISION OF SPOILS—HEAD-QUARTERS ESTABLISHED AT TLASCALA.

THUS all was going gayly with the Estremaduran once more. It was easy work overcoming the divided Aztec forces, which combined had proved so formidable. And there was little trouble now from factions. None advocated a station by the sea-side, with ships ready for flight; none thought of abandoning New Spain for Cuba. The simple presence of the general was as the shield of Abas, which performed so many marvels, and the mere sight of which could on the instant stay a revolt or reduce a province to submission.

The successes of the Spaniards were rapidly enlarging the fame and influence of their leader, bringing among other fruits, as we have seen, alliances and reinforcements, not alone from native sources, but from Spanish. The first accession of the latter was thirteen soldiers and two horses, brought in a small vessel under the hidalgo, Pedro Barba, formerly commandant at Habana. Commandant Rangel at Villa Rica had received instructions to secure any vessel that might arrive, both with a view to obtain recruits, and to prevent news from travelling to Cuba of the defeat of Narvaez, or other incidents. As the vessel en-

tered the roadstead he accordingly approached it in a well manned boat, with hidden arms. "How fares Narvaez?" was Barba's first inquiry. "Exceedingly well," replied Rangel. "He is prosperous and rich, while Cortés is a fugitive, with a score of miserable followers at the most; or he even may be dead." "All the better," rejoined Barba; "for I bear letters from the most magnificent Velazquez, with instructions to secure the traitor, if he be alive, and send him at once to Cuba, whence he shall go to Spain, as commanded by our most illustrious Bishop Fonseca." As a matter of course, Señor Barba will accept the proffered hospitality; he will go ashore and deliver his message to Narvaez in person. And he will catch this slippery fox from Estremadura, and carry him hence to be hanged; he will carry him to his worshipful master Velazquez to be hanged. So entering the boat he is conveyed away, but only, alas! to be declared a prisoner; only, alas! to learn that though damned, Cortés is not dead, and is by no means likely at once to meet strangulation at the hand either of Barba, Narvaez, or Velazquez. Meanwhile other visitors in other boats proceed to secure the crew. The vessel is dismantled; and since Cortés is the king, and not Narvaez, the so lately fierce and loyal Barba, nothing loath, declares for Cortés. Indeed, Barba was by no means unfriendly to the general, as proven by his attitude at Habana two years before. Any such reinforcement was gladly welcomed at Tepeaca, and Cortés sought to insure Barba's loyalty by making him captain of archers.[1] A week later arrived another small vessel, under the hidalgo Rodrigo Morejon de Lobera, with eight soldiers, a mare, a quantity of crossbow material, and a cargo of provisions. It was secured in the same manner, and the soldiers and sailors proceeded to join the army. Thus Cortés draws them

[1] 'Con este...vino vn Francisco Lopez, vezino, y Regidor que fue de Guatimala.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 113. Vetancurt assumes that Pedro del Castillo—Diaz calls him 'el Almirante Pedro Cauallero'—secured Barba and his vessel. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 148; *Cortés, Residencia*, ii. 165.

in, friend and foe alike being his fish, if once they enter his net.

More substantial reinforcements were in store, however. Governor Garay, of Jamaica, had in no manner been discouraged by the failure of his last expedition to Pánuco, and the rumors of his rival's success in New Spain fired him to renewed efforts, the more so since he possessed the royal grant, the vessels, and the men, with ample means to sustain them. In the spring of 1520 he had despatched three vessels, with about one hundred and fifty soldiers and sailors, a few horses, and some artillery, under the former commander, Pineda.[2] Ascending the Pánuco the expedition came to a town,[3] and met with good reception, but the natives soon tired of giving their substance to strangers, who may beside have been guilty of excesses, and they made hostile demonstrations. Pineda showed a bold front, and proceeded to attack the town, but was surprised and killed, together with a number of soldiers and the horses.[4] The rest escaped as best they could in two of the vessels, pursued by a fleet of canoes. One of the caravels was wrecked not far above Villa Rica, whereupon a portion of the men resolved to proceed by land rather than suffer starvation on board, for in the hurry of the flight the lockers had received no attention. Both the sea and land parties arrived at the Spanish port, where every care was given them.[5] Thence they were

[2] 'El capitã Diego de Camargo,' says Herrera; but Bernal Diaz explains that this man stepped into the captaincy on the murder of 'fulano Alvarez Pinedo,' at Pánuco. 'Dixeron, que el Capitan Camargo auia sido Fraile Dominico, e que auia hecho profession.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 114.

[3] Seven leagues up, says Herrera.

[4] 'Muerto diez y siete ó diez y ocho cristianos, y herido otros muchos. Asimismo...muerto siete caballos.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 144. Bernal Diaz assumes that the whole attacking force was killed and some vessels destroyed. 'Dexaron vna carauela,' says Herrera.

[5] Herrera states that hunger caused the land expedition to abandon the vessels some twenty leagues above Almería. The people from the wrecked caravel were taken on board the last vessel. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xviii. Cortés leaves the impression that both vessels arrived at Villa Rica, perhaps because the one was wrecked so near it. 'Vn nauio...y traia sobre sesenta soldados.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*. 114. This may include the land party, but not the sailors.

forwarded to Tepeaca, where their cadaverous complexion and swollen bodies procured for them the nickname of 'panzaverdetes,' or green paunches. Hardship and bad food had carried a number past relief, and even in Tepeaca several died, including Camargo, as Bernal Diaz believes.

A month later, after the Quauhquechollan expedition, another vessel arrived with about fifty soldiers,[6] under Miguel Diaz de Auz, an Aragonian cavalier. He had been sent to reinforce Pineda, but after remaining at Rio Pánuco for a month, without seeing even a native, he had come down to search for the fleet. The fame of Cortés and the promise of rich spoils induced him to follow the preceding party, in contradistinction to which his stout and lusty recruits were dubbed the 'strong-backs.'[7] Hearing that two other vessels had been fitted out to follow the Pánuco expeditions, and were probably now cruising along the coast, Cortés ordered a crew to be sent in pursuit, with the sole desire, as he expressed it, to save them from the fate which had so nearly overtaken Camargo. One was never heard of, and the other, the largest, entered the port before the searching vessel had left, it seems, bringing about one hundred and twenty men and sixteen horses. Camargo was induced to remonstrate with the captain against proceeding to Pánuco, since the result could only be disastrous, the native lord having, beside, tendered allegiance to Cortés in Montezuma's time.[8]

[6] 'Con hasta treinta hombres de mar y tierra.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 154. 'Sus soldados, que eran mas dé cincuenta, y mas siete caullos,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 114; and, since Cortés would be less apt to indicate large accessions, he may be correct.

[7] 'Este fue el mejor socorro...Diaz de Auz sirvió muy bien a su Magestad en todo lo que se ofreciò en las guerras,..traxo pleyto despues. sobre el pleyto de la mitad de Mestitan,..conque le den la parte de lo que rentare el pueblo masde dos mil y quinientos pesos.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 114–15. He was excluded from the town itself, owing to cruel treatment of Indians.

[8] 'El señor de aquel rio y tierra, que se dice Pánuco, se habia dado por vasallo de V. M., en cuyo reconocimiento me habia enviado á la ciudad de Tenuxtitan, con sus mensajeros, ciertas cosas.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 144–5. But this is probably a mere assertion, since the Spanish expeditions had never been higher than Almería, and the cacique could have had no inducement for submitting.

But the captain would not listen to him. To the joy of Cortés, however, a storm arose, which obliged this captain to slip his anchor and put to sea; obliged him to take refuge in San Juan de Ulua harbor, where he found his vessel so unsafe as to require her to be stranded, whereupon the forces and armaments were landed.[9] Cortés at once sent a sympathizing message, offering the captain every assistance, but never for a moment intending to give him any. He even tendered other vessels for his voyage—so he tells the emperor.[10] But there is no doubt that the tender was illusive, and that he did all in his power, with bribery, promises, and even force, to secure the men and armament, and at the same time to weaken his rivals by their loss. According to some accounts he caused their vessels to be sunk to prevent departure,[11] an act which Oviedo declares a fair war measure, particularly on the part of Cortés, who greatly needed reinforcements. Men destined for so comparatively unattractive a region as Pánuco must have been pleased by the prospect of ready spoils and Mexican treasures soon to fall into their hands under so able and successful a leader as Cortés. They were therefore readily induced to join him, the captains alone, as in the last instance, interposing objections for a while. These several accessions amounted, according to the testimony of Cortés, to about two hundred men and some twenty horses,[12] together with a large quantity

[9] Bernal Diaz refers to the last accession from Garay's expeditions as 40 soldiers and 10 horses, under an old man named Ramirez. Protected by heavy cotton armor they were nicknamed the 'albardillas.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 115.

[10] 'Si todos ó algunos dellos se quisiesen volver en los navíos que allí estaban, que les diese licencia.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 163.

[11] *Oviedo*, iii. 335; and so Herrera also intimates in reference to Camargo's only remaining vessel, 'la qual se anegò tãbien dẽtro de 10. dias en el puerto.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xviii.

[12] The last two vessels bring 150 men and 16 horses, probably over 20, to which must be added Camargo's force, amounting no doubt to 50 effective men, for Bernal Diaz admits 60 soldiers, not counting sailors; and Herrera intimates that over 100 men must have reached Villa Rica of the total force on board Camargo's three vessels. Bernal Diaz' estimates for the five vessels which he enumerates exceed 170 soldiers and 20 horses; on fol. 115 he contradicts several points, including the total, to which the sailors may be added, while a small reduction is to be made for deaths among Camargo's men. Vetancurt follows

of small-arms, artillery, and ammunition. Thus again and again was the shrewd and lucky Cortés aided by the very means which his great enemies and rivals had sent to be used against him; aided to reap the advantages they had planned and plotted to secure. And all the while he was pitting the antagonisms of native foes one against another, employing them also to assist him in securing the grand prize. Greatness is but another name for good fortune. Circumstances certainly did as much for Cortés in promoting success as Spanish arms and superior civilization.

Civilization! What fools we are, pluming ourselves in its radiance, the radiance of ghastly electrical lights, adopted instead of the glorious sun of nature. For is not the unartificial nature, and nature God, while artifice is rather of the devil? And yet we persist in glorifying artifice and calling it deity. The human sacrifice of the Aztecs was a horrible rite, but in the hands of the Spaniards is not Christianity a bloody mistress? And does not European civilization constantly demand the sacrifice of millions of lives, if not for the propitiation of gods, then to avenge an insult, to preserve the integrity of a nation, or to gratify the spleen of rulers? At hand even now, coming to the assistance of the magnificent Cortés, civilization's pride and pet for the moment, is another ally of civilization, more terrible than horses, blood-hounds, gunpowder, or steel. At the time of Narvaez' departure for Cuba, small-pox was raging there so severely that it offered a reason

Bernal Diaz, and so does Prescott, who assumes that full 150 men and 20 horses must have been obtained. *Mex.*, ii. 438. Robertson raises this nearer to the truth by saying 180 men, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 104, as does Brasseur de Bourbourg, who nevertheless, on an earlier page, adds Sahagun's fanciful reinforcement of 300 men. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 371, 387. While the Spaniards were curing themselves, 'llegó á Tlaxcala un Francisco Hernandez, español, con 300 soldados castellanos y con muchos caballos y armas.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 37. The later edition does not give the number. Gomara merely states that numerous small parties came over from the Antilles, attracted by Cortés' fame, through Aillon's reports, he seems to say. Many of them were murdered on the way, but sufficient numbers reached him to restore the army and encourage the prosecution of the conquest. *Hist. Mex.*, 173.

for preventing the governor from leaving with the expedition. A pioneer vessel of the fleet sowed the malady at Cozumel, whence it entered the continent. Before it spread far in this direction Cempoala was infected by a negro slave of Narvaez.[13] The Spaniards knew little about its treatment, and that little they sought to impart, not for their own safety, since those that were left of them were considered almost proof against the malady, but for the sake of the allies. Their advice did not avail much, however, for the natives were too devoted to their panacea, the hot and cold bath, which only intensified the evil. The terrible force of the first attacks of epidemics and endemics is well known, and it has been advocated with apparent truth that the diseases of a strong people fall with particular force on weaker races. After desolating the coast region for some time, the small-pox crossed the plateau border during the summer, and in September[14] it broke out round the lakes, on its way to the western sea, smiting high and low, rich and poor. For sixty days, according to native records, the *hueyzahuatl*, or great pest, raged here with such virulence as to fix itself a central point in their chronology. In most districts, says Motolinia, over half the population died, leaving towns almost deserted, and in others the mortality was appalling. Those who recovered presented an appearance that made their neighbors flee from them, until they became accustomed to the sight. Learning how contagious was the disease, and terrified by the number of deaths, the inhabitants left the bodies to putrefy, thus aiding to extend the pest. In some cases the authorities ordered the houses to be pulled down over

[13] Said to have been named Francisco Eguia. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 39, 66, and *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, i. 278. Herrera writes that many assumed the malady to have been one of the periodical scourges that used to fall on the country. 'Y el no auer tocado a los Castellanos, pareceque trae aparencia de razon.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. iv. But it appears to have been wholly a new disease to the natives.

[14] 'En el mes que llamaban Tepeilhuitl que es al fin de setiembre,' as Sahagun assumes. *Hist. Conq.*, i. 39.

the dead, so as to check the contagion. Not the least of the evil was a famine, which resulted from a lack of harvesters.[15]

Among the first victims at the capital were King Totoquihuatzin, of Tlacopan, and Cuitlahuatzin, the successor of Montezuma. The latter had ruled barely three months,[16] but sufficiently long to prove himself a most able leader of his people in their struggle for liberty, for he was brave, full of devices, and energetic, yet prudent; a man who, not content with securing the expulsion of invaders, had sought to strengthen his position with alliances and by attracting the subject provinces through gifts, remissions, and promises. If he did not succeed so well as he had hoped, the fault must be ascribed to the reputation of the previous government and to dereliction of duty among his officers.

As a monarch he would not have fallen far short of the native ideal, for as a general he had distinguished himself; and, the brother of Montezuma, he had in his court imbibed the dignity and majestic manner born of constant adulation from subservient nobles and plebeians. Crafty and unscrupulous, he appears not to have hesitated at crime and breach of faith to secure his aims for personal and state advancement. The flourishing condition of his own province indicated a not unwise administrator; and the beauty of Iztapalapan, its magnificent palaces, and exquisite gardens filled with choice plants from different regions, pointed to a ruler of cultivated taste.

There is no doubt that Mexico lost in him one of

[15] *Motolinia, Hist. Ind.*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 14–15; *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, i. 39, 66; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 514; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 101; *Id.* (Paris ed. 1837), iv. 460 (a chapter omitted in the original); *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 148; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, i. 279; *Torquemada*, i. 489; *Texcoco en los ultimos tiempos*, 273.

[16] 'Vivió despues de su elecçion solos sessenta dias.' *Cano*, in *Oviedo*, iii. 549. The election having taken place twenty days after Montezuma's death, according to Ixtlilxochitl, who assumes that he ruled only 40 or 47 days. *Hist. Chich.*, 304; *Id., Relaciones*, 413. Others extend the rule to 80 days, both as leader and king, perhaps, which would agree with Cano's version.

the most promising of sovereigns, and perhaps the only leader capable of giving her a longer lease of freedom in face of the irresistible onslaught of foreigners.[17] Thus bravely worked the small-pox for Cortés and the superior civilization.

The strongest candidate for the Mexican throne was now the high-priest Quauhtemotzin,[18] a young man of about twenty-three[19] years, rather handsome, of fairer complexion than the average of his race, grave and dignified, as befitted a prince, and 'quite a gentleman for an Indian.' He is said to have been the son of Montezuma's sister by Itzquauhtzin, lord of Tlatelulco, the twin town or suburb of Mexico, who had been fellow-prisoner of the late emperor, and sharer in his fate.[20] The brothers and descendants of Montezuma had been pretty well removed by death, or through the machinations of Cuitlahuatzin; but if nearer legitimate claimants existed, Quauhtemotzin had eclipsed them all in experience, influence, and fame, as a brave and able leader. As the chief companion of his predecessor, and one who even before the appearance of the latter had led the uprising against the Spaniards, he had become identified as a true patriot, keeping himself at the head of the dominant party which began and continued the struggle for freedom. In order further to secure his

[17] Such characteristics may be seen in Spanish as well as native records; yet Solis writes, 'su tibieza y falta de aplicacion dexáse poco menos que borrada entre los suyos la memoria de su nombre.' *Hist. Mex.*, 372. Sufficient proof of his energy is found in the siege resulting in the expulsion from Mexico.

[18] The native authorities incline to Quauhtemoc, but the Spanish generally add the 'tzin,' the 'c' being elided, and the 'Q' changed to 'G,' making the name Guatemotzin. 'Quauhtemoc, que significa Aguila que baja.' *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 51.

[19] Bernal Diaz describes him about a year later as 23 or 24 years old, while on another occasion he alludes to him as 25. *Hist. Verdad.*, 112, 155. Ixtlilxochitl makes him 18. *Hist. Chich.*, 304.

[20] 'Por muerte de su Padre gobernaba el Tlatelulco.' *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 479. 'Sobrino de Montecuma, que era *papa* ó sacerdote mayor entre los indios.' *Cano*, in *Oviedo*, iii. 549; *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. vi. 'Cuauhtemotctzin hijo del rey Ahuitzotzin y de la heredera de le Tlatelulco.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Relaciones*, 413. This incorrect view is adopted by Brasseur de Bourbourg and many others.

influence he had taken to wife the only legitimate daughter of Montezuma, Princess Tecuichpo, or Isabel; and although the marriage was merely nominal, she being but a child, yet the alliance served the intended aim.[21] The Tepanecs at the same time elected as successor to their king, his son Tetlepanquetzaltzin,[22] whose coronation took place at the same time as that of Quauhtemotzin, hallowed by the blood of captive enemies, including no doubt some Spaniards. Cohuanacoch had meanwhile been chosen at Tezcuco in lieu of the disowned protégé whom Cortés had foisted upon them. By this trio were taken up the plans of Cuitlahuatzin for the deliverance of the country from her invaders, and especially were their efforts directed toward securing the loyalty of provinces and allies which had been stirred by the alarming progress of Spanish arms in Tepeaca.

A loss to the Spaniards through the epidemic, which outweighed many a gain, was the death of Maxixcatzin, to whose devoted friendship they chiefly owed their escape from the recent crises;[23] for he it was who took the lead in offering the Tlascaltec alliance and in overthrowing the inimical plans of the younger Xicotencatl in favor of the Aztecs. When the sad news came, Cortés felt as if he had lost a father, says Bernal Diaz, and mourning robes were donned by quite a number of the captains and men. In this they felt the more justified, since the chief, on finding himself stricken by the dread disease, had expressed a wish to become a Christian, and with the name of Lorenzo had received baptism at the hands of Olmedo, who joyfully hastened to Tlascala to perform so welcome a service for the Spaniards'

[21] 'Moglie già del suo Zio Cuitlahuatzin,' is the supposition of Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 160. 'Se hizo temer de tal manera, que todos los suyos temblauan dél.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 112. For fanciful portraits of these last two emperors, see *Frost's Pict. Hist. Mex.*, 104, 114.

[22] *Ixtlilxochitl*, loc. cit.; *Torquemada*, i. 570.

[23] 'Al que solo fue causa q̃ los Christianos se conseruassen en aquella tierra.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xix.

champion. He died exhorting his family and friends to obey Cortés and his brethren, the destined rulers of the land, and to accept their god, who had given victory over the idols.[24] It was fortunate that he did not die before Spanish prestige had been reëstablished by the Tepeaca campaign; for his friendship sufficed to confirm the allies in their adhesion, to gain for the Spaniards further coöperation, and to obtain for them a firm footing in the country.

The allied forces had become so numerous by the time Itzucan fell that they were absolutely unmanageable, and on returning from this place to Tepeaca Cortés dismissed them with friendly words to their homes, retaining only the tried Tlascaltecs, who had become efficient in the European style of warfare under the Spanish discipline and tactics.[25]

Before the Quauhquechollan expedition summoned him away, Cortés had begun a report to the emperor on the condition of affairs. On returning, he completed this his second and perhaps most interesting letter, dated at Segura de la Frontera, or Tepeaca, October 30, 1520, wherein are related the occurrences since the despatch of the first letter in the middle of July, a year before. "I write your Majesty," it states, "although poorly told, the truth of all that has happened in these parts, and that which your Majesty has most need of knowing. With the aid of God the conquest is progressing in this new country, which from its similarity to Spain, in fertility, extent, temperature, and many other things, I have called La Nueva España del Mar Océano." Then he proceeds to humbly beg his majesty to confirm this name. In a brief supplementary letter he asks the emperor

[24] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 118; *Herrera*, ubi sup.

[25] During the absence of the troops, says Herrera, a part of the Tepeacans had formed a plot to surprise them when divided; but some women informed Marina in time to prevent trouble. Cortés inflicted on them severe chastisement. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvi. xviii.

to send a person of confidence to investigate and prove the truth of his statements.[26]

[26] The reports and other papers by Cortés, written during a period of nearly three decades in connection with New Spain, are both numerous and lengthy, but only the five letters relating to the actual conquest of Mexico and Central America have achieved bibliographic celebrity, under the title of *Cortés' Letters or Relations*. Although the first letter has been lost, and the companion letter long missing, yet an allusion to the expedition against Mexico appeared as early as 1520 in *Ein auszug etlicher sendbrieff dem aller durchleüchtigisten grossmechtigistē Fürsten.... von wegen einer new gefundē Inseln. Nürmberg durch Fryderichen Peypus am. 17. tag Marcij MDXX.*, wherein the voyages of Córdoba and Grijalva are also described. Harrisse, *Bib. Am. Vet.*, 179, assumes that the information is taken from Peter Martyr's *Decades*. A later brief reference to the city of Mexico itself is given in *Translationuss hispanischer sprach zü Frantzösisch gemacht so durch dē Vice Rey in Neapole fraw Margareten Hertzogiñ iñ Burgundi zü geschrieben*, published in 1522. On folio A. iii. is written: Not far from the same island they have conquered a city called Tenustitan, wherein 60,000 hearths have been counted, within a good wall. The letter of the ayuntamiento was first published in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i., 1842.

By the time of the receipt in Spain of Cortés' second letter, of October 30, 1520, the general and his conquest had become so famous that his communications were not likely to be lost sight of. The incidents treated of were besides highly enticing, particularly the victories in Tlascala, the entry into Montezuma's wonderful island city, the disastrous expulsion, and the renewal of the campaign, and Cromberger had it printed in 1522 under the title of *Carta de relaciõ ẽbiada a su. S. majestad del ẽpador nũo señor por el capitã general dela nueua spaña: llamado fernãdo cortes*, etc. *Seuilla: por Jacobo crõberger aleman. A viii. dias de Nouiẽbre. Año de M. d. y xxij.* 'Fué las Primicias de el Arte de la Imprenta en Sevilla, y acaso de toda España,' observes Lorenzana, in *Cortes, Hist. N. España*, 171, but this is a great mistake, for printing had been done already for several decades in Spain. An Italian abstract of the letter appeared immediately after, as *Noue de le Isole & Terra ferma Nouamente trouate In India per el Capitaneo de larmata de la Cesarea Maiestate. Mediolani decimosexto calẽ. Decembris M.D.XXII.* A reprint of the Seville text was issued at Saragossa in January, 1523. A later abridged account of the conquest is given in *Ein schöne Newe zeytung so Kayserlich Mayestet aus India yetz newlich zükommen seind*, ascribed to Sigmund Grimm of Augsburg, about 1522. *Bibliotheca Grenvilliana* and *Harrisse*. Ternaux-Compans wrongly supposes the narrative to extend only to 1519, instead of 1522, and assumes the imprint to be Augsburg, 1520. *Bibl. Amèr.*, 5. Perhaps 1523 is the more correct date, which may also be ascribed to *Tressacree Imperiale et catholique mageste...eust nouuelles des marches ysles et terre ferme occeanes*. Colophon, fol. 16. *Depuis sont venues a su mageste nouuelles de, certaiẽs ysles trouuez p les espagnolz plaines despecerie et beaucop de mines dor, lesqlles nouuelles il receupt en ceste ville de vailladolid le primier doctobre xv. cent. xxij.* This is a book noticed by no bibliographer except Sabin, who believes that it contains only the second letter, although the holder supposes the third letter to be also used. In 1524 appeared the first Latin version of the second letter, by Savorgnanus, *Praeclara Ferdinãdi Cortesii de Noua maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio, Norimberga. M.D.XXIIII.*, which contains a copy of the now lost map of the Gulf of Mexico, and also a plan of Mexico City. In the same year two Italian translations of this version, by Liburnius, *La Preclara Narratione*, were printed at Venice, one by Lexona, the other by Sabio, yet both at the instance of Pederzani. The plan and map are often missing. Antonio, *Bib. Hisp. Nova*, iii. 375, mentions only Lexona's issue. A translation from Flavigny appeared in the *Portfolio*, Philadelphia, 1817. The originals of the second and other letters were, in the early part of the eighteenth century, 'en la Libreria de Don

The council also wrote a letter to the emperor, speaking hopefully of the conquest, which already

Miguel Nuñez de Rojas, del Consejo Real de las Ordenes,' says Pinelo, *Epitome*, ii. 597. Much of the vagueness which involves the narrative of events previous to the flight from Mexico may be due to the loss of diary and documents during that episode. The loss was convenient to Cortés, since it afforded an excuse for glossing over many irregularities and misfortunes.

The third letter, dated Coyuhuacan, May 15, 1522, and relating the siege and fall of Mexico, was first published at Seville, on Cromberger's press, March 30, 1523, as *Carta tercera de relació: embiada por Fernãdo cortes capitan y justicia mayor del yucatan llamado la nueua espana del mar oceano.* It received a reproduction in Latin by the same hand and at the same time as the second letter. Both were reprinted, together with some missionary letters and Peter Martyr's *De Insulis*, in *De Insvlis nuper Inventis Ferdinandi Cortesii. Coloniæ, M.D.XXXII.* The title-page displays a portrait of Charles V., and is bordered with his arms. Martyr's part, which tells rather briefly of Cortés, found frequent reprint, while the second and third letters were republished, with other matter, in the Spanish *Thesoro de virtudes*, 1543; in the German *Ferdinandi Cortesii. Von dem Newen Hispanien. Augspurg*, 1550, wherein they are called first and second narratives, and divided into chapters, with considerable liberty; in the Latin *Novus Orbis* of 1555 and 1616; and in the Flemish *Nieuwe Weerelt* of 1563; while a French abridgment appeared at Paris in 1532. The secret epistle accompanying the third letter was first printed in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i., and afterward by Kingsborough and Gayangos.

The fourth letter, on the progress of conquest after the fall of Mexico, dated at Temixtitan (Mexico), October 15, 1524, was issued at Toledo, 1525, as *La quarta relacion*, together with Alvarado's and Godoy's reports to Cortés. A second edition followed at Valencia the year after. The secret letter accompanying it was not published till 1865, when Icazbalceta, the well known Mexican collector, reproduced it in separate black-letter form, and in his *Col. Doc.*, i. 470–83.

The substance of the above three relations has been given in a vast number of collections and histories, while in only a limited number have they been reproduced in a full or abridged form, the first reproduction being in the third volume of *Ramusio Viaggi*, of 1556, 1565, and 1606, which contains several other pieces on the conquest, all supplied with appropriate headings and marginals. Barcia next published them direct from the manuscript, in the *Historiadores Primitivos*, i. This collection bears the imprint Madrid, 1749, but the letters had already been printed in 1731, as Pinelo affirms, *Epitome*, ii. 597. Barcia died a few years before his set was issued. From this source Archbishop Lorenzana took the version published by him under the title of *Historia de Nueva-España*, Mexico, 1770, which is not free from omissions and faults, though provided with valuable notes on localities and customs, and supplemented with illustrated pieces on routes and native institutions, a map of New Spain by Alzate, an article on the Gobierno Politico by Vetancurt, a copy of a native tribute-roll from picture records, not very accurately explained, and the first map of Lower California and adjoining coast, by Castillo, in 1541. This version of the letters was reproduced in New York, 1828, with a not wholly successful attempt by Del Mar to introduce modern spelling. The work is also marked by a number of omissions and blunders, and the introductory biographic sketch by Robert Sands adds little to its value. An abridgment from Lorenzana appeared as *Correspondance de Fernand Cortes, par le Vicomte de Flavigny*, Paris, 1778, which obtained three reprints during the following year at different places. A great many liberties are taken with facts, as may be imagined; and the letters are, beside, misnamed first, second, and third. From the same source, or perhaps from Flavigny, of whom they savor, are *Briefe des Ferdinand Cortes*,

"extended over one hundred and fifty leagues of the coast, from Rio Grande de Tabasco to Rio de

Heidelberg, 1779, with several reproductions, and with notes; and the corrected *Brieven van Ferdinand Cortes*, Amsterdam, 1780–1. The first edition in English, from Lorenzana, was issued by Folsom, as *Despatches of Hernando Cortes*, New York, 1843, also with notes.

The fifth letter of the conqueror, on the famous expedition to Honduras, dated at Temixtitan, September 3, 1526, lay hidden in the Vienna Imperial Library till Robertson's search for the first letter brought it to light. *Hist. Am.*, i. xi. He made use of it, but the first complete copy was not published till of late, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 8–167, reprinted at New York, 1848, and, in translation, in the Hakluyt Society collection, London, 1868. It bore no date, but the copy found at Madrid has that of September 3, 1526, and the companion letter printed in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, i. 14–23, that of September 11th. This, as well as the preceding letters, was issued by Vedia, in Ribadeneyra's *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, xxii.; the first three letters being taken from Barcia, and the fifth from its MS. The letter of the ayuntamiento is given and a bibliographic notice of little value. A very similar collection is to be found in the *Biblioteca Historica de la Iberia*, i. But the most complete reproduction of the principal writings by Cortés, and connected with him, is in the *Cartas y Relaciones de Hernan Cortés*, Paris, 1866, by Gayangos, which contains 26 pieces, beside the relations, chiefly letters and memorials to the sovereign, a third of which are here printed for the first time. Although a few of Lorenzana's blunders find correction, others are committed, and the notes of the archbishop are adopted without credit, and without the necessary amendment of date, etc., which often makes them absurd. The earliest combined production of Cortés' relations, and many of his other writings, may be credited to Peter Martyr, who in his *Decades* gave the substance of all that they relate, although he also mingled other versions. Oviedo, in the third volume of his *Hist. Gen.*, gives two versions of the conquest, the first, p. 258 et seq., almost a reproduction of Cortés' letters, and the other, p. 506 et seq., from different sources.

Beside the relations, there are a number of miscellaneous letters, petitions, orders, instructions, and regulations, by Cortés, largely published in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages; Col. Doc. Inéd.; Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.; Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.; Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.; Alaman, Disert.*, and as appendices to histories of Mexico. A special collection is the *Escritos Sueltos de Hernan Cortés*, Mex., 1871, forming vol. xii. of the *Bib. Hist. de la Iberia*, which presents 43 miscellaneous documents from various printed sources, instructions, memorials, and brief letters, nearly all of which are filled with complaints against ruling men in Mexico.

Cortés' letters have not inaptly been compared by Prescott to the Commentaries of Cæsar, for both men were military commanders of the highest order, who spoke and wrote like soldiers; but their relative positions with regard to the superior authorities of their states were different, and so were their race feelings, and their times, and these features are stamped upon their writings. Cortés was not the powerful consul, the commander of legions, but the leader of a horde of adventurers, and an aspirant for favor, who made his narrative an advocate. The simplicity and energy of the style lend an air of truth to the statements, and Helps, among others, is so impressed thereby as to declare that Cortés 'would as soon have thought of committing a small theft as of uttering a falsehood in a despatch addressed to his sovereign.' *Cortés*, ii. 211. But it requires little study of the reports to discover that they are full of calculated misstatements, both direct and negative, made whenever he considered it best for his interest to conceal disagreeable and discreditable facts, or to magnify the danger and the deed. They are also stamped with the religious zeal and superstition of the age, the naïve expressions of reliance on God being even more frequent than the measured declarations of devotedness to

Pánuco,"[21] while the remainder of the interior was on the sure way to reduction, under the able leadership of Cortés, whose valor and energy they praised.

They prayed that he, the beloved of all the troops, might be confirmed in the office of captain-general, as the only man whose genius and experience could be relied on to carry out and maintain the conquest. The natives being docile and ready to receive conversion, friars should be sent to secure this harvest for the church, and also to administer to the spiritual wants of the Spaniards. Colonists were needed; also horses, and other live-stock—the latter to be paid for at a future time—in order to secure the country and develop its wealth.

With these letters went one from the army, which, recounting but briefly the leading incidents of the campaigns, had for its main object to decry Narvaez and Velazquez as the sole cause of all the disasters that had occurred in the country, and to praise Cortés as a noble, loyal, and able man, by whom alone the

the king; while in between are calmly related the most cold-blooded outrages on behalf of both. There is no apparent effort to attract attention to himself; there is even at times displayed a modesty most refreshing in the narrative of his own achievements, by which writers have as a rule been quite entranced; but this savors of calculation, for the general tone is in support of the *ego*, and this often to the exclusion of deserving officers. Indeed, generous allusions to the character or deeds of others are not frequent, or they are merged in the non-committing term of 'one of my captains.' Pedro de Alvarado complains of this in one of his *Relaciones*, in *Barcia, Hist. Prim.*, i. 165–6. In truth, the calculating egotism of the diplomate mingles freely with the frankness of the soldier. Cortés, however, is ever mindful of his character as an hidalgo, for he never stoops to meanness, and even in speaking of his enemies he does not resort to the invectives or sharp insinuations which they so freely scatter. His style bears evidence of training in rhetoric and Latin, yet the parade of the latter is not so frequent as might be expected from the half-bred student and zealot. Equally indicative are his regulations and instructions of the experience gained as notary and alcalde, and the promise once entertained of him as a legal light. The sentences are remarkably concise and clear for the time, and the expression both fluent and pure. The whole tends to confirm the opinion already formed of his character, as one who, while not wholly free from defects of his age, indulged in grand views, and stood forward conspicuous as a born leader of men.

[21] Of the central provinces actually under control Herrera enumerates: Cempoala, with 50 towns and villages, containing over 120,000 families; Tlascala, with 60 vassal lords, over 120,000; Huexotzinco, 50,000; Cholula, 40,000; Tepeaca, Acatzingo, and Quecholac, 80,000; Quauhquechollan and Itzucan, 20,000; 'beside a number of others.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xviii.

conquest could be achieved.[28] These and other letters were intrusted to Alonso de Mendoza, a townsman of Cortés, together with thirty thousand pesos, in fifths and presents, and a number of commissions from different members of the expedition. A well appointed vessel was assigned for the voyage, and three other vessels were despatched for Española, there to enlist recruits and to buy horses, arms and ammunition, cattle, clothing, and other requirements, and four strong vessels to maintain traffic with the Antilles. Letters were sent to Licenciado Rodrigo de Figueroa and other royal officers on the Island, inclosing duplicates of those forwarded to Spain; and a number of specimens of the jewels, manufactures, and natural resources of the country, were transmitted as presents and as samples to allure recruits. The letters and the ample funds for the enlistment and purchases were intrusted to Contador Ávila and another officer,[29] with instructions to use every effort to confirm the audiencia officials in their good opinion of Cortés, so that they might plead his cause in Spain. The ill-treatment of Aillon by Velazquez and Narvaez had already impelled them to do this, as we have seen. Their advice was to be asked regarding the enslave-

[28] Narvaez it was, they said, who without right or without exhibiting evidence of such right, had set himself up against Cortés, and begun to rouse the natives against him and his followers as piratical intruders, intent on mischief, while his own announced object was to right the natives, release Montezuma, and then to depart from the country without taking even gold with him. These intrigues caused the uprising which lost Mexico to the emperor, together with so many hundred lives and millions of treasure. To Velazquez, therefore, no control should be given in a country lost through the machinations of himself and his lieutenant. If any grants had been made to him, they were based on false representations, and would imperil the safety of these extensive and rich lands. The second object of the latter was to laud the character of Cortés as a man and soldier, and to pray that he be confirmed in the office of captain-general and justicia mayor as the only fit and worthy person. At the foot came the signature of 534 Spaniards, the majority of the troops, headed by Alvarado, Ordaz, and similar warm friends of the commander, and also by such prominent personages of the Narvaez party as Vasco Porcallo, and Juan Diaz, the clergyman. Bernal Diaz was still down with fever, which accounts for the absence of his name. Many others whose names might have been added were probably away on expeditions and on garrison duty. For copy of letter see *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 427–36.

[29] Whom Bernal Diaz calls Francisco Álvarez Chico; and Vetancurt, Francisco Hernandez.

ment of rebels and other measures, and their authority and aid sought for obtaining men and stores.[30] Another vessel was sent under Solis[31] to Jamaica to buy horses and war material. Bernal Diaz, does not fail to point out the evidence in the large remittance for Spain and the Antilles of treasures secretly taken from Mexico by Cortés and his clique, and accuses him of having appropriated also the share for Villa Rica, claimed to have been captured by the Indians during its transmission from Tlascala.[32]

No sooner were these preparations announced than Duero and a number of others of the Narvaez party claimed a fulfilment of the promise regarding their departure. The success of the Spanish arms and the allurement of spoils had reconciled most of the lately disaffected, so that those who now demanded to return were only a few of the more wealthy. The services of these could be readily dispensed with, now that such large reinforcements had been received, and the display of their accumulations at home might inspire fresh recruits. Therefore Cortés gave his consent, with abundant promises that as soon as the conquest was fully accomplished, gold and other rewards would flow on those who supported his cause either in the Islands or in Spain. Leaders like Duero and Bermudez were the chief recipients of such offers; and offers alone they remained in most instances, for

[30] Bernal Diaz insinuates that there were a number of officers far more suitable than Captain Ávila for this mission, but Cortés desired to be rid of so outspoken an observer and champion of the men, and at the same time to promote the more pliable Alonso de Grado to the vacated contaduría, and the devoted Andrés de Tapia to the captaincy. He thinks that Grado, or Alonso de Cáceres, the rich, should have been sent. *Hist. Verdad.*, 117. His insinuation cannot be wholly correct, however, since Ávila had already been for some time alcalde mayor of New Spain, and Grado, contador. See *Lejalde, Probanza*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 419 et seq.

[31] 'Despues de ganado Mexico, le llamamos Solis el de la huerta, yerno de...Bachiller Ortega.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 118.

[32] This author indicates the despatch of only three vessels for Spain, Española, and Jamaica, respectively, one of which, or a fourth, conveyed the returning adherents of Narvaez. *Id.*, 117. But Cortés writes: 'Envio á la isla Española cuatro navíos para que luego vuelvan cargados de caballos y gente.' *Cartas*, 154, 162. The Jamaica vessel is probably included in this number.

Cortés was not the man to reward desertion. Duero and others evidently expected nothing more, since they were soon after found arrayed on the side of Velazquez. When some among the Cortés party raised objections to this diminution of the force, they were quieted with the declaration that the army was better rid of unwilling and inefficient soldiers, whose presence served only to discourage others.[33]

The vessel for Spain and two of those for the Islands were wrecked on the coast; and one consequence was that Mendoza's departure was delayed till the 5th of March. He took with him a supplementary letter for the emperor, relating the progress so far made for the recovery of Mexico. By this time Ordaz was, according to Bernal Diaz, commissioned to join him and plead the cause of Cortés before the emperor, and at the same time to receive the reward for his many achievements, one of which was the ascent of the volcano. Several of the Narvaez party appear to have left by the same vessel.[34]

In course of the late campaign the advantages of the town of Tepeaca for permanent occupation had become apparent, chiefly as a point of observation for watching over the new conquest. It was well situated for protecting the road to Villa Rica,[35] and for communicating with Cholula and Tlascala, each capital eight or nine leagues distant, and it lay in the midst of a fertile

[33] Bernal Diaz names twelve of those who returned, two going merely to bring their children. Pilot Cárdenas, whose clamor at the treasure repartition at Mexico had called the attention of Cortés, was allowed to return to his family, with a present of 300 pesos from the general, only to join the ranks of his enemies. With one of the Cubans Cortés sent some bullion and jewels to his wife and brother-in-law. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 117; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 148.

[34] Cáceres also joined the commissioners. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 117. Clavigero names Ordaz as the sole commissioner, and he was probably the principal. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 160.

[35] 'Para el camino de la costa de la mar no hay mas de dos puertos muy agros y ásperos, que confinan con esta dicha provincia.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 145. 'Que señoreaua los puertos, el vno que se dize de Siculchima, por donde los Castellanos entraron en aquellas partes, y el otro de Quochula, legua y media de Tepeaca, por donde van los caminos Reales de la villa Rica.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvi.

maize country, which offered ample subsistence for a garrison. Although the punishment at first inflicted, by sacking and enslaving, had been severe, yet the treatment of the inhabitants became afterward so considerate that they themselves prayed for a continuance of Spanish protection.[36] Every circumstance, therefore, demanding a settlement, it was decided in council to found a villa in this same town, with the appropriate name of Segura de la Frontera, intended, as it was, to secure the frontier against the Mexicans. Pedro de Ircio was made alcalde, with Francisco de Orozco and others as regidores.[37]

The campaign being practically concluded, a division was ordered to be made of the spoils not hitherto distributed, including slaves, which had now become a prominent feature thereof, and were intended for personal and plantation service, as already practised in the Antilles. The pretence was to enslave only the inhabitants of districts concerned in the murder of Spaniards, but the distinction was not very strictly observed, and rebellious tribes and those addicted to cannibalism and other vicious practices were included.[38] The Spaniards, as a rule, kept only the women and the children, the men being transferred to the allies for their share, "because they were difficult to watch,"

[36] 'Le auian pedido presidio.' *Id.* Cortés gives merely the strategic motives.

[37] Francisco de Solis, Cristóbal Corral, and Cristóbal Martin are mentioned as regidores in *Probanza de Lejalde*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 418–19. Herrera adds to their ranks Gerónimo de Aguilar, the interpreter, 'porque sabia Cortes honrar...los benemeritos.' dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvi. The villa was removed after the conquest to a new site in the plain, not far from the old town. In 1545 it received the dignity of a city, and has ever since ranked as a district seat, supported to some extent by woollen factories. Of the strong fortress erected by the conquerors the remains are still to be seen in the plaza under the name of el Rollo de Tepeaca. *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 8; and in *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 145–6. In *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xxi. is given a description of the city and district. *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 153; *Villa-Señor y Sanchez, Theatro*, i. 248; *Alcedo*, in *Dic. Univ.*, v.

[38] 'Tambien me movió á facer los dichos esclavos por poner algun espanto á los de Culúa, y porque tambien hay tanta gente, que si no ficiese grande y cruel castigo en ellos, nunca se emendarian.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 144; *Oviedo*, iii. 334. 'Otros dizen que sin partido los tomo a todos, y castigo asi aquellos en véganca, y por no auer obedecido sus requerimiētos, por putos, por ydolatras,' etc. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 168.

says Bernal Diaz, "and because their services were not needed while we had the Tlascaltecs with us."[39]

The soldiers were ordered to bring in all their captives, which from the first had been branded for recognition with a 'G,' signifying *guerra*, war.[40] When the day for distribution came, it was found that the leaders and favored men had already secured their share by appropriating the prettiest and choicest slaves. They had probably been priced by the officials, and the leaders, being entitled to larger shares, had secured the best articles. At this there was a considerable uproar, increased by the outcry against the fifth set apart for Cortés, after deducting the royal fifth.[41] How the matter was settled is not clear, except that the general had recourse to the soothing eloquence he knew so well how to apply, promising that for the future he would conform to the general desire, which appeared to be in favor of offering the slaves at auction, so as to arrive at their

[39] *Hist. Verdad.*, 116. This was probably the case, and Tapia's testimony appears to confirm it in saying that of the 6000 captives taken from the Tecamachalco region the males, 2000 in number, were slaughtered in cold blood. *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 59. Perhaps it would be more correct to assume that a few were killed to expiate the murder of Spaniards, while the rest were given to the Tlascaltecs.

[40] 'Saluo a las mugeres y niños,' says Herrera, which leads Brasseur de Bourbourg to assume that women and children were not enslaved. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 370. 'Creyero, q̃ a cada soldado bolveriã sus pieças, y q̃ apreciarian que tantos pesos valian, y que como las apreciassen, pagassen el quinto a su Magestad.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 116–17. This could hardly have been the case.

[41] 'Mandò Cortes vender a muchos que auia prendido...aplicando vna parte a su exercito, y a otra la republica de Tlascala, sacando primero el quinto que pertenecia al Rey.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xv. 'Y despues otro quinto para Cortez,' adds Vetancurt, *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 148, and this appears correct; yet Clavigero and many others do not refer to the second fifth. This deduction was declared to be an attempt at installing a second king. The deceit practised, as they claimed, at the distribution of treasure at Mexico was again called up, and declared to be less outrageous than the present effort to defraud poor and wounded soldiers of the prize for which they had shed their blood. Juan Bono de Quexo declared that he would complain to the emperor, and others were no less bitter. Previous to this a cause for dissatisfaction had been given by a proclamation of Cortés ordering the surrender of all gold saved from the common treasure at Mexico, thrown open to the soldiers on the eve of the flight. One third was to be retained by the possessor. Many refused to comply, and since the royal officials and leaders had shared in the treasure, the proclamation was allowed to lapse. What had been surrendered Cortés kept as a loan. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 116–117.

proper value, and to give all members of the expedition an equal chance in securing the more desirable.[42]

One of the last expeditions fitted out at Segura was for the reduction of the northern route to Villa Rica, by which the Spaniards had first entered the plateau, and for the punishment of those concerned in the murder of Alcántara and other Spaniards.[43] It set out in the beginning of December, under Sandoval, with two hundred infantry, twenty horses, and the usual complement of allies, and entered Xocotlan valley, which readily submitted, with the exception of the main town, named Castilblanco during the first entry into the country. The cacique, who had then already shown himself unfriendly, rejected every proposition, with the threat that he would make a feast on the commander and his followers, as he had on the former party. There being no alternative, the cavalry charged the large force which had taken up position near a ravine, on the outskirts of the city, with a view to defend the entrance. Under cover of the musketeers and archers, who from one side of the ravine did considerable harm to the enemy, the charge succeeded, though four riders and nine horses were wounded, one of the latter dying. The enemy thrown into disorder fled to join the remaining garrison, which occupied the temples on the plaza. With the aid of the infantry and allies the stronghold speedily fell, and a number of prisoners were secured.[44]

Proceeding northward along the mountain border of the plateau Sandoval added a considerable extent of country to his conquest, meeting serious opposition

[42] 'Buenas, ò malas Indias, sacallas al almoneda...que se venderia.' *Id.* This was to be done at the next distribution in Tezcuco. The proceeding was discussed at length in Spain, and favored also by a large body of the clergy, as justifiable; but the emperor took the humane course of allowing captives to be held only as prisoners, so long as this was absolutely necessary. *Solis, Hist. Mex.*, ii. 233.

[43] The party commissioned to carry the Villa Rican share of the Aztec treasure from Tlascala to the coast. Bernal Diaz intimates that another party of nine were killed at Xocotlan. *Hist. Verdad.*, 115–16.

[44] The bodies of five of the Spaniards here murdered had been sent to Mexico, the rest eaten.

only at Jalancingo, where the Aztec garrison, ever since the beginning of the Tepeaca campaign, had been employed in fortifying the place, and either considered themselves secure or feared that a surrender would procure no better terms, for them, at least. They were disconcerted by being attacked on different sides, under native guidance, and after a brief resistance took to flight, during which a number of them were captured, the Spaniards losing three horses, and having eight men severely injured, Sandoval receiving an arrow wound. In a temple were found relics of slaughtered Spaniards, in the shape of dresses, arms, and saddles.[45] A few days later the expedition set out to rejoin the army, with a large amount of spoils and a train of captives. The chiefs were pardoned by Cortés, with politic regard for the future, and enjoined to furnish their quota of supplies at Segura.[46]

The head-quarters had meanwhile been removed to Tlascala, preparatory to a march on Mexico, and Segura was now in charge of the alcalde, Pedro de Ircio, lately lieutenant of Sandoval at Villa Rica, assisted by the regidor, Francisco de Orozco, and sixty men, including the invalids and the disabled.[47] Cortés had left it in the middle of December,[48] taking with the cavalry the route through Cholula,[49] to settle the question of succession to a number of cacique offices vacated during the epidemic. These appeals were

[45] Alcántara's, it would seem. The treasure carried by him had been dissipated.

[46] 'Dos dias ante de Navidad llegó el capitan con la gente...que habian ido á las provincias de Cecatami y Xalazingo,' says Cortés, *Cartas*, 163–5, who had already taken up quarters at Tlascala. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 172. Bernal Diaz speaks of a second expedition to Xocotlan, with 30 cavalry and 100 infantry; but this must be owing to a confusion of names, in one case the valley, Cacatami, being mentioned, in the other the town, Cocotlan. *Hist. Verdad.*, 116.

[47] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 172; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xviii. See note 37. 'Por Capitan vn Francisco de Orozco, con obra de veynte soldados que estauan heridos, y dolientes,' says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 118; Vetancurt follows. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 149.

[48] 'Por tener la nauidad q̄ era de ay a doze dias en Tlaxcallan.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 172.

[49] Gomara calls it Coliman, which Chimalpain identifies with Amozoc, still in existence. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 13.

made to him not only as the representative of the Spanish monarch to whom the people had sworn obedience, but as an acknowledgment of his influence over the native mind. His treatment of the conquered and his equitable decisions of disputes had made him the umpire and king-maker whom not only allies, but half-reconciled tribes were willing to heed, in private and public affairs. Having made the appointments, and formed favorable arrangements for himself, he rejoined the army. The march to Tlascala was one befitting the return of conquering heroes. Triumphal arches covered the roads, and processions came to chant the praises of the victors, and recount the successes achieved by the Tlascaltec allies, as shown by spoils and banners from different provinces and cities, and by long files of captives. On nearing the republican capital the whole population came forth to join in the ovation, and at the plaza an orator stepped forward to greet Cortés in a glowing panegyric, wherein he reviewed his progress as conqueror and avenger. In reply Cortés alluded feelingly to the brotherhood between the two races, now cemented by blood and victories, and to the common loss sustained in the death of the wise and noble Maxixcatzin. These words, added to the evidence of sorrow in the mourning array of their dress and arms, left a most favorable impression on the minds of the brave allies.

He was again called as representative of his king to appoint as successor to Maxixcatzin his eldest legitimate son, a boy of twelve years, against whom a claimant had arisen.[50] This done, Cortés dubbed him a knight, according to Castilian usage, in recognition of the services of his father, causing him also to be baptized, with the name of Juan, Maxixcatzin becoming the family name.[51] Taking advantage of the occasion and of his own popularity, the general sought to

[50] In the person of an illegitimate brother, is the assumption of modern authorities.

[51] Herrera names him Lorenzo; but Torquemada insists that this was the father's name.

inspire a more general feeling in favor of his religion, but the effort met with little encouragement, and he wisely refrained from pressing so dangerous a subject. According to Bernal Diaz, the elder Xicotencatl was among the limited number of saved souls, and received the name of Vicente.[52] The native records, as given by Camargo and Torquemada, and adopted by most writers, assume that the four chiefs were all baptized at this time, if not earlier; but they are neither clear nor consistent, and are evidently impelled by a desire to redeem the native leaders from the charge of idolatry. Cortés, Herrera, Diaz, and other chroniclers would not have failed to record so large and prominent a conquest for the church, particularly since the two latter do mention the exceptional converts.[53]

[52] The old soldier calls him Lorenzo de Vargas, but is probably mistaken. *Hist. Verdad.*, 118.

[53] Camargo gives at length the speeches of Cortés and the chiefs on the occasion. The latter invites him to accept their friendship and services, and settle among them, whereupon the general explains that the main object of his coming is to overthrow false idols, and that the condition of his staying with them must be the adoption of the true faith, wherein lies the sole reason for the superiority of his race over theirs. The holy ghost assists to impress his words, and they yield; but they implore him not to cast down the revered idols, for such an act may be fraught with the most terrible disasters. Cortés insists, and promises to assume all risks. Thus pressed, they ask to confer with the representatives of the people, lest a revolt occur. The council objects, offers to give the most prominent place to the new gods, and finally yields, amidst tears and wailing. The people secretly hide the adored images, and while accepting baptism still retain the old worship in secret. The four chiefs first receive the rite, under the sponsorship of the leading Spanish captains, Maxixcatzin the elder being named Lorenzo; Xicotencatl, Vicente; Tlehuexolotl, Gonzalo; and Citlalpopoca, Bartolomé. The general baptism followed, those baptized on the first day being named Juan, and María, and Ana, for men and women respectively, each receiving a ticket whereon the name was written. Many forgot their names, nevertheless, and had to appeal to the register; some received baptism over again, because they failed to acknowledge the previous rite, and others attended service for years without having been to the font. Among the idols and relics saved from the general destruction were the ashes of Camaxtli, the chief god of the tribe, said by some to have been the brother of Tezcatlipoca, by others the father of Quetzalcoatl. They were jealously guarded by the chief Tecpanecatl Tecuhtli, of Tepeticpac, till 1576, when, tired of the temporal injuries which were falling upon him, owing to their presence in his house, he turned to the Church and surrendered the relic, and died the same week, on holy Thursday, while penitently lashing himself before the madonna. On opening the envelope of the relic a mass of blonde hair fell out, showing that tradition was true in describing the god as a white man. *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 151–9, 178–9. Brasseur de Bourbourg eagerly seizes on this statement to support his theory that the Toltecs had come from the north of Europe to

Cortés also refers to a conversion in the person of Tecocoltzin, a younger brother of King Cacama, and the future head of Tezcuco, who is named Fernando; but he does so in a manner which indicates that the conversion was exceptional.[54] His baptism took place probably on the same day as that of young Maxixcatzin and old Xicotencatl, the occasion being celebrated with banquets and dances, with illumination, sports, and exchange of presents, the Spaniards adding horse-races and other interesting proceedings for the gratification of the natives.

found their empire and era of culture in Mexico. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 392 et seq. Camargo places the general baptism on the occasion of Cortés' first arrival in the republic, but herein Torquemada corrects him, although following the version in other respects. The picture in the convent at Tlascala indicates, he says, that the four chiefs, including the elder Maxixcatzin, were baptized together, and by the clergyman Juan Diaz. Great festivals followed the ceremony. i. 523, iii. 166–9. Ixtlilxochitl, who also refers to this picture, follows Camargo's date, but names Xicotencatl senior Bartolomé, Zitlapopocatzin Baltasar, Tlehuexolotzin Gonzalo, and Maxixcatzin, a young man, Juan. *Hist. Chich.*, 294. Brasseur de Bourbourg corrects this by substituting Xicotencatl junior for Maxixcatzin and naming him Vicente. He adds Nezahualpilli's son Tecocoltzin, who receives the name of Fernando. ubi sup. The assumption that the four elder chiefs were baptized together, and the statement that the elder Maxixcatzin had died before Cortés returned to Tlascala, appear contradictory, but Vetancurt reconciles them by dating the general baptism just before the beginning of the Tepeaca campaign, and adopting the names as given on the picture in 'our convent,' and as quoted by Camargo and Torquemada. Padre Juan Diaz, who performed the rite, is supposed to have been killed soon after. Several other versions of his fate and burial-place are given. *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 146. But he testified during the residencia investigation against Alvarado, 1529. See *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 124. Clavigero follows Vetancurt, and maintains, notwithstanding the failure of the conquest writers to notice that event, that 'è certo, che tutti i quattro Capi di quella Repubblica furono battezzati avanti la conquista... Oltre ad' altre pruove ciò consta dalle pitture antiche.' *Storia Mess.*, iii. 150. It would be interesting to know what the 'altre pruove' are. Prescott admits only the baptism of the two Maxixcatzins and old Xicotencatl, but avoids giving the new names, owing to the conflict of authorities. *Mex.*, ii. 445.

[54] 'Cómo era Muchacho, imprimió mas en él nuestra conversacion y tornóse cristiano.' *Cartas*, 177.

CHAPTER XXX.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE FLEET.

DECEMBER, 1520—FEBRUARY, 1521.

THE OBJECTIVE POINT—VESSELS NEEDED—MARTIN LOPEZ SENT TO TLASCALA FOR TIMBER—THIRTEEN BRIGANTINES ORDERED—CORTÉS AT TLASCALA—DRILL AND DISCIPLINE—ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL—PARADE OF THE TLASCALTECS—MARCH TO TEZCUCO—NEW RULER APPOINTED—SACKING OF ITZTAPALAPAN—THE CHALCANS—ARRIVAL AT TEZCUCO OF THE BRIGANTINE BRIGADE.

THE Tepeaca campaign had been only part of the plan conceived during the flight to Tlascala for the recovery of the dominating point of the empire. The strength of the capital, and the ascendancy acquired by the Aztecs during Spanish exclusion from the lake region, made it impossible to strike directly at the centre of the uprising. It was necessary first to conquer the surrounding provinces on which Mexico depended for aid, and to do this in detail was easier than to meet the combined strength of the foe. This would also leave the conquering troops free to turn their whole attention against the capital, with fresh allies and larger resources. A centre for operation was now needed within the valley, and one from which the Aztecs might be attacked in due time both by land and water. For this object Tezcuco presented the greatest advantages in being situated on the lake, some six leagues from Mexico, in the midst of a fertile country, and near enough to Tlascala, from and through which reinforcements might readily be obtained.[1]

[1] Many favored Ayotzinco, near Chalco, which offered also a good launching place for the vessels. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 118.

With a prudent foresight to these movements Cortés had shortly after his first successes in Tepeaca sent Martin Lopez, the shipwright, to Tlascala to prepare timber for thirteen brigantines, which were to be transported to the lake for besieging purposes. The republic offered to provide material and native carpenters, and aided by Andrés Nuñez and others, Lopez soon formed an efficient corps of assistants for felling and shaping the pieces, as modelled and numbered by himself. The site of construction was at Atempan, on the Rio Zahuatl,[2] which afforded the necessary water for the trial launch, and had forests near by from which timber, masts, and pitch could be obtained.[3] Iron, sails, cordage, and other needful articles taken from the sunken fleet were forwarded from Villa Rica, together with smiths and other workmen.

With the arrival of Cortés at Tlascala, preparations receive a fresh impulse, and weapons and armor are overhauled, pikes and arrows made, and stores collected. An opportune addition is made by the arrival of a vessel from Spain and the Canaries, laden with war material, bows, bowstrings, arquebuses, powder, and a variety of goods; also over a dozen soldiers, with three horses. Cortés purchases the whole cargo, and persuades the owner, Juan de Búrgos, the captain, and the men to join him.[4]

[2] Where now is the chapel of San Buenaventura. *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 176. Yet Lorenzana says: 'Por constante tradicion se trabajó en un Barrio de Hueyothlipan, que llaman Quausimalán, que quiere decir, donde labran los Palos.' *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 167. But it is more likely to have been on the river passing through Tlascala city, and near Matlalcueye Mount.

[3] The timber came probably from the Matlalcueye slopes; the masts from Hueyotlipan; the pitch from the pine woods near Huexotzinco, says Bernal Diaz, where it was prepared by four sailors, for the natives did not understand its manufacture. 'Es la Sierra Matlalcuie,' states Torquemada, *Monarq. Ind.*, i. 524. 'La brea se saca de...la sierra de la Agua de Xalapa,' near San Juan de los Llanos. *Bustamante*, in *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 13. This applies rather to colonial times. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 118, 124, names a number of those who aided in building. See also *Mora*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog., Boletin*, x. 302–3.

[4] Bernal Diaz names several of the thirteen soldiers. The captain was Francisco Medel. One of the men, Monjaraz, was said to have murdered his wife. He kept aloof from all combat, but once he ascended a tower to look on, and was that same day killed by Indians. *Hist. Verdad.*, 118–19.

Drill receives attention, and equally necessary is the maintenance of order, for they are few, remote from succor, and surrounded by a powerful, warlike, and astute foe. Then they must maintain friendly relations with their allies, whose aid is essential to the achievement of their plans. One hasty utterance, one unjust act, can raise a storm wherein all may perish. Good treatment on every hand is necessary to win neutral and hostile provinces. It is often easier to persuade than to enforce. With this view Cortés, as captain-general and justicia mayor for his majesty, prepares a series of regulations which are proclaimed on the 26th of December 1520.

In a lengthy preamble are set forth some reasons for its publication and the necessity for good conduct, as recognized not only in human but in divine affairs, and practised since time immemorial for the regulation of wars.

The first article proclaims the primary motive of this, and indeed of all their campaigns, to be spiritual conquest, in the absence of which material conquests must be regarded as unjust. Blasphemy is forbidden lest the offended Almighty should refuse his assistance. Gambling in a modified form is permitted, but quarrelling is prohibited.

Rules are laid down for discipline in camp and field for sentinels, for prompt and courageous performance of duty. No Spaniard may enter houses in a hostile city to plunder until the foe has been driven forth and victory secured; and booty of whatsoever nature, however and wherever acquired, must be declared before the proper officers, under penalty of death. Any captain who attacks an enemy without orders shall be put to death.[5]

[5] Such are in substance the famous regulations of Cortés. The document was witnessed on the 22d of December by the leading officers, before Juan de Ribera, 'notary public in all the kingdoms of Spain,' and was publicly read at the review of the troops, the 26th, by Anton García, crier. The full text has been reproduced in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 445–51, and *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 13–23, owing to the defects of the copy by Prescott, and the briefness and blunders of earlier references to it.

Orders were also issued to regulate the prices of clothing and accoutrements, which were excessive. In order to enforce the necessary respect for the regulations, Cortés punished the earlier infringements with a severity even in excess of the penalty proclaimed. Two of the general's own negro slaves were hanged for petty theft, and a pilfering soldier was pardoned only when half strangled.[6]

After a fortnight of rest and preparation Cortés concluded to resume the campaign, partly lest a longer delay should cool the ardor of the soldiers and allies. On the day following Christmas the troops were mustered for review in the main square of Tlascala, where Cortés in velvet-covered mail stood surrounded by the royal officials, the leading chiefs of the republic, and a brilliant suite. First marched the cross-bowmen in double file, who at a signal discharged their arms aloft and passed on with a salute. After them came the shield-bearers, waving their swords, which they sheathed after saluting; then the pikemen with copper-headed pikes, followed by arquebusiers, who saluted with a thundering salvo that reëchoed along the circling hills and sent a tremor through the crowd of native spectators. Last came the cavalry, prancing and skirmishing in rapid evolutions, to display their skill as fighters and riders, and to dazzle the beholders with their glittering arms and adornment. The total force consisted of five hundred and fifty infantry, divided into nine companies, and forty cavalry in four squads, with nine small pieces of artillery, eighty cross-bows and arquebuses.[7]

The main reliance of the infantry was in the swords and pikes, the long Chinantec poles being largely introduced, even among the allies, and made effective

[6] 'Quedò tal, que no boluio en si, ni pudo tragar en vn mes.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xx. One soldier was lashed for imposing on an Indian, and another degraded.

[7] This is Cortés' own account, with the exception that he gives the field-pieces as eight or nine. *Cartas*, 165. Gomara says 540 infantry and nine guns. *Hist. Mex.*, 174. Vetancurt writes six guns, which may be a misprint. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 150.

by long drilling. The nucleus of the troops, whereon rested the highest hopes, was of course the horsemen, whose safety had been carefully looked to by providing the steeds with poitrels, and side and quarter coverings of stout bulls'-hide, reaching to the hocks. They were fringed with small pieces of iron which jingled like bells, and were supposed to add to the terror ever spread by these animals among the natives.[8] The riders were equally protected, some with helmet and body mail of steel, which covered even the limbs, leaving the wearer vulnerable only at the joints.[9] Others had less complete mail, while many possessed only the twisted cotton armor worn by the foot-soldiers, though this was sufficiently effective in native warfare. Thus was experience rapidly developing the art of war in America.

The troops having fallen into line, Cortés advanced on horseback and addressed them. They had mustered for a most important enterprise, to recover the rich provinces once acquired but wrested from them by treacherous rebels, to elevate the holy faith insulted by idolaters, and to avenge the blood of cruelly murdered friends and comrades. "Just are the reasons which impel us," cried the speaker, "and necessary to our security. Spaniards! God has ever favored you; therefore be fearless. Let your conduct be such as to inspire with respect and confidence our stout and tried allies, a hundred thousand and more of whom stand ready and eager to join us. What more can Christian soldiers desire than the double favors which God here giveth us, rich rewards in temporal blessings and that glory immortal which follows victory?" Thus the astute commander stirred the hearts of his men; and believing his own words, was himself stirred thereby. And the shout came back to him that they would re-

[8] 'Anqueras,' as Spaniards call the covering, are still in use by rich horsemen in Mexico, highly ornamented.

[9] Thompson describes the armor of Alvarado at the Mexico museum. It indicates that this renowned cavalier was a smaller man than Cortés, whom he supposes to have been of Napoleon's size. *Recol. Mex.*, 119.

gain the lost and avenge themselves on the exultant Tenochtitlans.[10]

Not to be outdone by foreigners, next morning the Tlascaltecs marched into the plaza to the sound of conchs, pipes, and drums, the four lords at the head richly attired and in plumage studded with precious stones, which rose a yard above their heads in variegated colors, denoting their rank and achievements. Following them were four squires bearing their weapons, and the standard-bearers of the respective quarters. Then in files of twenty deep came the regular warriors, divided into archers, shieldmen, and pikemen, and into companies, each with its ensigns and musicians. A striking spectacle they presented in their orderly lines, gay with flowing plumes, glittering arms, and many-colored devices; some of the latter displayed on a broad plane of shields extended; others embroidered on the quilted cotton tunics of leading warriors. All together formed a series of gay streaks broken by wider bronze-hued masses of naked rank and file, while above all heads rose a profusion of feather-work banners, speckled with brilliant ornaments.[11] These were lowered as the companies passed before Cortés, who doffed his cap in acknowledgment, the warriors responding by bending the head and discharging their bows. Their number on this occasion has been estimated as high as one hundred and fifty thousand, and although this is evidently exaggerated, there is no doubt that the large Tlascaltec army was swelled by companies from the neighboring provinces.[12]

The march over, Cortés addressed the allies, extolling their deeds which had covered the republic with

[10] In *Cortés, Cartas*, 165–6, are given the main points of the speech, too brief evidently for Gomara, who fabricates a verbose spiritless oration according to his fancy, *Hist. Mex.*, 174–5, while shorter versions are presented by Ixtlilxochitl, Oviedo, Torquemada, and Clavigero.

[11] See *Native Races*, ii. 405–12, for description of arms, banners, etc.

[12] Herrera, who objects to Ojeda's large figure, gives 60,000 archers, 40,000 shieldmen, and 10,000 pikemen, dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xx., and this Vetancurt accepts, *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 150, while Solis reduces the men at the review to 10,000, though he allows over 60,000 to join the march the following day. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 287–8.

glory. Soon again would they add to its renown and its wealth, while avenging ancient wrongs. He would see to it that their services were recognized by the emperor. A small proportion would accompany him on the present march; the remainder could follow after the completion of the brigantines.[13] In orthodox cheers the native warriors testified approbation. Their general then spoke, exhorting them ever to remember that they were Tlascaltecs, a name of terror to all foes. Only twenty thousand of the eager republicans, including some Huexotzincas and the carriers, were allowed to join the expedition, for more could not be conveniently used during the preliminary campaign. Their general was Chichimecatl.[14]

On the following day, the 28th of December, after the invocation of divine aid, and midst the stirring strains of music, the army filed out of Tlascala, the populace lining the route and shouting their farewell blessings. "The gods grant you victory!" they cried, "and successful return." "There go the strong ones to humble the proud," said some, while of the women many sobbed: "Oh! if our eyes should never behold you again!" There were three routes leading into the lake provinces, two of them tried already during former marches; but since the enemy were doubtless on the alert with ambuscades and other measures, it was deemed best to select the third and worst road, north of snow-crowned Iztaccihuatl, by which an approach would be least expected.[15]

[13] If any there were who followed not of their free-will they should remain behind. He had enough men as it was. The lords replied that they would rather be drowned in the lake than return without victory. *Torquemada*, i. 526. On this occasion may have been presented to the Tlascaltec battalion the red damask banner, bearing on one side the crowned image of the virgin with the hands uplifted in prayer, and on the other the royal arms of Castile and Leon, a banner which Boturini obtained possession of with proofs of its genuineness. *Catalogo*, 75. Yet this design appears to belong to a standard borne by the Spaniards on entering the conquered Mexico.

[14] The chief motive for restricting the number was, according to Gomara, the trouble of sustaining them. *Hist. Mex.*, 176. Bernal Diaz mentions only 10,000 warriors, wherein he evidently does not include carriers. *Hist. Verdad.*, 119. Herrera increases the number to 80,000, under four captains, directed to a certain extent by Ojeda and Juan Marquez. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xx.

[15] 'Acordé de entrar por esta de Tezmoluca, porque...el puerto dél era

This led through Tezmeluca,[16] a village in Huexotzinco, six leagues from Tlascala, where camp was formed. Here began a three-league ascent of the pass, and the Tezcucan border was crossed amidst intense cold, the gradually dwindling vegetation giving freer scope to the bleak wind which came whistling from the summits. A league farther a convenient spot was found for a halt, and the tired and shivering soldiers were soon huddling round fires. On the following day a thick pine forest was entered, and soon after the road was found blocked with felled trees. This created no little stir among the men, but Cortés, who had not expected an unobstructed path, sent forward a body of natives to clear it.[17] With forces massed and arms prepared, Cortés thereupon led the way, and in half a league open ground was gained, to the relief of all. The difficulties of the march were passed, and behind the army now lay the grim expanse of barren rocks and hoary peaks; while beneath a pale-blue sky they descended the wooded slopes to the valley below, rich in variegated hues of field and garden, and enlivened with the gleaming white of human habitation. Beyond spread the glassy surface of the lakes, bordered on the farther side by the misty outline of low ranges, fading in the distance like the glories of the now fading empire. The queen city was the theme, however, and while some descanted to late recruits on its wealth and beauties, others stood silently gazing on the spot so dimmed with sad remembrances. Thus pondering on the past they could almost hear the voices of fallen comrades calling on them for vengeance, and "we vowed," writes

mas agro y fragoso.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 167. Yet Lorenzana adds a note of explanation which shows that he misunderstands the text. Ixtlilxochitl calls the road Tlepehuacan. *Hist. Chich.*, 306. Through the Rio Frio Mountains. *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 19. The present improved road from Vera Cruz to Mexico. *Orozco y Berra*, in *Noticias Mex.*, 255.

[16] 'Lugar de Enzinas.' *Herrera*, loc. cit. Now San Martin Tezmeluca. *Bustamante*, in *Chimalpain*, ubi sup.

[17] Herrera leaves the impression that a new road was now opened to escape the entrenchments and traps already formed by the enemy. But he is evidently wrong.

Cortés, "there to achieve victory or perish."[18] As if in response to the challenge, ominous smoke columns rose from the circling heights, the signal of the Mexicans to rouse the inhabitants against the invaders.

No opposition was met during the descent, but beyond a ravine, on level ground, forces were seen approaching from different directions.[19] By a quick movement Cortés managed to leave the broken ground and gain the bridges ere the foe had united. Having now a plain before them, fifteen of the horsemen charged and routed the main body. The rest dispersed, with the Tlascaltecs in close pursuit to kill and ravage. The army did not camp till they reached the deserted Coatepec, some three leagues from Tezcuco.

Shortly before this there had been an accession in the person of Ixtlilxochitl,[20] the ruler of the northern part of Acolhuacan, who had offered his friendship to the Spaniards before they ever entered the valley. His faith in them was unshaken, particularly under the aspect of their late successes, and he came to renew his protestations, assuring Cortés that no opposition would be offered at Tezcuco. He gave information about the political feeling, the prospect for humbling the hated Aztecs, and the fate of certain small bodies of Spaniards during the uprising. He also stated that Cuicuetzcatl was no more. While at Tepeaca, Cortés had sent to Cohuanacoch, the usurper king at Tezcuco, an Acolhua noble,[21] with peaceful proposals. The envoy was executed. Not long after, Cuicuetzcatl set out for Tezcuco, without leave, tired as he was of the semi-captive restraint at Tlascala, and confident that with the aid of his adherents and the prestige of Spanish success he would be able to overthrow his

[18] 'Prometimos todos de nunca dellas salir sin victoria, ó déjar allí las vidas.' *Cartas*, 169. 'We vowed, if God gave success, to act better in besieging the city.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 119.

[19] Herrera calls them 100.000; Vetancurt, 140,000.

[20] At Tlepehuacan, near the border. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 306-7.

[21] Ixtlilxochitl calls him in one place the brother of Cohuanacoch. *Id.*, 299.

usurping brother and resume the sceptre entrusted him by Montezuma and Cortés. The presence of so powerful an intriguer in the capital could not long escape the spies of Cohuanacoch, who had him seized, and by the advice of Quauhtemotzin summarily removed from his path.[22]

Although fully a hundred thousand warriors were rumored to be hovering hereabout, no formidable evidences of hostility were encountered during the march to Tezcuco. A short distance from Coatepec a procession of Acolhua nobles appeared, headed by four prominent personages, and bearing a golden banner as a peace offering. They came in the name of Cohuanacoch to tender his submission and the hospitality of the city, with the request that no ravages be committed. After what he had learned Cortés could hardly look upon their master as other than an inimical usurper, whose tardy proffers could not be trusted, and whose opposition need not be feared. He accordingly received the message coldly, referred to the treacherous slaughter of the Yuste party of fifty Spaniards and three hundred Tlascaltecs, and demanded that at least the treasures seized on that occasion should be restored; failing in which, a thousand natives should die for every Spaniard killed. The envoys tremblingly explained that the outrage had been committed by Zoltepecs at the instance of the Aztec ruler, whose men had carried off the valuables. Still, they would institute a search.[23]

Regardless of their urgent request that the entry into the capital should be deferred till quarters had been prepared, Cortés proceeded through the outlying suburbs of Coatlichan and Huexotla, where the chiefs

[22] 'As a spy,' adds Cortés, *Cartas*, 176. Ixtlilxochitl states, contrary to Cortés, that this general sent him to Tezcuco on the same errand as the previous envoy. *Hist. Chich.*, 306. But this appears a needless exposure of an important personage.

[23] Bernal Diaz states that Cortés nevertheless embraced the envoys, three of whom were relatives of Montezuma. *Hist. Verdad.*, 120.

came forth to render homage, and passed on Monday, the 31st of December, into Tezcuco, which was for many a month to be his 'halting-place,' as the name signifies.[24] Quarters were taken up in Nezahualcoyotl's palace, as the largest and strongest place.[25]

Meanwhile some soldiers who had ascended a tower came to report that the inhabitants were hurrying away by land and water. Cortés now understood why the envoys had sought to detain him on the road, and gave immediate orders to seize the ruler and as many leading men as possible. It was too late, however. Cohuanacoch had escaped. After usurping the throne, combining with the foes of the Spaniards, and murdering the ruler appointed by them, he did not dare to trust himself within their reach. Hence, as the invaders marched in he embarked for Mexico with his family, his chief adherents and treasures, attended by a fleet of canoes with fugitives and effects. The anger of Cortés at this escape encouraged the pursuing troops to commit certain excesses; and in this they could hardly be blamed, for in one of the temples were found relics of the Yuste party, which very naturally fired the soldiers with a desire for vengeance.[26] Ixtlilxochitl and other friendly chiefs implored pity for the unoffending inhabitants, and orders were issued in accordance, though not until the allies had sacked a number of houses and fired the beautiful Nezahualpilli palace containing the national archives.[27]

Not knowing what might follow this exodus, Cortés hastened to fortify his quarters and to collect supplies, aided by Ixtlilxochitl, who had succeeded somewhat in reassuring the people. In order to re-

[24] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 214.

[25] Prescott says Nezahualpilli's, but this was burned at this very time according to the only authority on the point, Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Cruelitades*, 10. Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes that the allies stayed at Huexotla, which is doubtful. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 402.

[26] The stuffed skins of the five horses were found, and other things, offered to the idol. *Cortés, Cartas*, 183. Strange that the Tezcucans should not have removed so palpable evidence against them.

[27] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 306.

store confidence, however, and win the inhabitants to his purposes, he saw that there should be a recognized head, with influence to control them, and one whom he could trust. The former necessity demanded that the choice should be made among the brothers of Cohuanacoch, children of Nezahualpilli, and of these Ixtlilxochitl and Tecocoltzin were the only professed friends of the Spaniards. The latter was of less legitimate birth, it seems, than some of the brothers, and a mere youth, who had shared the *quasi* captivity of Cuicuetzcatl, and had accepted baptism with the name of Fernando Cortés de Monroy.[28] He was tall and well formed, of noble presence, and as fair as the average Spaniard. Of docile disposition, he had readily conformed to the teachings of the friars, had adopted Spanish ideas, and had become a favorite among the conquerors. It may be readily understood that this easily ruled boy should be preferred by Cortés to Ixtlilxochitl, whose stay in Tezcuco during the troublous times had not tended to strengthen Spanish confidence.

Cortés summoned the chiefs and represented that since Cohuanacoch had forfeited any claims that he might have had to the throne, by murdering the lawfully elected king and by abandoning his country, they should therefore choose another ruler. He took care that his selection should become known to them, and the electors hastened to conform to the

[28] *Real Cédula, 1551.* In this cédula are named a number of the brothers, but the pagan name is not given in every instance. Bernal Diaz and Torquemada confirm this baptismal name for the ruler now appointed; Cortés writes merely Fernando; Ixtlilxochitl adds Tecocoltzin; Sahagun gives the latter name and calls him legitimate, as he was in a certain sense. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 143. Clavigero calls him Fernando Cortés Ixtlilxochitl; Chimalpain interpolates De Alvarado in lieu of Cortés, but substitutes Tecocoltzin for Ixtlilxochitl in one place. *Hist. Conq.*, 21, 55. Vetancurt evidently accepts the true name, but applies the baptism and appointment to Ixtlilxochitl. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 152. The latter, who succeeded to the Tezcucan rulership toward the end of 1521, received the name of Fernando Pimentel, and it is this similarity of the first name that has led to the pretty general confusion about the appointee. Lockhart actually attempts to rectify the correct statement of Bernal Diaz with a blunder, *Memoirs*, ii. 411; and Zamacois, in doing the same with the blundering Solis, gives a long note amusingly erroneous. *Hist. Méj.*, iii. 585.

conqueror's will, not even Ixtlilxochitl venturing to remonstrate.[29]

Fernando was accordingly brought from Tlascala soon after and installed with great ceremony, receiving a Spanish dress with arms.[30] He proved kind and faithful, particularly to his patrons, yet Cortés never relaxed his caution, and in order to keep him under safe surveillance Antonio de Villareal was appointed his tutor, and Bachiller Escobar captain of Tezcuco, while Pedro Sanchez Farfan and his brave wife María de Estrada also remained there. This recognition of an esteemed descendant of the beloved Nezahualpilli, and the just and moderate conduct of the Spaniards, served to reconcile the people, who speedily returned to their homes and avocations. The caciques of Coatlichan, Huexotla, and Atenco tendered allegiance within three days of the Spanish entry, protesting that their hostility had been wholly compulsory.

This ready submission was by no means palatable to Quauhtemotzin, who sent messengers to stir anew the spirit of revolt, while preparing to strike a blow. But the emissaries were promptly surrendered to the Spaniards, before whom they pretended to be merely peace mediators. It pleased Cortés to accept the explanation, and after treating the captives with great kindness he sent them back to Mexico to carry peace proposals. Those who had been the chief promoters of the late uprising were now dead, and it was better the past should be forgotten, and friendship established. To this no answer was vouchsafed.

[29] Ixtlilxochitl states not wrongly that Tecocoltzin was chosen by general request, but he adds that while the political horizon was so cloudy the electors preferred that a legitimate heir like Ixtlilxochitl should not fill so dangerous a position; nor did the latter care to rule while the elder brother lived. *Hist. Chich.*, 307; *Hor. Crueldades*, 11–13. Pretty good excuse for a prince who forcibly wrested half the domain from Cacama. Brasseur de Bourbourg assumes that he feared to be suspected of seeking a Spanish alliance merely to obtain the crown. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 409. But this design he had long harbored, as even the abbé intimates at times. He no doubt stood, with his strong character, as one of the powers behind the throne. Cohuanacoch does not appear to have had much influence.

[30] Solis takes this opportunity to elaborate a few of his specimen speeches. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 315–16. 'Fue el primero que en publico en Tezcuco se casò, y velò.' *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 152.

No hostile demonstration having occurred for eight days after the entry into Tezcuco, Cortés resolved to waste no further time in preparation, but to begin the campaign. This course was also needed to maintain the troops in activity, to encourage them with spoils, and to save the friendly Tezcucans from the constant drain of providing supplies. Among the intended head-quarters during the siege of Mexico to follow was the rich and beautiful garden city of Iztapalapan, close to the southern entrance of the capital. This was an advantageous point, through which a blow might be dealt the Mexicans while chastising the town itself for the hostility of its inhabitants and their late ruler, Cuitlahuatzin, the brother and successor of Montezuma. The expedition consisted of eighteen horse and two hundred foot, with a few thousand Tlascaltecs and Tezcucans,[31] headed by Cortés, Sandoval remaining in charge of the camp.

Warned by the movement, the inhabitants began to remove their families and valuables, while the warriors marched along the lake shore for nearly two leagues to meet and detain the invaders, supported by Aztec forces and a fleet of canoes. As soon as the Spaniards came up a lively skirmish ensued, the warriors being obliged to retreat, though slowly, rallying at times, when the nature of the ground permitted.[32] Three hours of fighting brought them near the town, and a final assault by the soldiers effected an entrance and forced the warriors to take refuge in canoes and houses. The first comers occupied the upper quarters, the others continued their course toward the lake, where the dwellings stood on piles, cutting down every person encountered in the streets. General massacre was followed by pillage, and before nightfall six thousand bodies were ready for the funeral

[31] Bernal Diaz differs somewhat, and gives the proportion of forces, attended also by Alvarado and Olid. *Hist. Verdad.*, 121. The Tlascaltecs numbered about 4000, and the Tezcucans, according to Ixtlilxochitl, from 4000 to 6000.

[32] Gomara assumes that they sought to allure the Spaniards into the town. *Hist. Mex.*, 179.

pyre.[33] Suddenly midst the work of destruction Cortés observed startling signs of increasing waters, and soon after a Tezcucan brought word that the dike shielding the town on the west had been cut. In their desperation the inhabitants had invoked the flood, whose mercy could not be more pitiless than the invaders, while it might assist the work of revenge.[34]

The opening was widening every moment. No time was to be lost. The recall was sounded, but with the people so scattered it took some time to gather them. Staggering under the weight of spoil they fell into line, their march being dimly lighted by the flames behind them. The flood increased so much that few of them could retain their burdens, and near the opening the water came with such force as to make the passage difficult. Several of the allies were swept away. It was nine o'clock before the last of the troops gained the high land beyond the dike. "A delay of three hours longer, and none of us would have escaped," writes Cortés. Failing in their desperate sacrifice to catch the invaders in the flooded houses, there to be imprisoned all night by the rushing waters, the enemy were at hand in canoes with early dawn, showering missiles and sallying against the flanks of the invaders. The Spaniards could only reply with sword and lance, for the powder was wet, and since nothing more could be done under the circumstances, they continued the retreat to Tezcuco. A number of allies fell, and even the soldiers, who had suffered no casualties in the capture of Iztapalapan, now lost one out of their ranks.[35]

Notwithstanding the loss of booty and the humiliating retreat, the expedition had succeeded in its

[33] So estimated by Cortés and others. Herrera reduces it to 5000.

[34] Cortés states that he saw men cutting the dike as he entered the town, but did not consider the significance until the water rose and recalled it to him. *Cartas*, 174.

[35] So says Cortés, while Bernal Diaz assumes that two men and one horse were lost, he himself receiving so severe a wound in the throat as to become an invalid for some time. *Hist. Verdad.*, 121. Solis refers to the affair as a glorious victory.

main object, to inflict a severe lesson on the foe by desolating one of the finest cities in the valley, at the very threshold of the capital. The effect was noticed in the arrival, the day after the return to Tezcuco, of messengers from Otumba and several adjacent towns,[36] penitently to renew their allegiance, which was never again broken. A number of other towns and domains followed the example, notably Chalco, a large and fertile district extending round Chalco Lake, and toward the south-eastward. It had fallen from the rank of an independent kingdom to that of a province tributary to the Aztecs. The severity of its task-masters kept ever smouldering the flame of revolt, and deeply the people sighed for deliverance. Owing to the proximity of the Mexicans and the presence of their lawless garrisons, they like many others had not before ventured to cast off the yoke, but with the approach of the Spaniards they gathered courage, and two envoys were sent to implore protection.[37]

This accorded with Cortés' plans, and Sandoval was instructed to assist them. His first order, however, was to escort to Tlascala with twenty horsemen and two hundred infantry the carriers, together with a number of warriors, who desired to return home with the booty so far acquired. Fresh supplies were likewise desired, and communication with Villa Rica must be kept open. They had not proceeded far before the Tlascaltecs, who had hastened in advance of the Spanish main body, found themselves attacked by a large force, which slew a number and captured the carriers' train. Sandoval routed the assailants and recaptured most of the booty.[38]

[36] Four, says Cortés, and Lorenzana enumerates several which may have embraced them. *Hist. N. Esp.*, 196. Brasseur de Bourbourg confounds some with southern Chalco towns.

[37] Duran states that the Chalcans had sent presents with offers of alliance before the Spaniards crossed the mountain border. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 491. But this is doubtful. Ixtlilxochitl assumes that they appealed first to his namesake, as their suzerain, and he advised submission to Cortés. Mizquic and Cuitlahuac appear to have joined in the submission.

[38] Bernal Diaz writes that two archers fell and seven of the foe. Owing

From Tlascala Sandoval turned to Chalco. In certain maizefields in front of the capital the Mexicans stood prepared with twelve thousand warrriors to dispute possession. Hė charged them at the head of his cavalry, but, though yielding for a moment, they rallied and with their long pikes compelled him to fall back upon the infantry and allies. The second charge was more successful, and within two hours the foe was in flight, during which large numbers were slaughtered and some captives taken, including three leading men, while but few of the Spaniards were even wounded.

The Chalcans came forth to tender an ovation, and the two young rulers Acazitzin and Omacatzin[39] accompanied the troops to personally offer allegiance to Cortés, together with some small presents. Their father had always admired the Spaniards and sought to serve them,[40] and on his death-bed, during the late small-pox epidemic, he had recommended them and their counsellors to submit to the white chief, for to him and his children of the sun did prophecy point as rulers of that land. So important an accession gave no little pleasure to Cortés, who treated the young prisoners with every consideration. At their own request he confirmed them in the lordship, assigning to the eldest Chalco city, with more than half the towns in the province, while the younger received Tlalmanalco and Chimalhuacan, with Ayotzinco and other places subject to them.[41]

The eight captives were kindly treated, and sent to

to this incident Sandoval left orders that no reënforcements from Villa Rica should advance beyond Tlascala till further orders. *Hist. Verdad.*, 122. Prescott wrongly assumes that this attack occurred on the march to Chalco.

[39] Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.* 314. On another page, 307, he names Omacatzin and four other caciques, and Chimalpain, several others, *Hist. Conq.*, 36–7; but they appear nearly all to be sub-caciques. Brasseur de Bourbourg calls the first lord Itzcahuatzin.

[40] He had served the Spaniards during the late uprising. *Cortés, Cartas*, 178–9.

[41] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 123; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 174. After taking them back to Chalco, Sandoval escorted from Tlascala some Spaniards and Don Fernando, the new ruler of Tezcuco.

Mexico with peace proposals similar to those transmitted by the former captors; but there came no reply. The secession of Chalco was a blow to the Mexicans even more severe than the capture of Iztapalapan, owing to the bad example to submissive and wavering provinces, and Quauhtemotzin hastened with allurements and threats to reimpress upon them the necessity for remaining true to the empire. These messages were also sent to the towns round Tezcuco; and the caciques of Coatlichan and Huexotla came to the Spanish camp in great distress, to say that all Mexico was coming upon them. They were doubtful whether to flee to the mountains or come to Tezcuco. They were reassured and promised succor when required; meanwhile they must entrench themselves and prepare the warriors. The Mexicans did little, however, beyond making raids on farms and stragglers from two towns,[42] wherein they were entrenched, not far from Tezcuco. This attack on the larder of the army could not be endured, and Cortés went forth on two occasions to secure the threatened crops for himself, driving off a force of marauders who had come with quite a fleet in the expectation of a fine harvest, and capturing their strongholds on the lake.[43]

All this made communication with Tlascala insecure, and on last leaving that province Sandoval had strictly forbidden any one to cross to Tezcuco without a permit. It so happened that a vessel arrived at Villa Rica with over thirty soldiers, besides the crew, eight horses, and a quantity of war stores. Knowing how pleased Cortés would be, a young soldier broke the rules, adventured his life, and carried the tidings to the general, who freely forgave the disobedience of orders. This young cavalier also re-

[42] Chimalpain names Chimalhuacàn, Chitlahuaca, and Chicoaloapan. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 24.

[43] Some of the raided fields were Mexico temple properties. One Spaniard was killed and twelve wounded, while the Mexicans lost over a dozen, besides a number of prisoners. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 122–3. The caciques of the captured strongholds came now to submit. The Aztecs recaptured them, and had again to be driven forth. *Cortés, Cartas*, 180–1; *Torquemada*, i. 529.

ported that the brigantines were completed and ready for transport. Since siege operations could not begin until the brigantines were floated on Tezcuco Lake, no time was to be lost, and Sandoval received orders to proceed at once to Tlascala and convoy the precious train. In going he must pass through Zoltepec, five leagues distant, near the eastern border of Acolhuacan, and there inflict chastisement for the murder of the Yuste party during the late uprising.

Sandoval set out with fifteen horse and two hundred foot. On the way a house was passed bearing upon its wall the touching inscription, "Herein the unhappy Juan Yuste was a prisoner." The inhabitants of Zoltepec, henceforth termed 'pueblo Morisco,' had long expected this descent, and no sooner did the party appear in sight than they hastened to the mountains. One body of soldiers entered the town to plunder, and found among other things relics of the dress, arms, and accoutrements of their slain comrades in one of the temples.[44] Another body pursued the fugitives, killing a few and capturing a large number, chiefly women, who were enslaved. Their pleading so moved the heart of Sandoval that he issued a pardon to those who had escaped.

Meanwhile Martin Lopez, the master shipwright in Tlascala, had arranged for the transportation of the brigantines. A trial launch had been made of one or two above a dam thrown across Zahuatl River,[45] and this proving satisfactory they were broken up. Upon the shoulders of eight thousand carriers were now loaded the separate pieces of timber and planks, duly marked and numbered for fitting them together; also the spars, cordage, sails, together with a quantity of

[44] 'Dos caras que auian desollado...quatro cueros de cauallos curtidos... muchos vestidos de los Españoles q̃ auiã muerto.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 124.

[45] Herrera, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. v., intimates that all were launched, as do Camargo, Prescott, and others, but Torquemada observes that it would have been needless injury to the timbers to put all together. Besides, all were made on one or two models, the different pieces being shaped in exact imitation of those for the models.

ammunition, two heavy guns, and other effects.[46] Gayly they bent to the burden wherein lay enginery so portentous for the destruction of the hated Aztecs. The caravan set forth, escorted by a large force of warriors, and halted at Hueyotlipan to await the Spanish convoy. After a time the Tlascaltecs became impatient, and regardless of warnings proceeded. While encamped near the border an alarm was raised, and tumultuously the warriors rushed to arms to protect a portion at least of the train which had cost such labor and embodied such hopes. The next moment a cheer was heard. It was Sandoval and his men.

With this new protection many of the Tlascaltec escort could be dismissed, and the remaining twenty thousand were redistributed, the rear being assigned to the leading chief, Chichimecatl, and the flanks to Axotecatl and Teotepil.[47]

It was a strange sight in those parts, this serpentine procession as it wound its way across the Tezcucan border, along the narrow defiles of the mountains,[48] extending two miles from front to rear, it is said. A

[46] Ojeda, who appears to have rendered great service as interpreter and in controlling the Tlascaltecs, was soon after rewarded with what he terms a generalship over all the auxiliaries under Cortés. Herrera makes a special later expedition of 5000 Tlascaltecs convey the guns and other effects, carried in wooden beds by relays of twenty natives for each. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. vi.

[47] The names are written in different ways by different authors. The former is probably identical with the chief of Atlihuetzian, who afterward killed his two sons for becoming Christians, says Clavigero, *Storia, Mess.*, iii. 176. Chimalpain calls them brothers. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 26. Camargo, followed by Herrera, assumes that the original native force was 180,000. Gomara and Ixtlilxochitl allow 20,000 to have been retained, besides carriers; others give each of the chiefs 10,000 men, while Bernal Diaz, who as a rule seeks to ignore the value of native aid, reduces the number to 8000 warriors and 2000 carriers. Chichimecatl became quite indignant at finding himself removed from the van. He was a lord of Tlascala, and had ever been accustomed to posts of honor and danger. 'For this very reason,' replied Sandoval, 'have I placed you in the rear, for there the foe will be most likely to attack.' Though mollified in the main, Chichimecatl still grumbled, and considered his army sufficient to guard the rear without the aid of the Spanish force attached to his. Sandoval no doubt took the van, though Bernal Diaz states that he joined the rear. *Hist. Verdad.*, 124. Cortés implies that the change was owing to the risk, in case of attack, to have in the van the cumbersome timber under Chichimecatl's care. *Cartas*, 184–5. Chimalpain supposes that the chief carried his points. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 27.

[48] North of Telapon, as the easiest route, is the supposition of Orozco y Berra, in *Noticias Mex.*, 256.

fleet impelled by human agencies over mountain and plain, through forest and dale, it was indeed a "cosa maravillosa," as Cortés expresses it. The feat of Vasco Nuñez stood repeated, but magnified in some respects, in the number of the vessels, in the distance of the journey, the lurking foe being ever present, and in the audacity of purpose, the subjugation of the proudest metropolis on all this vast continent. And great was the rejoicing at Tezcuco as the caravan came in sight on the fourth day, arrayed in gala attire, with brightly gleaming devices and ornaments, and waving plumage, advancing in one long line to inspiring music. With a large retinue, also in gala dress, Cortés went forth to meet them, and as the procession passed into the city the Tlascaltecs rolled forth their newly acquired Spanish vivas: "Viva el Emperador!" "Viva Malinche!" "Castilla!" "Tlascala, Tlascala, Castilla!" The march past occupied six hours, says Cortés. Ship-yards were prepared for the vessels on the border of a creek or irrigation canal, which had been deepened and widened for nearly half a league, fortified in places with timber and masonry, and provided with dams and locks. This labor had occupied eight thousand Tezcucans fifty days.[49]

[49] 'Hizieron la quatro cientos mil hombres.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 191. That is, 8000 fresh men daily for 50 days, to judge by the figure. Ixtlilxochitl fails not to adopt a number which speaks so well for the size of his province. *Hist. Chich.*, 307; *Relaciones*, 416. 'La zanja tenia mas de dos estados de hondura y otros tantos de anchura, y iba toda chapada y estacada.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 206. Bustamante claims to have seen traces of it, *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 66–7, as did Lorenzana in his time. *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 234. For the caulking of the vessels cotton was also used, and for want of grease, human fat was obtained from slain enemies, writes Gomara. Oidor Znazo was assured of this pagan consecration for the fleet. This has been denied by others, observes Oviedo, iii. 423–4; but there is nothing improbable in a partial use thereof, for human fat had been frequently used in other cases, as Cortés admits. Additional timber was obtained in Tolantzinco, says Ixtlilxochitl.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PRELIMINARY CAMPAIGNS.

MARCH–MAY, 1521.

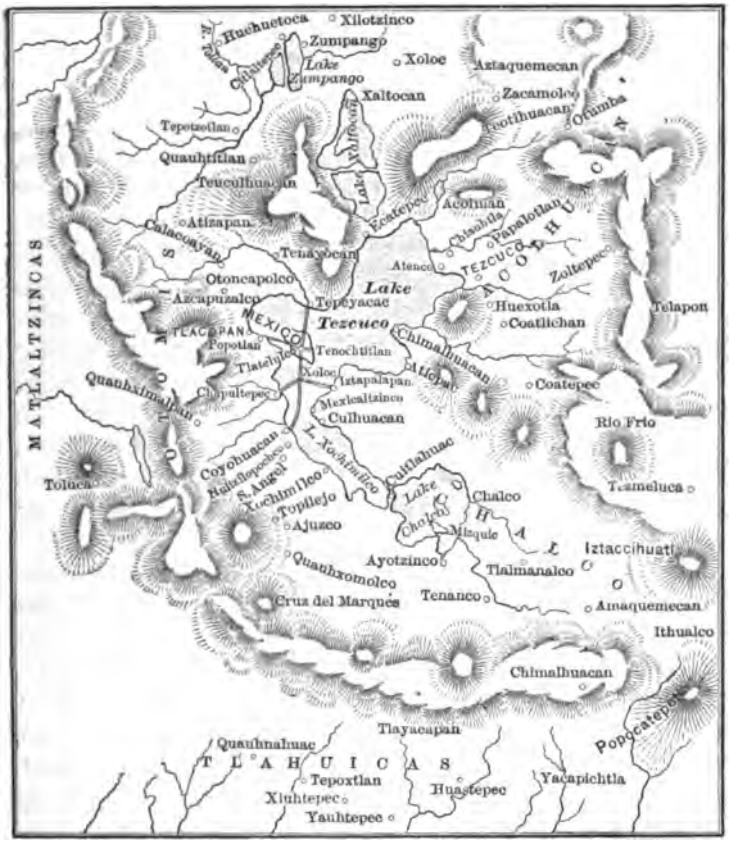
PLAN FOR THE INVESTMENT OF MEXICO—RECONNOITRING TOUR ROUND THE LAKE—CORTÉS IN COMMAND—ALVARADO AND OLID ACCOMPANY—THEY PROCEED NORTHWARD FROM TEZCUCO—CAPTURE OF CITIES AND STRONGHOLDS—XALTOCAN, QUAUHTITLAN, TENAYOCAN, AZCAPUZALCO, TLACOPAN, AND BACK TO TEZCUCO—CHALCO DISTURBED—PEACE PROPOSALS SENT TO MEXICO—FURTHER RECONNOISSANCE OF THE LAKE REGION—MANY BATTLES AND VICTORIES—QUAUHNAHUAC CAPTURED—BURNING OF XOCHIMILCO—SECOND RETURN TO TEZCUCO—CONSPIRACY.

THE arrival at Tezcuco of the brigantines recalled the necessity for planning the investment of Mexico, and this involved a reconnoitring tour round the lake, for which the Tlascaltecs in particular were importunate. Chichimecatl pressed this measure the moment he arrived at Tezcuco. He had come to serve the emperor, to join the Spaniards in avenging their fallen countrymen. Cortés expressed appreciation of his zeal, "but rest now," he said, "for soon you shall have your hands full." A few days later the general set out from Tezcuco with twenty-five horse, three hundred foot-soldiers, twenty-five archers and cross-bowmen, and over thirty thousand allies, chiefly Tlascaltecs, with a number of Tezcucans. Among the war material were six field-pieces.[1] Alvarado and Olid accompanied the expedition, and also a number of the Tezcucan leaders, partly as hostages, while Sandoval remained in charge. A northward course was taken,

[1] This is according to Cortés; others differ slightly, and Ixtlilxochitl increases the Tezcucan force to 60,000. *Hor. Crueldades*, 13.

though the aim and destination were divulged to but a few, owing to the distrust still entertained of the Tezcucans.

On the Tecama Plain, four miles from Tezcuco, a hostile force approached, probably by accident. After routing them the army encamped. The following day they proceeded to Xaltocan,[2] a prominent



THE VALLEY OF MEXICO.

[2] From *tocatl* and *xal*, spider and sand. *Chimalpain*, *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 29. The lake in which it lies is divided about the centre by an artificial causeway about one league long, running from east to west, the southern water being now known as San Cristóbal Ecatepec, from the town of that name, and the northern water as Xaltocan or Tomanitla, San Cristóbal being also the general term for both waters.

town situated on an island in the northern end of the lake bearing that name. Once the capital successively of a Toltec, Otomí, and Chichimec principality, it had succumbed to the vicissitudes of political revolution and wars, and was at present one of the chief strongholds belonging to the tripartite power in the valley. It was approached by a causeway provided with breastworks and drawbridges.

The intention of the army had been surmised, so that preparations were made in every direction to resist an entry, and the water swarmed with canoes. In advancing along the causeway a tempest of stones, arrows, and darts came upon them from both sides, while hampered on a narrow road, hemmed in by the waters, and able to do little against the floating enemy, who were comparatively safe behind the bulwarks fitted to their canoes. Advance was soon stopped by the first trench in the causeway, not only wide and deep, but protected on the farther side by strong breastworks. The situation was embarrassing. Falling back a little, with the loss of one man, the guns were brought forward to protect the allies while filling the gap; but at this juncture two Tezcucans informed Cortés that they could guide him across by a fordable passage.

The offer was eagerly accepted, and while a part of the forces attracted the foe to the causeway, and the horses covered the rear, Cortés led another party by the ford. The water reached only to the waist, and though the enemy hastened forward, resistance was in vain, and soon the town was reached, and all who had not escaped immediately surrendered. Good spoils were secured of fabrics and other merchandise, as well as some gold. Since the canoe fleet might attempt a night attack, it was not considered safe to camp on the island, and as the army withdrew to the plain one league beyond, a part of the town was fired, in further warning. Xaltocan had more than once before risen from her ashes, but these were the flames

of her funeral pyre. She never assumed importance again, and is now but a pretty village.

The next camp was formed in Quauhtitlan, "a large and beautiful city," as Cortés calls it, which was found deserted. Thence they followed the route which had been taken after that night of ineffaceable horrors, when the foe seemed to fill the air and beat their faces in the blackness like the birds of Avernus, cutting off the stragglers faint with wounds and hunger, and sending terror to the hearts of the bravest. Now they came in confident strength, yet again the foe hovered round, though only at a distance, along the safe hill slopes, while from the summits rose pillars of smoke to proclaim the coming of the avengers. They passed through Tenayocan, once the capital of the Chichimec empire, and now renowned only for the immense serpent idols in its temple, from which the Spaniards called it El Pueblo de los Sierpes. Thence to Azcapuzalco, the former proud seat of the Tepanec kings.[8]

No resistance being offered at any of these towns, they were spared the brand, whereat the disappointed sackers felt aggrieved. As the army neared Tlacopan a large opposing body appeared, which was reinforced by warriors from the towns thereabout and from Mexico. The ground being level, the cavalry easily broke through their lines, and the infantry completed the rout, pursuing them into the city. After clearing the greater number of streets from foes, camp was formed in the palace.

There was hardly any evidence of the late ravages to which Mexico and its approaches had been exposed during Spanish occupation, and Cortés saw that it would be no easy matter to besiege such a stronghold, or series of strongholds, as the massive buildings may be termed, held as they were by so obstinate a people as the Aztecs, with whom any trifling or imaginary success seemed to efface the effect of continual defeats.

The prospect was not encouraging, and as he looked

[8] See *Native Races*, ii. v.

at the causeway full of those pitfalls which had defeated his high purposes, gloomy thoughts filled his breast. "Why so sad, your worship?" broke in a cavalier.[4] "Yours was not the fault, and never will you be compared with heartless Nero." "I am not thinking of that sorrow alone," said Cortés, "but of the struggles yet required to achieve the mastery. Still with God's approval we will soon attempt it."[5]

In the morning hostile forces again appeared, only to be driven back, whereupon the allies dispersed to sack and fire, with the determination to avenge the attack made upon them during the flight from Mexico. "And in this they used such diligence," writes Cortés, "that even our quarters were endangered." The general was nothing loath to see the flames, for it suited his plans not only to chastise the people, but to render the place less strong in view of later operation; furthermore, it was no easy matter to restrain the Tlascaltecs. Next day the enemy came again in force, but this time they waited not to be routed. They retired steadily to and along the causeway to Mexico, drawing the Spaniards after them. It was the very spot where they had suffered so severely the year before. Cortés had led the cavalry far along the causeway and across one bridge, when the Mexicans with inspiring shouts and doubled force came rolling back on front and flank, from houses and lanes, thrusting with pikes and striking with swords,

[4] Bachiller Alonso Perez, afterward fiscal of Mexico. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 135.

[5] This incident was commemorated by some poetic follower in a ballad which became a favorite with the conquerors:

En Tacuba está Cortés,
Con su esquadron esforçado,
Triste estaua, y muy penoso,
Triste, y con gran cuidado,
La vna mano en la mexilla,
Y la otra en el costado.

Which may be translated literally:

In Tacuba stands Cortés,
With his troopers strong and brave:
Sad he was and deeply grave;
Sad, and heavily oppressed.
With one hand his cheek he pressed;
Against his side, the other.

the roofs meanwhile swarming with slingers. Cortés quickly sounded retreat, and the troops retired, but the onslaught had been tremendous, and it required no small effort to stay themselves. Almost every one was wounded, it is said, and several fatally. In crossing the bridge Alférez Juan Volante was knocked into the water. Several canoe-men seized him, but he was a powerful fellow, and with the strength of desperation he shook them off and sprang back to his comrades with his banner. Cortés made repeated charges with the horses to relieve the pressed foot-soldiers, till open ground was gained and the danger past.[6]

On the following days the Mexicans sought to repeat their manœuvres, but Cortés was more prudent, and covered his rear carefully as he advanced. Observing this, the Mexicans tauntingly called out: "Enter, O brave ones, and fight! for to-day you will be masters of Mexico. Enter to feast, all is prepared!" And again: "You shall find no Montezuma now to do your bidding. Begone, therefore, to your own!" Others confined themselves to insults directed against the Tlascaltecs. "Rogues," they cried, "never would you thus dare to approach us but for the Christians, whose concubines you are. But wait awhile; we shall eat you both with chile, for you are not fit to be slaves!" The Tlascaltecs were not slow to answer: "Always have you fled before us like treacherous cowards. We are the men, you the women. Never have you entered our territory as we yours. The Castilians are not men but gods, one of whom suffices to rout a thousand such as you!" This verbal skirmish led in several cases to challenges, the principals being accorded a free field wherein to settle their disputes; and since they were generally men selected

[6] So runs Bernal Diaz' account, which appears a little exaggerated, for recently Cortés had shown the greatest caution, and would hardly have allowed himself to be so readily trapped on so memorable a spot. *Hist. Verdad.*, 126. Cortés states that not a Spaniard was lost, though several Mexicans fell. *Cartas*, 187.

from both sides for their bravery, skill, and strength, the struggles were eagerly watched.

On one occasion a solitary warrior of great stature stepped from a canoe to the causeway, armed with sword and shield, and challenged any Spaniard to combat, for he desired to appease the gods with blood. The soldiers gaped in astonishment at this rashness. "What, you hesitate, you cowards!" he cried. The next instant a soldier named Gonzalo Hernandez rushed upon him with sword and shield, whereupon he leaped into the water, pursued by the soldier, who sought to despatch him. A number of canoes stole up, however, and Hernandez was seized by the warriors. His comrades rushed to the rescue, and so beset the canoes as to kill a chief and bring their champion ashore.[1] During one of the sallies Cortés reached the breach in the causeway where his men had suffered so severely during the Sorrowful Night. The bridge was down, and he appealed to the warriors on the other side: "Why so foolishly court destruction? If there is a leader among you, let him appear, so that I may speak." "Speak," was the response, "we are all leaders here; leaders who shall make a banquet of thee and thine!"

Six days had been spent at Tlacopan, and since nothing could be achieved, not even an interview with Quauhtemotzin, for which Cortés ardently longed, he turned homeward. This abandonment of what the Mexicans had probably regarded as the beginning of the siege created no small exultation among them, and eagerly they pursued the retreating army, though repelled now and then with some punishment by the cavalry. The following day the pursuing forces had swelled to larger proportions, and were more daring than ever. Cortés accordingly ordered the infantry to advance, while he, with twenty horses, divided into several parties and formed an ambuscade. No sooner

[1] *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. vii.

had the unsuspecting Mexicans reached the spot than the cavalry charged into their midst with thundering war cries. The surprise, no less than the execution, caused a panic, and the infantry hastened back to join in the usual chastisement. Molestation ceased.

From Quauhtitlan the army proceeded by way of Acolman to Tezcucc. The presence of so large a body of allies being considered for the moment unnecessary, the greater number, elated with success and laden with spoil, were dismissed to their homes, there to prepare for the gathering to follow the completion of the brigantines.[8]

The withdrawal from Tlacopan encouraged the Mexicans to attempt the recovery of Chalco and to inflict chastisement for its secession. The place was indeed most important to Mexico, since from its fertile plains came the largest supplies, now more than ever required. The threat had been held over the Chalcans ever since their submission to Cortés, and the two young lords had hardly returned from Tezcuco before they sent messengers to implore aid. This occurred while Sandoval was preparing to leave for Tlascala to convey the brigantines, and no further troops could therefore be detached without great risk, so that the Chalcans were told to wait. As the messengers were leaving with this cold comfort envoys arrived from Huexotzinco and Quauhquechollan. They had seen the signal pillars of smoke of the hostile allies, and had come to ask if they could be of service. The proposals came most opportunely.

The Huexotzincas and Quauhquechollans had long entertained a hatred of the Chalcans, as natives of an

[8] They begged permission to return home, says Chimalpain, *Hist. Conq.*, i. 31. Herrera relates that the efforts of Ojeda, by Cortés' order, to take from the Tlascaltecs the gold part of their booty so offended them that they began to desert. The extortion was accordingly stopped. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. vii. Clavigero doubts the story. Prescott regards the departure of the allies as distasteful to Cortés; but we have seen that he did not care at present to encumber himself with too many unruly auxiliaries to prey upon the peaceful provinces. The Tlascaltecs would willingly have remained to share in raiding expeditions.

Aztec province against whose forces they had often been arrayed, but Cortés represented the true state of affairs and convinced the respective envoys of the important service they could render themselves and their new sovereign, to whom all owed allegiance, by forgetting occurrences for which their oppressors were to blame, and to combine for mutual aid. His arguments were convincing, and both Huexotzinco and Quauhquechollan promised immediately to support the Chalcans with a large force.

The Aztecs do not appear to have gone much beyond threats until after the Spanish retirement from Tlacopan, but two days after their return to Tezcuco Chalcan messengers appeared with such supplications that Sandoval was despatched to their aid with twenty horse, three hundred infantry, and a force of allies,[9] largely reinforced at Chalco by Huexotzincas, Quauhquechollans, and Chalcans. On arriving before Chimalhuacan,[10] he found the enemy drawn up in battle array in three large divisions. A rush at the invaders was made. The cavalry met them, breaking their ranks and throwing them into confusion. Retiring to more broken ground, where they were comparatively safe from the horses, they rallied to face the infantry, but the well directed volleys of fire-arms and cross-bows proved another surprise, which prepared the way for an effective charge from swordsmen and lancers. Now the retreat assumed more the form of a flight, the Spaniards pursuing eagerly. During this operation Gonzalo Dominguez was thrown from his horse, which fell upon him, inflicting such injuries that he died within a few days. In him the army lost one of its most dashing horsemen, and the equal of any in daring.

The troops then retired to the town for the night. Next day they marched to Huastepec, the objective point of the expedition, where fifteen thousand Mex-

[9] Including 8000 Tezcucans under Chichinquatzin. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hor. Cruel-dades*, 15. On March 12th, says Vetancurt, *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 154.

[10] Also known as Chimalhuacan-Chalco, to distinguish it from Chimalhuacan on Tezcuco Lake.

icans, composed partly of the defeated forces, attacked them with such energy that five horses and a number of soldiers were wounded. The Spaniards soon routed them, and chased the fleeing through the town, a number taking refuge in a stronghold. While a portion of the troops, together with the Tlascaltecs, dispersed in quest of the rich spoil, and the cavalry were tending their horses, the fugitive garrison stole back to the town and fought their way to the stronghold near the square, where they took a stand behind some breastworks. Their position was not long maintained, however, after the troops had collected for the assault. The entire force of Mexicans was then driven for over a league, with considerable slaughter. The army now took up their quarters for two days in the palace. A peaceful summons was sent to the lord of the place, without meeting any response; another to Yacapichtla brought an insulting answer. The insolence was due to the confidence of the garrison in its strength, situated as it was on an almost inaccessible height.[11] The Chalcans implored Sandoval to capture the place and drive forth the occupants, who would otherwise not fail to descend with fire and sword on their land. The proposition was by no means agreeable after so arduous a march and with so many wounded, including himself; but Sandoval never shrank from what he regarded duty, and soon he appeared before the fort to repeat his demands, only to hear taunts and jeers. The ascent was steep, with few points affording cover, and when the Chalcans were urged to begin the attack for which they had pleaded they objected unless the Teules accompanied them. Sandoval unhesitatingly placed some horsemen to guard the rear, and dismounting with Tápia the two took their shields and swords and led the way, followed by a number of soldiers.

The garrison lustily plied their stones and darts, and despite the protecting shields several were wounded,

[11] Lorenzana inspected the position in later times. *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 214.

among them Tápia and Osma, while others were overthrown by the concussion and came tumbling down. With cheering Santiagos the soldiers urged one another onward until even the Chalcans joined the assault. The first Spaniard had hardly reached the summit before the occupants attempted flight, only to bring death upon them the quicker. Many were chased over the cliff, to fall into equally relentless hands below; others in their fear and despair cast themselves headlong from the height. So freely flowed blood, the soldiers say, that the creek at the foot of the fortress was stained sanguine, and so remained for an hour, repelling in horror the victors who approached it to quench their thirst.[12] The Chalcans being now content, Sandoval returned to Tezcuco with considerable spoils and a number of pretty slaves.

Informed of the victorious advance of the Spaniards, Emperor Quauhtemotzin hastened to send reinforcements to his garrisons, and hardly had Sandoval tendered a report to his general before the alarmed Chalcans sent messengers stating that a fleet of two thousand large canoes with numerous warriors were descending upon them. Believing that Sandoval must have been too hasty or negligent, Cortés without deigning to listen to excuses ordered him to return immediately. Meanwhile the Chalcans, encouraged by the allies, had faced the invaders bravely and routed them in a fierce battle, killing quite a number and capturing over twoscore warriors, among them the general and several chiefs.[13] When Sandoval

[12] 'Que todos los que allí se hallaron afirman.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 190. The general lauds the achievement with rare fervor for him. Bernal Diaz sneers at the river of blood story; but then he was not present to share the glory. The Roman Mario was less dainty than these Spaniards under a similar circumstance, commemorated by Plutarch; or as Floro more prosaically puts it: 'Ut victor Romanus de cruento flumine non plus aquæ biberit quam sanguinis barbarorum.' *Epitome*, lib. iii. cap. iii.

[13] Fifteen, says Bernal Diaz. Chimalpain, the Chalcan narrator, states that his tribe lost 350 men, but killed 1500 foes, capturing the captain-general, Chimalpopocatzin, a relative of the emperor, who now became a captain among the Tezcucans, and was killed during the siege. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 34. Some of these facts are evidently not very reliable. He also assumes that Sandoval lost eight soldiers on again returning to Tezcuco.

came up the fight was over, and the proud victors surrendered their captives, who were sent to Tezcuco, the Spaniards following as soon as the danger appeared to be over.

Aggrieved at the brusqueness of his commander, Sandoval sent in his report without presenting himself; but Cortés had by this time recognized the injustice of his treatment, and actuated by policy no less than by affection, he summoned his captain and frankly avowed his haste, thus strengthening the friendship which ever after bound them. The victories in Chalco left secure the entire region between Villa Rica and the Spanish lines, and communication was henceforth regularly maintained, permitting fresh supplies and war material to be brought from a vessel which had recently reached the coast. A great event was the arrival of three vessels with two hundred Spaniards, eighty horses, and a full complement of arms, ammunition, and other effects, partly bought and partly enlisted by the agents whom Cortés had despatched to the Islands during the previous autumn. Among the new-comers were Julian de Alderete of Tordesillas, appointed royal treasurer for New Spain, and the Franciscan Pedro Melgarejo de Urrea of Seville, bearing a supply of papal indulgences for the men who had been engaged in the crusade. That the soldiers were conscious of frequent transgressions may be judged from the suggestive and not wholly reverential observation of Bernal Diaz, that "after patching their defects the friar returned to Spain within a few months, a rich man."[14]

Cortés was cheered by offers of submission and alliance, owing partly to the good offices of Tezcucans and other allies. Some came from places quite distant, such as Nautla and Tuzapan, on the coast north

[14] The 'comissario' or clerk in charge of the bulls was Gerónimo Lopez, afterward secretary at Mexico. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 129. This author names several of the arrivals, some of whom became captains of vessels. A number also arrived during the following week, he adds, notably in Juan de Búrgos' vessel, which brought much material.

of Villa Rica, laden as usual with presents.[15] Another pleasing evidence of still more devoted loyalty came not long after from the south, from the country of the valiant Chinantecs, of the long pikes. During the great uprising, when Spaniards in small or straggling parties had everywhere been slaughtered, this people faithfully protected the two soldiers who happened to be with them, and were in return aided by their prowess and advice to achieve victories over adjoining tribes. One of these men, Captain Hernando de Barrientos, sent two natives in April with a letter to his countrymen imparting the assurance that Chinantla and its six sub-towns were loyal.[16]

The recent successes and the arrival of the two hundred men induced Cortés once more to propose peace to Quauhtemotzin. To this end, during passion week, he bade some of the captured nobles proceed to Mexico with a letter as a symbol of their commission, and impress upon their master the superiority in arms and skill of the Spanish forces, their constant and large reinforcements, and their unvarying success in the field. They must point out the generous and humane treatment of the provinces which had submitted, and assure the Aztec leaders that equal forgiveness would be accorded them. Refusal to return to their allegiance would lead to the destruction of themselves and their city. Only two of the captives ventured to accept the commission, for according to Aztec articles of war any noble who returned to his country after having been captured by an enemy was doomed to decapitation unless he had performed some extraordinary deed.[17]

No answer came from Mexico, and it was afterward

[15] Gomara mentions also Maxcaltzinco as a distant place. *Hist. Mex.*, 186.

[16] The chiefs were awaiting orders to appear before Cortés. The general told them to wait till tranquillity was more fully restored. The name of the other soldier was Nicolás. *Cortés, Cartas*, 203–5. Herrera assumes that Barrientos arrived in camp during the late Tepeaca campaign. dec. ii. lib. x. cap. xvii.

[17] Of the rank and file none suffered penalty on returning, for captivity was regarded as disgraceful only to a noble. *Native Races*, ii. 419.

learned that the messengers had suffered death. The Aztec ruler had not even given a thought to peace. He was watching his opponents, prepared to take advantage of any neglect or relaxation in their effort. No sooner had Sandoval been induced by peaceful appearances to retire from Chalco than Aztec forces again prepared to invade the province. The Chalcans had due warning, and close upon the heels of Sandoval came two messengers lamenting louder than ever, and exhibiting a painting wherein were named the many towns whose forces were coming upon them, fully fifty thousand strong. These constant menaces and movements were exasperating, and Cortés resolved personally to inflict a lesson which might be lasting. At the same time he proposed to complete his reconnoissance of the lake region and encourage his troops with spoils from hostile localities whereon the Aztecs yet relied for support.[18]

Cortés selected thirty horse, three hundred infantry, a number of Tlascaltecs, and over twenty thousand Tezcucans, under Prince Ixtlilxochitl, to which twice that number of other allies were added on the way. A large proportion of archers and aquebusiers were taken, together with Alvarado, Olid, Alderete, Melgarejo, and others, while Sandoval was left in charge of Tezcuco, with instructions to watch and promote the completion of the brigantines against which several incendiary attempts had been made.

The expedition left Friday, the 5th of April, and passed through Chalco, Tlalmanalco, and Chimalhuacan,[19] and crossing in a south-westerly direction into the Totolapan province, they entered the hills which form the southern border of the Mexican valley. By this time the forces had assumed proportions

[18] Bernal Diaz states that the soldiers were tired of these repeated calls, many being also on the sick-list, but Cortés had now a large fresh force only too eager for a fray attended with spoliation.

[19] According to a native painting the army entered here April 5th, which is a day or two too early, and received a reënforcement of 20,000. See copy in Carbajal Espinosa, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 523.

hardly inferior to those of the Iztocan campaign, when over one hundred thousand moved against the foe. Highly picturesque was the spectacle of this army, its naked hordes of warriors relieved by plumage and glittering iztli points which rose above the broad line of gaudy shields; its white adventurers in mail of cotton and metal, surmounted by bright helmets, and armed knights on proudly stepping steeds: picturesque in particular as it wound in almost endless line along the rounded slopes of the cliffs, or climbed in clearly defined file across the hill-tops, only to descend again into gulches gloomy as their own sinister purpose.

Alarmed by the invasion, the inhabitants had abandoned their valley homes, and had sought refuge on the summits, whence they hurled missiles at the passing lines. Little attention was paid these irregular bands, composed as they were to a great extent of women and children. On entering the Tlayacapan Valley, however, and observing on the craggy sides of an almost perpendicular isolated rock, perched there like an eagle's nest, a place of refuge peopled with more pretentious opposers, in a fit of insensate folly Cortés ordered the place to be assailed. He seemed to think the honor of the army demanded it, and was ready to stake the lives of valuable men on its destruction.

Orders were given to attack from three several sides, the steepest being assigned to Alférez Corral, a brave and spirited leader. Verdugo and Villafuerte were given another side, and Ircio and Monjaraz the third. Each party consisted of about threescore men, and included archers and arquebusiers. At a given signal all rushed forward to the ascent. Soon they were on hands and knees, crawling over projections and pulling themselves up by means of shrubs. All the while stones and darts rattled on helmet and breastplate; and huge rocks came rolling down upon them. In vain they sought shelter in crevices and under crags; they must face the storm. Bernal Diaz followed Corral, and after receiving

many a hard knock they gained what was called two turns of the rock. There they paused and looked around, wondering at their success thus far. Supporting himself against a small tree, his face bathed in blood, his banner rent, Corral said, "Señor Diaz, it is useless to advance farther; not a man will survive." Then they shouted a warning to Pedro Barba, at the head of his archers, not to climb farther. "The order is to advance!" was the reply. The next moment Barba was wounded by a stone, and a soldier at his side was killed. Cortés then sounded the recall, but not until eight brave men had laid down their lives, victims of their commander's puerility, and of the rest most of them returned wounded.[20]

The recall was likewise prompted by the approach of a considerable force in the valley. This the cavalry charged and quickly routed, following in close pursuit, though the broken ground soon enabled the fugitives to gain shelter. During this ride some of the horsemen came, a league beyond, to another hill fortress, strong in its natural features, and held by a large force. Near by were some springs. The need of water was pressing, which afforded a plausible excuse for abandoning the scaling of Tlayacapan, and the whole force was moved to the springs. Early next morning Cortés examined the approaches to the new stronghold. It extended over three hills, the central one exceedingly steep and held by the largest force; the others easier of ascent, though higher, and occupied by smaller numbers. In reconnoitring, Cortés advanced toward the centre. This movement led the occupants of the other hills to infer an attack on the central height, and they began to abandon their positions with a view to reënforce the threatened point. Observing this, Cortés ordered Barba to occupy the most commanding elevation with some fifty arquebusiers and archers,

[20] So says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 130, who names four. Cortés allows only two killed and twenty wounded; how many fatally so, he carefully omits to mention. *Cartas*, 194.

while he himself continued to scale the centre as a feint, for there was little hope of capturing a point so steep and strongly held. The stones and darts rained here as previously, and man after man was struck down, some bleeding freely from the wounds sustained.[21]

Meanwhile Barba's sharp-shooters had made so effective a use of their weapons that within half an hour the volleys from the fortress ceased, and the women began to wave their robes in token of truce, shouting their submission. Cortés graciously met the advances, and extended full pardon. He also prevailed on the chiefs to induce the Tlayacapans to submit. On the extensive surface of the rock were collected all the inhabitants of the neighborhood, with their effects, which Cortés ordered not to be touched.[22]

The army remained encamped for two days to refresh themselves after their arduous march, and after sending the wounded to Tezcuco, Cortés proceeded to Huastepec. The report of the clemency extended to preceding settlements had a reassuring effect on this town, whose cacique came forth to welcome them, and tender his palace for their entertainment. This was situated in a garden, celebrated throughout New Spain for its beauty and extent, and the immense variety of its plants, collected partly for scientific purposes. A river with tributary canals flowed through its grounds, which extended over a circuit of nearly two leagues, murmuring its melody in unison with winged songsters hidden in arbors or playing between bush and hedge, mingling their bright color with the green expanse. Adjacent were steep rocks, on whose smooth surface were sculptured the portraits of noted warriors, statesmen, and orators, with hieroglyphic inscriptions of

[21] Twenty fell, says Bernal Diaz. He speaks of two futile attempts on the previous evening to scale the central hill. It seems unlikely for soldiers, tired by repulse and march, to undertake so difficult a feat, and that at the least assailable point.

[22] Yet Bernal Diaz relates a story to show that the order was a mere pretence.

their fame. It was a paradise formed equally for student and idler, and to the weary soldiers no spot could perhaps have proven so grateful. Cortés certainly grows ecstatic in describing it, declaring it "the largest, most beautiful, and freshest garden ever seen."[23] Tempting as was the retreat, Cortés tore himself from it the following day, and proceeded in a south-westerly direction to Yauhtepec. Although many warriors were gathered there, they fled on the approach of the Spaniards, and were chased, with some slaughter, for about two leagues, into the town of Xiuhtepec.[24] The women and effects there found were appropriated as spoils, and rendered agreeable the two days' stay. The ruler failing to appear, the place was fired, and terrified by this warning the lord of Yauhtepec hastened to proffer submission.

After a day's hard march the army came in sight of Quauhnahuac,[25] capital of the Tlahuicas. They were one of the Nahuatlaca tribes, which according to tradition had entered the Anáhuac country to supplant the Toltecs. Coming rather late, they found their brethren already in possession of the lake region, and so they crossed the range to seek a home on the headwaters of the Zacatula, where soon a number of settlements rose round Quauhnahuac. They afterward fell under the sway of the Chichimecs, and finally the Aztecs took advantage of internal discord to establish sovereignty,[26] maintaining it by a garrison in the capital. This was a natural stronghold, situated on a tongue of land between two steep ravines over forty feet in depth, and through which ran a little stream during the rainy season. It was further protected by strong walls, particularly on the side where a strongly guarded gate opened to a fine stretch of country. Two other entrances faced the ravines,

[23] *Cartas*, 196; *Torquemada*, i. 536.

[24] Some write Xilotepec. Bernal Diaz mentions Tepoxtlan, which may have been visited by a detachment.

[25] Place of the Eagle. Corrupted into the present Cuernavaca, which singularly enough means cow's horn.

[26] See *Native Races*, v.

sometimes spanned by bridges, which were now removed.

Situated at the gateway to the tropical southern valleys, between which and the colder lake region interposed a range of mountains, the spot stood as a new Eden in its manifold beauties. A sight even of the pine-fringed mountains that rolled off toward the north, with their green slopes shaded by oak and birch, and bathed in soft though bracing airs, was refreshing to the indolent inhabitants of the burning plain beyond. On the other hand the sturdy toilers of the northern plateaux might in this sunny south seek relaxation in the varied charms of a softer air balmy with the incense of a more lustrous vegetation.[27]

It was an opulent community that of Quauhnahuac, surrounded as it was by endless resources and advantages, and the people were in no mood tamely to yield their wealth to invaders. And in this determination they were sustained by their lord, Yohuatzin,[28] who was not only a vassal but a relative of Quauhtemotzin. Confident in the impregnable position of his city, in which supplies were ample, he replied with volleys to the demands of the Spanish forces as they appeared on the other side of the ravines. It seemed almost impossible to effect a crossing and climb the steep wall of the ravine to the city; nevertheless Cortés selected a position and began to open fire so as to occupy the attention of the garrison and cover the scaling parties.

While they were thus busied a brave Tlascaltec reconnoitred and came to a point half a league beyond, where the ravine was steepest and narrowed to an abyss. On the two sides grew two large trees, which

[27] Cortés was so captivated by the alluring clime and scenery that he made the town his favorite residence in later years. It was included in the domains granted to him, and descended to his heirs. Madame Calderon speaks of his ruined palace and church. *Life in Mexico*, ii. 50.

[28] *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 311. Brasseur de Bourbourg calls him Yaomahuitl.

inclined toward each other, with branches intertwined, forming a sort of natural bridge, though by no means secure. He called the attention of his party to this and led the way across, followed by several Spaniards. The natives, who were more accustomed to this kind of tactics, found comparatively little difficulty in swinging themselves across; but to the soldiers it was far from easy, and three of them, overcome by dizziness or weight of armor, slipped and fell.[29]

The attention of the inhabitants being attracted elsewhere, a number of the invaders had gained a secure foothold within the city before they were observed. Even now a few resolute men might have driven them back, but such were wanting, and the sudden appearance of the dreaded white men, as if indeed they had dropped into the stronghold from some cloud made radiant by the sun whose reputed children they were, struck terror to the hearts of the poor natives. All impotent and nerveless, they permitted the daring strangers to lower the drawbridge, and turned to spread the panic. Meanwhile the reports of a formidable army advancing from the rear so wrought on the fears of the garrison that, when the handful who had crossed on the bushy bridge fell on them, they offered no resistance. This also allowed the scaling forces to pour in, so that within a short time the siege was turned into a rout, wherein the cavalry played a prominent part. The zeal of the allies was already indicated by smoky columns in different parts of the city, and the foot-soldiers hastened to share in the rich plunder and intercept the women.

Most of the fugitives had gathered on an adjacent height, and though no attempt was made that day to molest them, yet they began to fear that men who could so readily capture one of the strongest

[29] 'El vno se quebró la pierna...y se me desvanecia la cabeça, y todavia pasè yo, y otros veinte, ô trienta soldados.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 132. Solis misinterprets the passage, and gives this author credit for leading the party. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 362. Vetancurt calls the district toward this spot Amanalco. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 155.

fortresses in the country, would find no difficulty in reaching them anywhere; therefore, after listening to the advice of messengers sent by Cortés, Yohuatzin concluded to surrender, and presented himself on the following day with a large retinue and rich presents. The Mexicans were as usual blamed for the opposition offered. He would have submitted before, but thought it best to expiate the fault of resistance by allowing the Spaniards to pursue, so that after spending their fury they might be more ready to forgive.[30]

There was no time at present to extend the reconnoissance farther in this direction, and after a brief rest Cortés turned northward to the lakes. The route over the mountains proved far more difficult than before, and after issuing from the pine forest the army entered a desert country terminating in a three-league pass through the Ajuzco Mountains. Here thirst became so intense that several natives succumbed.[31] This suffering was relieved in a hamlet not far from the pass.

On the following day they passed through a fine and cultivated country toward Xochilmilco, that is to say, Field of Flowers, aptly named, for round almost every house, particularly on the outskirts, was a flower-garden enclosed by canals. Many of them were of the chinampa class, or floating gardens,[32] the outgrowth of early Aztec weakness, now forming a picturesque border to the lake towns. Altogether the aspect was most pleasing, while the buildings of the central parts were artistic and striking. Besides the strength added by canals and moats, pile buildings were frequent, and intrenchments had been thrown

[30] *Cortés, Cartas*, 196. Ixtlilxochitl assumes that the submission is tendered through his namesake, as prince of Tezcuco, the only capital of the tripartite empire loyal to the Spaniards. *Hor. Crueldades*, 17–18.

[31] Also one old Spaniard, believes Bernal Diaz, who relates his own sufferings minutely, and how he followed some mounted scouts in search of water, which he found, bringing a supply to Cortés. *Hist. Verdad.*, 133. Vetancurt names this watering-place Topilejo, now San Miguel. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 155. Chimalpain mentions Quauhxômoloo, just before. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 40.

[32] See *Native Races*, ii., 345.

up and drawbridges raised to defend the approach against any enemy of the Aztecs, for its loyalty to the queen city was fully as great as that of Iztapalapan. It was the most important place on the thickly settled fresh-water lake. Bishop Garcés relates that angels were heard to sing praises in the Mexican tongue when it was converted.[33] The usual summons was issued by the Spaniards, and no heed being given, they attacked in three divisions by different approaches. The enemy fell back behind the raised bridges and intrenchments, whence they kept up a steady volley. The archers and arquebusiers replied briskly, and covered the van as it plunged into not very deep water and waded across to capture the fortifications. This effected, the foe was driven from one retreat to another. Seeing how affairs went, they sought to parley, but the pursuers paid no heed, regarding it as a trick to gain time for the removal of their families and property. Within half an hour the greater part of the city was won, and soldiers and allies were sacking as they advanced. The foe rallied now and then to cover their retreat, and in one instance managed to despatch two soldiers who had allowed avarice to overcome prudence.

Not long after, a body of some ten thousand warriors, reënforced by fugitives from the city, was seen advancing from the rear as if to cut off retreat. They were already close at hand when first observed, and without losing a moment Cortés charged them at the head of a body of cavalry.[34]

At first they boldly faced the animals, and fought so well as to severely wound four, besides several riders; but the mounted body kept breaking through their ranks and then turned to fall on the rear. This movement proved decisive, and the enemy dispersed in flight, the horsemen scattering in pursuit. Already weakened by the severe march across the mountains, the horse of Cortés became quite exhausted, and

[33] *Lorenzana*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. Esp.*, 225.
[34] Six, says Cortés.

while its rider was striking right and left into a large body of fugitives, it fell. No other horseman being near, the enemy gathered courage and rushed upon the general, who had risen to his feet and stood with sword in hand to defend himself. It was a critical moment, and had not a brave Tlascaltec warrior come to his rescue thus opportunely, the career of the Estremaduran would have ended there; for he had already received a severe blow on the head and was about to be dragged away when thus rescued. The general's body-guard then came up and cut in pieces his late stupid assailants—stupid because they might so easily have killed him, and did not.[35] The pursuit was not long maintained, tired as the horses were, and remounting his steed Cortés led the way back to camp in the square.

Late as it was he superintended the filling of all the channels which broke the causeways, and the erection of defences, and ordered the soldiers to put in order their arms and prepare arrows. The forces were distributed at three points, and extra guards were posted for the night, together with bodies of troops at probable landing-points. These precautions were prompted chiefly by the evident effort of the last body of the enemy to shut up the army within the city, a movement which boded other attempts, as Cortés rightly supposed.

When Quauhtemotzin heard that the Spaniards had marched against Xochimilco he called a council to consider the course to adopt, and the result was the despatch of reënforcements. Finding that the city had so easily fallen, he became furious. The gods were indignant at the outrages of the strangers. Arms

[35] Bernal Diaz states that a soldier named Olea was the main instrument in saving Cortés, *Hist. Verdad.*, 133; but Ixtlilxochitl, *Hist. Chich.*, 311, gives the credit to the Tlascaltec lord Chichimecatl, and Chimalpain to a noble named Ocelotzin. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 41. Cortés says: 'Un indio de los de Tlascaltecal,' *Cartas*, 199, who could not be found the next day, and Cortés accordingly attributed the aid, writes Herrera, to St Peter. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. viii.

must be employed more manfully, and, these failing, the loyal ones must let their nails grow, as the last means of protection. The first step should be the recovery of Xochimilco. That very night two thousand canoes were sent with some twelve thousand warriors, and a similar force by land, all approaching stealthily, without music.[36]

The rumor of a probable night attack kept the Spanish camp on the alert, and advised of this, the enemy made no attack. At dawn their canoes were already swarming round the city, the inmates rending the air with loud and repeated shouts, and brandishing their weapons, those of the chiefs being captured Spanish swords. "With your own arms you shall be killed, and we will eat you!" they cried. "We fear you not, for Montezuma is dead!" At the same time the land forces were seen approaching, evidently to assist the fleet in besieging the Spaniards within the city, which would give the Mexicans greater advantage, as they had well learned during the siege of Mexico. Cortés understood the manœuvre, and leaving the greater part of the infantry and allies to guard the city, he sallied with most of the horse, in three parties, a few of the infantry and several hundred Tlascaltecs, breaking through the enemy's ranks and gaining the foot of a hill in their rear, the Tepechpan.

While the enemy were rallying, Cortés led the horse round to their denser flank, and gave orders to the infantry to allure the Mexicans by climbing the steepest part of the hill and pretending to escape. This succeeded, and the next moment they were attacked in several directions with such effect as to cause a panic and drive them in flight toward a quarter where one division of horse had taken a stand. Five hundred Mexicans covered the field and five leaders were among the captured, while the Spanish loss was

[36] Followed by other bodies. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 134; *Torquemada*, i. 537.

only one soldier and a few allies, including three Tlascaltec chiefs, although a number were wounded. During the pursuit the foremost division of horse came upon a further Mexican reënforcement, estimated at ten thousand, which rallied the fugitives and caused the pursuers to halt. Soon, however, the remaining force came up, the charge was continued, and the Mexicans routed.[37]

Too tired for long pursuit, the Spaniards returned by ten o'clock in the morning to Xochimilco, where their garrison had repulsed the lake force. The fight had been fierce, and the soldiers had exhausted all their ammunition, capturing in return two Spanish swords. These victories brought little satisfaction, however, for the captives gave information that the forces so far sent were but detachments of the armies destined for Xochimilco, which must be recovered, and the Spaniards driven forth, if it cost the lives of all the men in Mexico. The Spaniards might defeat force after force, but even victory must so weaken them that the Mexicans would finally triumph. This seemed to be confirmed by the movements of the fleet, which, though repulsed, was still hovering thereabout.

Cortés now gave orders to burn the city, as a warning to the wilful inhabitants and preparatory to its evacuation. The soldiers, who had been interrupted in their plundering the day before, obeyed with alacrity. Xochimilco was a wealthy city, and not a Spaniard or ally but obtained an abundance of robes, feathers, and other effects, and even some gold, which helped to cheer those whom ordinary merchandise and slaves did not satisfy. The enemy had been watchful, however, and in their canoes they flitted round the city to cut off stragglers. At one point quite a charge was made, wherein several Spaniards were wounded and four carried off alive. This event did more to cast a

[37] Cortés leaves the impression that the foremost division of six horse defeated the foe. Both Gomara and Herrera are confused, and Prescott and others are led into several mistakes.

gloom over the army than many defeats, for all knew the fate of prisoners.[38]

After a stay of three days, all fraught with hard fighting, the army filed out from Xochimilco, presenting the appearance of a dilapidated caravan rather than of a reconnoitring and fighting expedition, so much so that Cortés thought it necessary to remonstrate, but in vain. The enemy hovered about like vultures, to harass them in what they regarded as a retreat. The march was made in regular fighting order, with cavalry distributed in three sections, in van, rear, and on flank. In order to complete the reconnoissance, a north-westerly route was taken to Coyuhuacan, the centre of a series of inner towns which lay clustered within a radius of a league and a half, along the shores or upon islands in the lake, all picturesque in their pyramidal temples and their white walls, which gleamed amidst blooming orchards and shady groves. Coyuhuacan itself was a beautiful town, and Cortés felt so captivated with it that he afterward made it for some time his favorite residence.[39] It had been evacuated, but toward and beyond Mexico the lake teemed with canoes, while in every direction spread one continuous extent of farms and hamlets, connected by causeways and roads with busy traffic. To Alderete and friar Melgarejo this was a novel scene, and they could not refrain from expressing their admiration at the enterprise and prowess of Cortés and his followers in undertaking so vast a conquest. God's aid alone could have enabled them to succeed as they had done.[40]

The army remained here over the following day, chiefly to examine the place as intended head-quarters of a besieging force. It was found satisfactory; and while arrows were prepared and the wounded tended,

[38] Bernal Diaz names two of them.

[39] He even willed that his bones should there be entombed, a request which was not carried out.

[40] 'No eran cosas de hombres humanos... que ayan hecho ningunos vasallos tan grandes servicios a su Rey... y dello harian relacion a su Magestad.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 135.

the general advanced along the causeway leading to Mexico and expended his remaining ammunition in the useless capture of the temple fortress of Xoloc,[41] during which a number of soldiers were wounded, though the enemy suffered considerably. After offering to heaven the fiery sacrifice of pagan temple, the army proceeded through Tlacopan without halting, for they had no ammunition, and this place had been examined on the previous expedition. This unexpected haste encouraged the Mexicans to come forth in great numbers and attack the baggage train and rear. Owing to the level nature of the ground the cavalry found no difficulty in repelling them, yet they caused more trouble, and succeeded even in carrying off two of the favorite equerries[42] of Cortés. He was deeply grieved at the loss, and partly with a view to avenge them, partly to inflict a lesson which should save the army from such annoyance, he formed an ambuscade beside the road with twenty horse. Seeing the other ten horses engaged as formerly in covering the rear, the Mexicans continued their pursuit. At a favorable moment the hidden horsemen appeared, and soon over a hundred of the flower of the Mexicans lay dead upon the ground,[43] their rich panoplies, dresses, and arms offering a pleasing addition to the already heavy plunder. Freed from further molestation, the army proceeded through Azcapuzalco and Tenayocan to Quauhtitlan, all deserted. Here the army clustered round camp fires of green wood, wet from a recent shower and supperless. Next morning they followed the route already pursued during the flight from Mexico, round Zumpango Lake through Citlaltepec, and thence through Acolman to Tezcuco.[44]

[41] At the junctions of the causeways which led from the different shores to the southern avenue of Mexico. The place is also known as Acachinanco.

[42] Bernal Diaz states that Cortés was preparing an ambuscade with ten horse and four equerries when he fell into one himself and lost the two, whom he names. Alarmed at his delay, Alvarado went back to look for him. loc. cit. This is less likely than the version of Cortés.

[43] Nobles they are termed, and Herrera doubles the number.

[44] Prescott and others intimate that they passed between the lakes, from

A mass of booty and slaves being now at hand, a general distribution was ordered, the second in Tezcuco. Again, says Bernal Diaz, Cortés disregarded his promises and secured not only for himself the objectionable fifth, but allowed his favorites to carry off the prettiest women before they were brought forward at auction. Many who remembered the former tricks hid their women and said they had escaped, or they declared them free servants from allied tribes; while a few managed to obtain a private branding, paying the fifth required. A large proportion of the soldiers were so heavily in debt for stores and fifths that their booty left them no surplus.[45]

While the reconnoitring expeditions had on the whole been fraught with pecuniary benefit and glory, they had nevertheless served to open the eyes of many to the difficulty of the great purpose, the capture of Mexico. This was particularly the case with the Velazquez party, whose adhesion before the Tepeaca campaign had been compulsory, and after it mercenary in its motives. Every obstacle to them appeared terrible, magnified through constant fear of the dreaded stone of sacrifice, on which so many comrades had already been laid. And this they were encountering for what? the advancement of an envied usurper and a pecuniary reward far beneath their expectations. The failure at Iztapalapan, the repeated inroads of the Mexicans, unabashed by constant repulses, and the hardships of the campaigns, particularly the last, all tended to support their arguments against Cortés' plans as chimerical, involving long delays, constant toil, and waste of life, and with poor recompense save for Cortés and his favorites.

Presently the affair assumed the color of conspiracy, headed by Antonio de Villafañe, a common soldier

Quauhtitlan to Acolman, but Cortés mentions Zilotepec, which may be identical with Citlaltepec, as mentioned by Herrera, or Xilotzinco, about two leagues eastward, as given by Ixtlilxochitl. Bernal Diaz also appears to indicate the northern route.

[45] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 129.

from Zamora, who is claimed by Herrera to have had the active or passive sympathy of some three hundred malcontents, nearly one third of the army. The professed object was to secure a pliable leader who would consult the wishes of the soldiers, even those desirous of returning. Such a man, and withal of great influence and valor, was Verdugo, the brother-in-law of the all-powerful patron Velazquez, and him the conspirators chose as the new captain-general, unknown to himself, since he might prove too honorable to engage in plots against the commander. As a reward for his own efforts Villafañe claimed the position of alguacil mayor, while other friends and influential men of Narvaez were assured of the remaining offices, from alcalde mayor and maestre de campo downward, now held by the retainers of Cortés, as well as a share in the arms and other effects of the doomed number.[46] It was arranged that when Cortés was seated at table with his intimate friends, as Alvarado, Sandoval, Olid, and Tápia, a letter was to be handed him, as if coming from his father, and while he was reading, the conspirators should fall on and stab him and his supporters, since all must be removed who might prove troublesome. The new officers were thereupon to be proclaimed, together with the liberal plan agreed on, by which it was hoped to allure even the friends of Cortés.

There were too many in the secret, however, and Cortés was a man of magnetic influence. At the eleventh hour, two days after the return from Xochimilco, says Diaz, an accomplice, struck with compunction, rushed distractedly to the feet of Cortés and implored pardon for having even dared to listen to the vile machinations. He thereupon revealed the plot and stated that Villafañe carried the names and details on a list in his breast-pocket. Cortés quietly summoned his captains. He represented the need for

[46] Bernal Diaz assumes that more than one captain-general was to be appointed. 'Para boluerse a Cuba, y deshazer a Cortes,' is all the explanation given by Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 178.

a "remedy, since, besides the scandal, it was evident that all the Spaniards must perish if once they turned one against the other; and to this end not only declared foes but allies would join."[47]

Attended by Sandoval and others, Cortés hastened to the house of the accused and found several persons assembled. Some were secured as they sought escape. Villafañe found time to take a paper from his breast and tear it in pieces, but Cortés gathered and arranged them,[48] and was grieved to read the names of quite a number of promising persons whom he had honored and regarded as friends. Villafañe confessed the details of the plot, which had been forming since the Tepeaca campaign. A court-martial was held, presided over by Cortés himself, and there being no doubt of his guilt, the accused was condemned to death and promptly hanged from the window of his dwelling.[49]

Cortés had probably no doubt regarding the guilt of the persons named on the list, but the prosecution of so many notable men might not be prudent, and would only widen the breach between himself and the malcontents and gain them sympathy. The day following the execution the general called a meeting. Many were the consciences that pricked their possessors to trembling on that occasion. But the sage Cortés preferred the traitors should risk their necks in winning for him Mexico, rather than himself to break them with a rope.

[47] Such are in substance the words used by Cortés in his relation to the emperor. 'E cómo yo vi que se me habia revelado tan gran traicion, dí gracias á nuestro Señor, porque en aquello consistia el remedio.' *Cartas*, 269.

[48] So Cortés intimates, while Herrera states that Villafañe hastened to devour the paper. His throat being pressed, about half of it was rescued. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. i. He further says that Sandoval was sent to make the arrest; but Bernal Diaz asserts that Cortés went in person, which is likely under the circumstances, and took from Villafañe's breast the paper. Finding thereon so many names of quality he caused it to be rumored that the man had eaten it, or part of it. *Hist. Verdad.*, 136–7. Clavigero assumes that the culprit revealed the names, and that Cortés preferred not to believe him. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 191. Torture failed to extort any names from him, writes Torquemada, i. 528, and those on the list he declared to be merely of men whom he intended to sound.

[49] 'Un alcalde y yo lo condenamos á muerte.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 269.

Napoleon, who in national warfare could open with his sword the veins of the people until there poured forth torrents of blood, shrank in horror from blood shed in civil broils. It was policy with Cortés, however. So, after finishing his narration of the conspiracy, he coolly informed them that Villafañe had refused to reveal his accomplices, and he could not therefore name the guilty. There were no doubt men amongst them with real or fancied grievances which may have induced them to harbor resentment; but let them frankly state their wrongs and he would seek to right them. If he had erred, let the error be named. The conclusion of the affair created general satisfaction. Thankful for their escape, the guilty sought both by words and deeds to prove their devotion, and although Cortés kept his eye upon them, there was no indication that he suspected any. He rather sought to win them back with favors.[50] So impressed were his intimate followers by the risk to which so valuable a life had been exposed that they insisted on his accepting a body-guard of twelve select men, under the command of Antonio de Quiñones, an hidalgo of Zamora,[51] who watched over him day and night.

[50] Bernal Diaz states that he frightened many by having them arrested and threatened with trial; probably those seized with Villafañe. Oviedo, iii. 515, mentions Escudero as executed for plotting; but this is doubtful. As for Verdugo, he became regidor of Mexico, and in 1529 alcalde. He afterward joined Guzman's expedition and settled at Tonalá in Jalisco. *Razon*, in *Cortés, Residencia*, i. 363.

[51] This was Cortés' own idea, says Bernal Diaz, and he appealed to us to guard him. *Hist. Verdad.*, 137. Quiñones was succeeded by Francisco de Tenesas [Terrazas]. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hist. Chich.*, 313.

CHAPTER XXXII.

INVESTMENT OF MEXICO.

MAY–JUNE, 1521.

PHASES OF HEROISM—THE BRIGANTINES UPON THE LAKE—DIVISION OF FORCES BETWEEN ALVARADO, SANDOVAL, AND OLID—DESERTION, CAPTURE, AND EXECUTION OF XICOTENCATL—DEPARTURE OF THE TROOPS FROM TEZCUCO—NAVAL BATTLE—POSSESSION TAKEN OF THE CAUSEWAYS—AT ONE POINT CORTÉS UNEXPECTEDLY GAINS ENTRANCE TO THE CITY—BUT IS DRIVEN OUT.

THE ideal heroic character is to be viewed from two standpoints: the effect of heroism on the hero, and on the world. A very bad person may do mankind a great service. An evil-minded man, while sinking his soul yet deeper in corruption, may bring benefactions upon society. But even a fairly good man cannot increase his innate nobleness of character while doing injury to his fellows.

I do not know that the claim of good man was ever advanced for Hernan Cortés, except, indeed, by that strange fanaticism which, dazzled by one object, fails to see other objects, or the terrible means for their attainment. He and his followers formed a sad mixture of good and evil, in which the latter predominated, if judged by the moral standard which they had formed for themselves as soldiers of the cross. The grossest injustice, the most horrible wickedness constituted part of their moral ideal, so that while fighting for the highest morality they were the most immoral of men. Long after the conquest was consummated, under the ministrations of men of piety

and ability, it would seem that the weapons used by these conquerors, who at times justified murder as the highest morality, were still instinct with blood, even as the cornel-wood spear with which the king of Thrace transfixed the unhappy Polydorus springs into life instinct with the blood of Priam's slaughtered son.

Cortés was not an idealist after the manner of Columbus. Both were full of egoism; the spiritual-mindedness of both was essentially selfish. They would both dictate terms to God and their king, that for so much service they must have so much reward. Both were full of the follies of their day; but Columbus displayed a grave, unconscious folly, while Cortés consciously indulged in all the follies of lust and cruelty that prudence admitted or his aim demanded. Cortés abandoned himself to ambition; Columbus to brooding thought. The insanity of reckless adventure was not the insanity of Columbus, who nevertheless was as mad as any lunatic in his own way. Commanding energy and practical daring were as conspicuous in Cortés as in Columbus; but it happened that the aims of Columbus were of greater import to the race than those of Cortés.

How alike, and yet how different, these men! Cortés was impetuous and extravagant; Columbus calm, calculating, and prudent. One was full of joyous activity, the simple exercise of which was his greatest pleasure; obligations of every sort sat lightly on him; the other was but an instrument in the hands of providence. Both were ambitious, both excessively religious; but Cortés, in the main, made religion subservient to advancement, as before noted, while mundane glories to Columbus were hollow indeed beside his heavenly aspirations. Both were exceedingly great men; both became eminent by a selfish adventure of self; but Columbus saw the New World through the glorious haze of immortality, while Cortés viewed Mexico under the lightly woven covering of personal ambition.

Cortés was an Antony rather than a Cæsar, nor did he lack that one great gift of Antony's, subordination, as we have seen. He was not so greatly in love with himself, stood not so greatly in awe of himself, as Cæsar; he was possessed of finer perceptions and feelings, and with consummate versatility could drop himself out of his plans as occasion required. Nor was Cortés without imagination and the æsthetic sense, though of a grosser and sensual kind; but it is not in great men that we are to look for the swelling harmonies of nature.

A turning-point was now reached in the campaign. The brigantines were completed, and the siege could begin. The day for the entry of the vessels into the lake was a gala day, inaugurated with the communion and festive with the concourse of gayly attired spectators.[1] After prayer and a discourse the flags with name and royal arms were hoisted on each vessel,[2] amid salvos and cheers, and the dams being broken, the gallant fleet floated down the canal to the placid lake.

While the mute bunting was thus proclaiming Spanish supremacy over these inland waters, a Te Deum, in which joined a thousand voices, echoed aloud the gratitude of every heart. Each vessel was placed in charge of a captain[3] with twenty-four Spaniards, of

[1] Several leading authors assume this to have occurred on the 28th of April, when Cortés mustered his forces. He says nothing about the formal launch on that occasion, and it is hardly likely that two such performances could have been effected in one day.

[2] 'Las vanderas Reales, y otras vanderas del nombre que se dezia ser el vergantin.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 138. Ixtlilxochitl assumes that the flag-ship was named *Medellin*, *Hist. Chich.*, 313–14, but this appears to be based on a misinterpretation of Herrera, who places Villafuerte 'of Medellin' at the head of the list of captains. Vetancurt believes that the vessels were named after the apostles, to whom Cortés was so devoted. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 156. If so, the flag-ship may have been called *San Pedro*, after his patron. When all were floated a storm came which threatened to break them one against the other. *Torquemada*, i. 532.

[3] Their names appear to have been Juan Rodriguez de Villafuerte of Medellin, Juan Jaramillo of Salvatierra, Francisco Rodriguez Magariño of Merida, Cristóbal Flores of Valencia, Juan García Holguin of Cáceres, Caravajal of Zamora, Pedro Barba of Seville, Gerónimo Ruiz de la Mota of Búrgos,

whom about six were cross-bowmen and arquebusiers, some artillerists to manage the bronze gun, and twelve rowers, six to each side. The boats were evidently half-decked.[4]

Active preparations were now made to begin the siege. Tlascaltecs, Huexotzincas, Cholultecs, Chalcans, and other allies were summoned to send in contingents by Whitsunday, the latter to assemble at Chalco, and the Tlascaltecs at Tezcuco. Though but ten days' notice was given, the last named presented themselves in the camp before the appointed time to the number of over fifty thousand, which was increased by later reënforcement.[5]

As they approached Tezcuco under the guidance of Ojeda, and commanded notably by Chichimecatl and Xicotencatl junior, they spread out in one long serpentine file, bristling with iztli points and brilliant with shields and armor covered with variegated devices and flowing plumage, while at intervals

Pedro de Briones of Salamanca, Rodrigo Morejon de Lovera of Medina del Campo, Antonio de Sotelo of Zamora, Juan de Portillo of Portillo, and Miguel Diaz de Auz. Martin Lopez, the ship-builder, also joined, in the character of chief pilot. Herrera, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xii. xxi., has Francisco de Verdugo, of Arévalo, instead of Diaz de Auz, but Bernal Diaz names him as one of the company captains under Olid, and he ought to know better in this respect. He also names a second Caravajal, Zamora, a ship-master, afterward settled in Oajaca, Colmenero, Gines Nortes, and Lerma. *Hist. Verdad.*, 138.

[4] The smallest was soon set aside as useless. There was some trouble in obtaining rowers, owing in a great measure to the employment in Spain of criminals in that capacity. Hidalgos shrank from anything that could be regarded as common labor, and even ordinary sailors refused to handle a branded implement. In this dilemma a list was made of all natives of seaports, and of those known to be able fishermen, and finally the selected number were ordered to take the oar, regardless of caste.

[5] So says Cortés, *Cartas*, 208. Bernal Diaz as usual implies a smaller number by stating that Cortés sent to ask for only 20,000 men from the republics. *Hist. Verdad.*, 137–8. The Cholultecs, he says, who had maintained a neutral attitude since the massacre there, sent a small force under their own captain. Gomara allows 60,000 allies to come; Vetancurt 90,000, of whom 60,000 are Tlascaltecs; Clavigero limits the arrival to 50,000 Tlascaltecs, the whole number of allies swelling gradually to over 200,000, while Herrera makes that number arrive within two days; Ixtlilxochitl names thirteen chiefs, who commanded the 50,000 Tlascaltecs (a misprint gives 5000), and some of those leading the 10,000 Huexotzincas; he also allows 10,000 Cholultecs; of his own Tezcucans he claims over 200,000 to have come, 50,000 each being furnished by the provinces of Tezcuco, Otumba, Tziuhcohua, and Chalco, with Tepeaca, Quauhnahuac, etc.; 8000 chiefs or nobles joined besides from Tezcuco, and 50,000 laborers in addition, it seems. *Hist. Chich.*, 313; *Hor. Crueldades*, 20.

waved high the banners of the different corps. Cortés went forth to meet them with grand demonstrations, and as they marched past loud vivas[6] rent the air.

On the 28th of April Cortés had mustered his forces and found that, with the several reënforcements lately arrived, there were present over nine hundred Spaniards, of whom eighty-six were horsemen and one hundred and eighteen cross-bowmen and arquebusiers;[7] the rest being armed with swords and shields and the more formidable pikes. They were well protected with cotton armor, many having cuirasses and corselets, and small weapons were not wanting. The artillery consisted of three heavy iron guns, fifteen smaller pieces of bronze, mostly distributed among the vessels, with ten quintals of powder and a quantity of shot, while some fifty thousand arrows had been furnished by the Tezcucan towns, all fitted according to pattern with copper tips.[8]

Not only had the Spaniards, particularly the new recruits, been well exercised in cavalry movements, target practice, fencing, and pike drill, but the allies had been trained to a certain extent in European tactics. For efficiency and good conduct this army rose far above any yet mustered in the Indies. In the usual speech before the ranks, Cortés pointed out how God had favored them with constant victories and with reënforcements which had nearly doubled their number and resources. They might indeed be hopeful, for holy was their cause. Full of confidence they could march against the only stronghold yet opposed to them, avenge their slaughtered comrades, and win riches and glory for themselves.

[6] 'Viua el Emperador nuestro señor, y Castilla, Castilla, Tlascala, Tlascala!' *Bernal Diaz*, loc. cit. It took three days for the auxiliaries to enter, says Ojeda, and great as was Tezcuco, there was not room for them. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xii. Bernal Diaz reduces the days to hours.

[7] *Cortés, Cartas*, 206. Gomara agrees, *Hist. Mex.*, 191, but Bernal Diaz gives the number as 84 horsemen, 650 soldiers with swords, shields, and lances, and 194 archers and arquebusiers. loc. cit.

[8] Some half a dozen towns furnished 8000 each within eight days. The feathers were fastened by the archers with glue from the *cactle* root. They kept two strings and as many catches, and maintained their skill by target practice. *Id.*

On Whitmonday, the 20th of May, an apportionment of the troops was made to Alvarado, Olid, and Sandoval, who led the cavalry in person, but directed the movements of the infantry through captains, and of the allies through native chiefs. Each received from twenty-four to thirty horsemen, and one hundred and fifty infantry, divided into two or three battalions, with a proportionate number of arquebusiers, crossbowmen, guns, and ammunition, besides from twenty to forty thousand allies. To Sandoval was given the smallest number of horse and the largest number of allies, those gathered at Chalco having orders to await him, while Alvarado received a full half of the Tlascaltec force, with whom the Tonatiuh was a great favorite. To this leader Tlacopan was assigned for head-quarters; to Olid, Coyuhuacan; and Sandoval received orders to complete the destruction of Iztapalapan, and then to advance through Coyuhuacan and along one of the southern causeways, and there to select his head-quarters, under the protection of the brigantines. These appointments and orders underwent several changes during the siege. For himself Cortés selected the management of the fleet, whereon so much depended during the opening of the siege, and in addition to its ships' companies of three hundred men he was supported by several thousand allies, chiefly Tezcucans under Ixtlilxochitl, who attended in a large number of canoes. This selection hardly pleased the army, which considered their operations the most important and dangerous, and therefore in need of Cortés' supervision. But he evidently never intended to remain with the fleet except at the beginning.[9]

[9] The distribution of forces as given by Cortés stands thus: To Alvarado, 30 horse, 18 arquebusiers and archers, 150 sword and shield men, and over 25,000 Tlascaltecs; to Olid, 33 horse, 18 archers and arquebusiers, 160 sword and shield men, and over 20,000 allies; to Sandoval, 24 horse, 4 arquebusiers, 13 archers, 150 sword and shield men, and over 30,000 allies from Huexotzinco, Cholula, and Chalco. *Cartas*, 207. Others differ more or less, some giving details that hardly accord with the totals. Bernal Diaz names as Alvarado's three captains his brother Jorge de Alvarado, Gutierre de Badajoz, and

The following day the allied forces apportioned to Alvarado and Olid were ordered to march in advance, for greater convenience, to the border of Tezcuco province and there await the Spaniards. Not many hours after their departure a messenger appeared with the announcement that Xicotencatl, the companion general of Chichimecatl, had disappeared. Inquiries revealed that shortly before his cousin Piltecuhtli had been severely and wantonly struck by a soldier during a quarrel over some carriers. In order to save the soldier from the wrath of Cortés, Ojeda, the Spanish inspecting officer over the allied forces, smoothed the matter and sent the injured nobleman home. It was claimed by some that this outrage had so wounded Xicotencatl that he followed his cousin. Others assumed that both chiefs were in love with the same woman, and that Xicotencatl could not bear to leave his rival alone in the field. But the true reason lay no doubt in his dislike to fight for the Spaniards, whom he had never ceased to oppose, openly and in secret, as invaders bent on the enslavement of the whole country. This idea, if faint at first, had become more fixed with every fresh blow against his personal ambition, such as the first series of defeats which plucked from him his just renown; the equal or perhaps superior position assigned in the native army to Chichimecatl, of whom he appears to have been deeply

Andrés de Monjaraz, the latter an agreeable, bright-faced fellow of about 32 years, always suffering from a Lotharian disease which prevented him from doing anything. The three captains under Olid were Andrés de Tápia, a growing favorite of Cortés', Francisco Verdugo, the unconscious fellow-conspirator of Villafañe, and Francisco de Lugo, the natural son of a prominent estate-holder at Medina del Campo. Sandoval had but two captains, the insinuating Pedro de Ircio, and Luis Marin of San Lúcar, a muscular and dashing fellow, of Monjaraz' age, with an open blonde face, somewhat pitted, and possessed of a voluble tongue. *Hist. Verdad.*, 139, 240, 246. Ixtlilxochitl gives a longer list, which is clearly wrong in many respects, and he adds some names of native leaders. Alvarado kept the Tlascaltecs of Tizatlan and Tepeticpac; Olid those of Ocotelulco and Quiahuiztlan. *Hist. Chich.*, 313–14. He further states that his namesake joined Cortés' fleet with 16,000 canoes, containing 50,000 Tezcucans, of whom 8000 were nobles. *Hor. Crueldades*, 21. Brasseur de Bourbourg follows this author in many respects, improving somewhat on the names. Herrera names five of the sub-captains, among them Hernando de Lerma of Galicia. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xii.

jealous;[10] and the prospect of a wearisome and unprofitable campaign, wherein he must be content to figure as a subordinate, not only of Alvarado, but subject perhaps to the orders of petty Spanish officers. All this became too galling to his proud spirit, and with a few followers he turned toward his mountain home.

It would never do to countenance desertion, and by so prominent a man, at the very opening of a campaign; and Cortés immediately sent a number of troopers in pursuit, with instructions to represent to the chief the gravity of his offence, which cast a heavy stain on Tlascaltec honor, and to persuade him to return. They speedily overtook him, only to meet with insolence. He would not go back; if his people had listened to him they would not now be tools and servants of a horde of foreigners. With this reply the troops were forced to return. "This cacique is incorrigible," exclaimed Cortés, "and will ever be a traitor and counsellor to evil. I have had enough of him!" The troopers were at once sent back, accompanied by an alguacil and some trusty Tlascaltec nobles, with orders to arrest the fugitive and bring him to Tezcuco. In a letter to the republican lords, Cortés at the same time complained of the desertion and its grave influence, and declared that according to Spanish law the penalty was death. They replied that the same punishment obtained in Tlascala; and not only do they appear to have actively aided in surrendering the culprit, but they declared all his property, including wives and slaves, confiscated to the crown, against which he had sinned.[11] Indeed, the arrogance of the

[10] 'Iva a tomar por fuerça el Cacicazgo, e vassallos, y tierra del mismo Chichimecatecle,' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 139, which must be an idle rumor.

[11] Some time later when Ojeda went to Tlascala for supplies he brought back the confiscated property, including a quantity of treasure, and 30 women, the daughters, servants, etc., of Xicotencatl. *Torquemada*, i. 558. The Tlascaltec laws were severe, 'E l'odio particolore, che portavano a quel Principe, il cui orgoglio non potevano più soffrire.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 195. Some Tlascaltecs say his father had warned Cortés against his son, and urged his death. *Bernal Diaz*, loc. cit. Herrera observes that he could hardly have been seized without Tlascaltec aid. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xvii.

young chief does not seem to have endeared him to the other rulers. Instantly on his arrival he was sentenced and hanged on a very high gallows, while the crier and interpreter announced his crime.

The execution of so prominent a chief, heir to one of the rulers among his best allies, was an act which few besides Cortés would have ventured on; but he saw the necessity for a firm observance of discipline, and was not deceived in the salutary effect which it had on the allies.[12] There were not many Tlascaltecs left in Tezcuco, or a serious demonstration might have occurred; as it was, the mantle and maxtli of the deceased were secured, and an eager contest ensued for them as relics. Axayacatzin Xicotencatl had achieved fame before the advent of the Spaniards.[13]

Alvarado and Olid had set out from Tezcuco for Tlacopan with their Spanish forces on the 22d of May,[14] taking the same route by which Cortés had returned from the Xochimilco campaign, and though longer than that north of Tezcuco Lake, yet it was easier and safer. On approaching Acolman, Olid sent a party in advance to secure quarters, and when Alvarado arrived he found every house bearing the green bough on the roof, which indicated occupancy. This raised a tumult between the parties, and even the captains would have come to blows but for the inter-

[12] *Ojeda*, in *Herrera*, loc. cit.. Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 379, thinks that it would have been hazardous to hang him at Tezcuco, where many Tlascaltecs were gathered; but he forgets that nearly all this people had already set out for Mexico. His supposition is based on Bernal Diaz, who intimates that he was not hanged in Tezcuco. Alvarado had pleaded for his life, and Cortés, while pretending compliance, secretly ordered the alguacil to despatch him. *Hist. Verdad.*, 139.

[13] Cortés divided the lordship of the chieftain afterward between his two sons, and the name of Xicotencatl has been perpetuated by more than one line, as Camargo shows in his *Hist. Tlax.* Two officers of that name figured during the American invasion of 1847 in defence of their country. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 447.

[14] Most writers say the 10th, misled by an error in *Cortés, Cartas*, 208; and this error causes Prescott, among others, to fall into more than one mistake, which he upholds with vain arguments. On earlier pages in the *Cartas* are given dates in connection with religious festivals which show that Whitsunday fell on the 19th of May, and the departure took place three days later. Bernal Diaz gives the 13th, and says that the Xicotencatl affair had detained them a day. He afterward varies the date.

ference of friends. Informed of the trouble, Cortés took steps to reconcile them, although the two leaders never renewed their former intimacy.

On the evening of the fourth day they reached Tlacopan, which was deserted, as were all the towns along the route.[15] Late as was the hour, forages and reconnoissances were made, involving a skirmish with the Mexicans. The following day, Sunday, Olid proceeded to Chapultepec to cut the aqueduct which supplied the city, a task which involved another encounter wherein a score of Mexicans fell. Meanwhile the canals were filled and other obstacles removed which might impede a free advance, and foraging tours were made. The Mexicans continued to harass the operations with repeated sallies, and finally Alvarado, with characteristic rashness, pursued them until his troops were well advanced between the houses and bridges. The Mexicans, who had retreated on purpose, now rolled back upon his front and flanks. The roofs, hitherto deserted, teemed with slingers and archers, who showered their missiles with terrible effect, while from the lanes and openings between the houses sprang numbers who assailed the cramped soldiers with their long lances, swords, and clubs, and leaped back into their holes and canoes and behind breastworks whenever they were pressed. The allies were ordered back, and the Spaniards slowly retreated, with a loss of eight killed and fifty wounded, glad to be relieved from their strait.

Olid was highly incensed with Alvarado for his rashness, and regardless of all remonstrance he seized the pretext to hasten the departure to his own camp at Coyuhuacan. He established his head-quarters on Corpus Christi day, the 30th of May, and from this date, accordingly, Clavigero and many others date the beginning of the siege. The causeway leading thence to Mexico was broken, and he sought for several days

[15] They passed round Zumpango Lake, through Quauhtitlan and Tenayocan. *Cortés, Cartas*, 210; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 139.

to cover the breaches and gain a footing upon it, but without success. The Mexican warriors displayed great spirit, and their leaders are to be blamed for not energetically assuming the offensive and attacking the two camps.

The Mexicans had not quite understood the drift of Cortés' delay and preliminary manœuvres. When they found two camps established, the aqueduct destroyed, and earnest preparations in progress for investment, their eyes were opened; but they were then too bewildered to act with promptness and precision. The chronicles relate that Quauhtemotzin held a grand council to consider the situation, and to sound the spirit of the people for peace or war, so that there might be no faltering when necessity came. A number indeed of the elder and wiser lords, particularly of the Montezuma faction, spoke of the formidable enginery and strength of the Spaniards, and their host of allies, and expressed fears of failure. With the occupation of all the surrounding territory, and the influx of people from abroad, the food supply might fall short, and famine and sickness ensue. But the young men and the warriors, as might be expected, would listen to no counsellor whose words implied cowardice; they were enthusiastic for resistance, and formed too numerous a party to allow the entertaining of peace proposals. Quauhtemotzin cautiously refrained from committing himself,[16] but re-

[16] 'Jamàs quisieron Paz [the Aztecs]; y aunque à la postre la recibieron, el Rei no la aceptò, porque al principio, contra su Consejo, la rehusaron.' *Torquemada*, i. 572. Gomara says the same, but Duran, the historian of his dynasty, declares that he loved too much to rule and to display his personal valor ever to listen to peace proposals. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 490. On the following pages he gives a speech by this ruler, painting the shame and evil of surrender. Before this, according to the native records of Sahagun, Cortés had invited Quauhtemotzin, under promise of security, to a conference, in order to explain his motives for the campaign. Not wishing to appear afraid, the Aztec monarch came to the rendezvous near Acachinanco, in a state barge, attended by several nobles. Cortés arrived in a brigantine. He reviewed the allegiance tendered to the Spanish sovereign, the revolt, precipitated by Alvaradlo's effort to anticipate the murderous plot, and the subsequent slaughter of Spaniards and robbery of treasures. These unjustifiable and

minded the assembly that the oracles of their gods and heroic ancestors had above all to be listened to in so important a matter as the preservation of the homes and sacred temples intrusted to their care. He knew well what answer would come from the priests, whose possessions, wealth, and honors depended on the exclusion of invaders, aiming above all at the overthrow of their religion. "My people shall not fear the enemy," spake the war-god Huitzilopochtli, "for the allied hosts will not persevere long in the siege, and I will scatter the Castilians now as hitherto." This utterance suited many views, and the declaration for war was solemnized by sacrifices of human beings, including the four Spaniards lately captured.[17]

Renewed efforts were made to fortify and supply the city, and canoes were collected to aid in the defence. With insolent assurance, derived from the oracles, corps of warriors would advance close to the Spanish camps and vent their feelings with insults and menaces, "Men of evil, you shall pay for your madness! Behold, the gods have already feasted on your bodies!" they cried, flinging in among the horrified soldiers pieces of their sacrificed comrades. "Our snakes shall drink your blood, and our tigers devour your flesh, though they are already satiated therewith. And you, infamous Tlascaltecs, slaves and traitors! you shall atone for your misdeeds; you shall die a bad death, and furnish flesh for our banquets! Behold!" And

inhuman outrages he had come to avenge; and he would not stay his hand till the enemies of his king and God had been driven forth. Quauhtemotzin merely replied that he accepted war, and thereupon returned to the city. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 147–50. Torquemada, i. 543, and Brasseur de Bourbourg adopt this story, the latter stating that the Aztec ruler proposed to consult his council. But Clavigero rightly assumes that the interview never took place. All other records say that Quauhtemotzin persistently refused ever to speak with Cortés, even from behind his walls.

[17] Many captives had been secured during recent raids on Chalco and Tezcuco, and other parts, so that there was no lack. The native victims numbered 4000, it is said. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xvii. 'All boys,' says Oviedo, iii. 515. 'Yo bien creo que fueró muchas, mas no tantas.' *Gomara*, loc. cit. The limbs of the Spaniards were sent to different provinces to frighten the inhabitants. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 135.

therewith they threw in disjointed pieces of dusky human bodies. "We shall not rest till your land is desolated, and not a man or woman left to perpetuate your vile race." Unabashed by this tirade the Tlascaltecs told them not to threaten like women, but to act like men. Still it were better for them to yield unless they wished to be destroyed.

Cortés had been delayed till the fleet should be fully prepared. On the 31st of May, following Corpus Christi day, he was able to despatch Sandoval, who, reënforced by some forty thousand allies awaiting him on the Chalco border, marched against Iztapalapan. Although severely crippled by Cortés' expedition, this town still figured as a stronghold of too great importance to be left in the rear. Advised of the movement, the Mexicans hurried by road and water to aid in covering the retreat of the inhabitants. Suddenly smoke columns were observed in different parts of the lake, and cries of alarm ran through the town. Yet more and more hurriedly the people fled, and while one body of warriors retired along the causeway to Mexico, others departed in canoes. The Spanish forces pressed onward in close pursuit, and slaughter, pillage, and torch accompanied them. The chief cause of the panic was the appearance of the brigantines, which had set sail shortly after Sandoval's departure, attended by a large number of Tezcucan canoes[18] whose object was to coöperate against Iztapalapan. On approaching it the vessels passed close to a steep rocky isle, the Tepepulco, since known as El Peñol del Marqués,[19] occupied by a large number of fugitives who shouted defiance, and showered stones and arrows. Finding that Sandoval required no aid, Cortés re-

[18] Ixtlilxochitl states in one place that his namesake remained at Tezcuco to raise troops and to arrange for regular trains of supplies for the Spanish camps. In another relation he allows him to accompany Cortés with 16,000 canoes. *Hor. Crueldades*, 21; *Relacion*, 314. The canoes which now attended the fleet appear to have served chiefly as transports.

[19] Owned even under republican rule by the heirs of Cortés, as a tetzontli quarry.

solved to inflict a lesson on the insolent islanders. The Mexicans appeared confident in the impregnable strength of the rock, and gave so warm a reception to the hundred and fifty men with whom Cortés began to climb it, that fully a score were wounded at the onset. The brigantines turned their guns upon them, however, and under this cover the soldiers speedily gained the summit, there to wreak bloody vengeance. Not a man was spared, only the women and children. "It was a beautiful victory!" exclaims Cortes.

While they were pillaging, a large fleet of canoes, five hundred at the lowest estimate,[20] was seen to approach from the direction of Mexico, bristling with iztli points, which found a gleaming reflection in the smooth waters of the lake. Cortés ordered an immediate return to the brigantines, and rowed them forward into an extended line. He had longed for an opportunity like this, to meet a formidable fleet upon which the brigantines might inflict a lesson severe enough to open the eyes of the enemy to their invincible power; for "in them lay the key of war," as he expressed it. Unfortunately the wind was so light as barely to flap the sails. The hostile fleet had already drawn up in good order just beyond range, evidently puzzled at the passive attitude of the monster vessels, yet shouting defiance.[21] Cortés stood chafing with impatience, for without wind his greatest advantage would be lost, and his position even become precarious. Just then the waters rippled and a breeze came from abaft which speedily freshened. "Ah, God favors us!" he cried, and with a grateful gaze toward heaven he gave orders to advance under full sail. As they came close to the enemy a blinding volley was sent pouring in upon them from the whole line, from guns, arque-

[20] *Cortés, Cartas*, 211. Bernal Diaz raises the number to 4000, Peter Martyr to 5000, while Vetancurt assumes that the 500 were merely the van. *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 158.

[21] Oviedo writes that they were sacrificing boys to propitiate the gods. iii. 516. 'La flota q̄ les parecio no dar batalla con tan pocas y cansadas,' observes Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 194.

buses, and cross-bows, and while the natives were trying to recover from their confusion, from out the smoke burst the ponderous bows, crashing into the lines of canoes, overturning, breaking, and sinking. In the vessels' wake were wrecks and struggling bodies, while the few canoes which had escaped by passing between the ships struggled to escape the Tezcucan boats in the rear. At the first encounter the canoes in the farther lines turned in hot haste for home, as did a vast number of others which had ventured forth, partly with reënforcements, partly with spectators. But the clumsy-looking vessels sped faster, pursuing their career of destruction for three leagues, into the very canals of the city, whence they turned back to pick up captives. The victory exceeded the wildest hopes of the Spaniards, as Cortés admits, for not only did the Aztecs lose a great number of their foremost warriors and their best canoes, but they surrendered forever to the formidable craft sovereignty over the lake waters, and with it the hope of assistance from trans-lacustrine allies.

Encouraged by this success, Olid advised Alvarado, and both hastened to take advantage of the panic to advance along the causeways and effect considerable execution, impelled as they were with emulation and fresh courage.[22] Olid had advanced close to Fort Xoloc, which with its stout battlemented walls and towers guarded the junction of the southern causeways, when the brigantines approached it from the eastern side. It was already after vespers; nevertheless Cortés landed to coöperate with his lieutenant and pursue the advantage gained. A breach was made in the wall with one of the heavy guns, and under cover of the fleet's artillery the place was soon carried. Cortés had intended to make Coyuhuacan his head-quarters, but such were the obvious advantages of Xoloc, in strength and in position, for it lay

[22] Alvarado advanced as far as the first wide bridge, but lost three men. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 141.

but half a league from Mexico and was connected in the rear with the mainland by three causeways, that he at once decided to establish his camp there, making it also his naval station.

Enraged rather than discouraged by the several defeats, Quauhtemotzin ordered a night attack on Xoloc, contrary to native custom. They approached both by sea and land, but owing to their noise they were observed, and driven back by the artillery. The fort was not very strong on the northern side, and the force within was small; but in the morning half of Olid's troops came to reënforce him, together with fifty of Sandoval's infantry. The addition was opportune, for the Mexicans were advancing in swarms along the causeway as well as by water, this time on the inner side of the road where the vessels could not reach them. The heavy guns soon cleared a space on the roadway, but as the soldiers pursued they suffered severely from the canoes, which not only showered missiles but afforded retreat for the sallying parties. Orders were accordingly given to cut a passage through the embankment, so that the four brigantines might enter to clear the inner basin. By this means the Spaniards were able to advance to the very entrance of the city and inflict some damage, while the remaining vessels explored the waters beyond, and drove back canoes and fired buildings in the suburbs.

Sandoval at the same time advanced along the causeway from Iztapalapan to Coyuhuacan. It was a league and a half in length, and a quarter of a league from shore it passed through an island town, which was captured and burned. Advised of this, Quauhtemotzin directed a fleet to cut the causeway and entrap the Spaniards; but before long two of the vessels were able to relieve Sandoval, who thereupon left a portion of his troops, including the allies, at Coyuhuacan, and joined his chief with the remainder. Nearly a week was occupied in strengthening Fort

Xoloc, arranging the camp, and bringing in supplies, during which time desultory skirmishings were maintained, wherein Sandoval among others received wounds. The brigantines roamed incessantly and inflicted great damage, entering on one occasion for a long distance a canal which led into the suburbs.[23] Canoes no longer ventured abroad when a sail was in sight, and the Mexicans began to protect the water approaches and channels with stakes.

In order to complete the investment of the city it was only necessary to occupy the northern causeway to Tepeyacac, along which the besieged maintained a steady intercourse with the mainland. Advised of this neglect by Alvarado, the general ordered Sandoval to form a camp at that town[24] with one hundred and forty Spaniards, of whom twenty-three were horsemen, and a full proportion of allies. Alvarado had half as many more infantry and a few more cavalry, while two hundred infantry were quartered at Xoloc, supported besides by a cavalry force in the rear, and by Olid's party, with whom remained the largest proportion of allies, now over eighty thousand, according to Cortés' own statement. The fort could not hold them, and they accordingly encamped at Coyuhuacan, which lay more convenient for supplies, and must be occupied to watch the hostile shore and lake towns clustered in this quarter. The brigantines carried at least two hundred and fifty men.[25]

Everything being prepared, Cortés ordered a simultaneous attack from all the camps, so as to divide the attention of the Mexicans and gain all possible advantage. He himself advanced along the Iztapalapan

[23] Probably behind the great southern levee. See *Native Races*, ii. 564.

[24] Gomara calls it wrongly Xaltoca, and Robertson confounds it, singularly enough, with Tezcuco. *Hist. Am.*, ii. 114.

[25] *Cortés, Cartas*, 216–17. The greater number of the allies came daily from their camp at Coyuhuacan to join Cortés as warriors and sappers. Digging and similar work was done chiefly by Tezcucans. Herrera states that the vessels of Flores and Ruiz de la Mota were placed at a broken causeway between the camps of Alvarado and Sandoval. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xvii.

causeway with the greater part of his infantry, attended by several cavaliers on foot, and by over eighty thousand allies, while a vessel skirted the road on either side. There was more than one breach in the road, behind which were posted large forces of warriors protected by intrenchments of earth and masonry.

Without the vessels it would have cost much time and many lives to cross; but the well-directed fire from the guns and arquebuses on the flanks and rear of the enemy soon wrought disorder, which enabled the sallying parties to obtain a foothold. Meanwhile a number of infantry had swum across the channel and aided to drive the Mexicans beyond the next breach. The same manœuvre was repeated at this and the other chasms, till the army found itself at the very entrance of the city, protected by a wider channel than the preceding, with more extensive fortifications, commanded by a temple tower. This with its swarms of slingers and archers made the capture difficult, and the Mexicans also showed more determination; but the guns and fusillade could not be resisted, and soon the Spaniards stood within the city for the first time since the memorable Noche Triste. Revenge seemed already secured, and the lost treasures almost within the invaders' grasp. Cortés, however, did not permit himself to be carried away by a momentary success. He saw the main street beyond thronged with warriors fiercely bent on resistance, streets as far as the distant temple of the war-god bordered with buildings, each a fortress in itself, while many a barricaded channel blocked the way.

A large force of allies had been left to fill the chasm and level the ground as the army advanced, using for this purpose the captured intrenchments and buildings, or even material from the causeway itself. This work was under the direction of Diego Hernandez, a man of herculean strength, who could throw a stone with a force and precision, it was said, approximating

those of cannon.[26] This filling of the chasms enabled the horses to be brought forward, and they now led the charge against the dense masses of natives, after the arquebuses had effected the preliminary clearing. Cortés had not underestimated the annoyance to be encountered from the archers and slingers covering the roofs on either side; but the operations of the cavalry left the many arquebusiers and cross-bowmen at liberty to cover the points of approach through which the allies in particular poured in countless numbers with side-arms and fire-brands. The progress so far had surpassed all anticipation; but now the Spaniards came to a canal from which the retreating Mexicans removed the few planks remaining of the bridge, leaving a solitary beam. Here the warriors were massed in greater confidence, free as they were from the attack of vessels and sheltered by strong intrenchments, while the adjoining roofs, equally protected by the canals, teemed with missile-throwers. The soldiers tried again and again to cross the chasm, only to be driven back with injury. The volleys from cross-bows and fire-arms could effect but little damage against the well sheltered warriors, while their arrows and stones came in rattling showers. Finally two cannon were brought forward. This changed the issue, for a breach was speedily made in the intrenchments, and now the small-arms were able to coöperate with great execution.

After a delay of two hours the soldiers were across; and while the allies filled the canal they again pursued their advance along the avenue, though suffering considerably from the roof missiles. They now came to the last channel in the street, close to the main plaza, wherein stood the famous temple of Huitzilopochtli.

The advance of the Spaniards had been so unexpected and rapid that the Mexicans had not thought of fortifying this canal, and little difficulty was met in crossing. But beyond, the plaza was filled with

[26] 'Asserrador...trabajò mas que mil Indios.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xviii.

files of defenders, determined to save their deities and that sacred ground. Greatly frightened, the priests cried out to them: "Behold! it was here upon this spot you fought these beings infernal before, and drove them forth in shameful flight; the gods will help you again!" Even the Spanish soldiers were impressed by the words and gestures of the frantic devotees, and noted their effect in the gleaming eyes and pressed lips of the warriors, and they paused. But presently a gun was brought forward and directed against the packed throng. This effected a backward movement. "There is no time for rest or fear!" shouted Cortés, as with shield in hand he rushed forward. With a thundering Santiago the soldiers followed. The charge was irresistible, and already startled by the mowing cannon-balls the Mexicans took refuge within the temple enclosure and in the by-streets.

The Spaniards followed the crowd within the sacred grounds, slashing and thrusting. It seemed a repetition of Alvarado's massacre, and the war-god, thirsting for blood, might now have his fill. In a few moments not a warrior was left round the temple, only prostrate bodies. Then the soldiers prepared to ascend the pyramid to hurl down the idol and its defenders. But the deity was aroused. The sombre notes of the sacred drum struck their fearful appeal on every heart, "Rouse ye to your imperilled hearths and temples!" It was but now the Mexicans observed that the death-dealing horsemen were not present, for the last channel had not yet been filled to afford a crossing. This lent them courage, and on the foe they quickly rushed from lanes and houses, while down from the temple-top came a doubly inspired avalanche. The shock was overwhelming. The Spaniards were forced to retire, partly in disorder. Cortés made frantic efforts to stay the flight, and at the gate a momentary rally was made by a few; but what availed that handful against the torrent sweeping

onward, headed by the renowned band of Quauhtin? Perforce they must yield and join the troops which were in such hasty flight from the plaza that they even abandoned the cannon. Cortés was on foot in the crowd, and his voice was drowned in the tumult. He could but follow with the wild current, which threatened to lead into another disaster. Just then cries of alarm burst from the crowds on the roofs, and there was a lull in the shower of stones and darts, and the pressure of pursuers relaxed. The next moment the ears of the wandering Spaniards caught the clatter of hoofs.

The cavalry had come up; a revulsion set in. They were but a few,[27] but enough to bring back to the minds of the Mexicans their original and ever present fear of the monsters, for they knew not how many might be coming down upon them.

The infantry followed the horsemen with inspiring cheers, and bore unresisted onward, for the late bravery of the foe was now turned to cowardice. Before long the Spaniards had penetrated through the plaza and occupied once more the temple court. Once more their looks were upward toward the summit of the lofty pyramid consecrated during their former occupation to the holy virgin; and while the main portion of the troops fought the now rallying Mexicans, a sturdy handful undertook the capture of the sanctuary. A dozen chiefs held possession, but naught could stay the fury of the soldiers, and in a few moments the last defender had yielded his spirit in defense of his faith.

The Spaniards looked in vain for any trace of their own altar and symbols, round which they had so oft congregated in prayer. In their stead rose a new idol glittering with ornaments and hideous with devices, while fresh stains of blood spread horror over all. The gleam of gold proved all absorbing, however, and hastily the jewels and the golden mask

[27] Only three, says Cortés and others.

were torn away, and then the head of the idol was struck off and sent clattering below.[28]

There was time for nothing more, for on finding so few horsemen present, the Quauhtin knights had again made an effective rally, pressing the troops closely. Fortunately a larger force of cavalry came up again to turn the tide of battle and inflict a severe lesson. As it was late by this time, there remained no choice but that of returning to camp. This movement gave fresh confidence to the Mexicans, who followed in swarms, harassing from roofs and lanes, on front and flanks, rushing forward with renewed fury after every charge by the cavalry which covered the rear. But for the horses the soldiers would have suffered severely; as it was, the retreat proceeded in good order, and as many houses as possible were fired with a view to make the next entry safer. On approaching the causeway the canoe crews, composed of selected warriors, fell on the flanks and created no little confusion before they were driven back. After this no difficulty was experienced in reaching camp, thanks to the foresight of Cortés, who had ordered the channels filled.[29] The other captains, Alvarado and Sandoval, had performed their share in the day's work, and although they do not appear to have reached even the suburb, detained by the many breaches and other obstacles on the causeways, yet the diversion created by their attacks

[28] Ixtlilxochitl allows his namesake and Cortés to figure in this scene, the former cutting off the idol's head while the general secured the mask. He states that the temple was captured during the first entry into the court. When the Mexicans rallied, Ixtlilxochitl managed to kill their general, which so enraged them that they rushed madly on and drove back the Spaniards till the horse arrived. *Hor. Crueldades*, 29–30. His version is adopted in the main by Prescott and others; but there are several discrepancies. The death of a general as a rule discouraged native armies. Cortés, who would not have failed to claim the overthrow of the idol, states that it was effected by four or five Spaniards, after the second capture of the court. *Cartas*, 218. His presence was needed below to direct operations. Gomara's text must have misled Ixtlilxochitl and others. *Hist. Mex.*, 197–8. Herrera and Torquemada adhere better to Cortés.

[29] Cortés speaks of an ambuscade by the horsemen wherein 30 Mexicans fell. *Cartas*, 218. How many of his own were lost he prudently abstains from mentioning, though admitting many wounded. 'Dexaron perdido los Españoles esta vez el tiro grueso,' says Torquemada, i. 548, but this is unlikely.

proved of great service to Cortés. One reason for their slower advance was the want of coöperation from the vessels, which had been of such great assistance on the Iztapalapan road. This was at once remedied by the detachment of three brigantines each for the Tlacopan and Tepeyacac camps.[30]

[30] *Cortés, Cartas*, 221. Bernal Diaz states that Alvarado received four and Sandoval only two. *Hist. Verdad.*, 141.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE SIEGE.

JUNE–JULY, 1521.

SOMETHING ABOUT QUAUHTEMOTZIN—INFAMOUS PRETENSIONS OF EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIANITY—PROMPT ACTION OF THE MEXICAN EMPEROR—REPETITIONS OF THE ENTRY ASSAULT—SUBMISSION OF THE SURROUNDING NATIONS—DIRE CONDITION OF THE MEXICANS—SPANISH DEFEAT AND DISAFFECTION—RESOLUTION TO RAZE THE CITY.

IN their present position, with the advantages of superior civilization, there was equal glory accruing to the Spaniards in winning Mexico, and to the Mexicans in manfully losing their city. Quauhtemotzin as a patriot and a skilful general was fully alive to the perils of his position, but he was prepared to use to best advantage all the resources at his command, and that is all any one can do. Stern as Saturnius, and passionately patient, from the day of the capture of Montezuma his nature had been proof against all pleasure. Of an imperious temper, haughty and overbearing as Coriolanus, yet was he as faithful to defend the city as any Hector or Horatius. I hold that Spaniards of the sixteenth century were no worse than their neighbors. It was a bigoted and cruel age; though for that matter enough of bigotry yet remains, and there is sufficient cruelty in our latter-day fightings to keep us humble. And while we see much to condemn in the motives that brought hither these foreigners, and much in their conduct that was cruel and unjust, yet we are constrained to admit that the work which they accomplished was in the pathway of destiny.

The conquest of the country, the destruction of its barbarous and inhuman rites, and the establishment of the religion of Christ in their place were the inevitable consequences of the discovery of America. Once brought face to face with the sacrificial stone, and other brutal atrocities of the Aztecs, and Christianity had no alternative but to eradicate these evils or be itself overthrown.

The victorious advance into the heart of the city had been a pleasant surprise to the Spaniards, while to the Mexicans it was incomprehensible. If such were the results of the first day's doings, what would the days following bring forth? Quauhtemotzin immediately issued orders to reopen the channels and construct fresh intrenchments and pitfalls. Such were the forces employed, and such their zeal, that when the morning dawned the causeways and streets presented even greater difficulties than before. The allies of the Mexicans were not so easily reassured, however, and several began to waver, among them the Xochimilcans, to the rear of Olid's camp, who sent in their submission to Cortés, promising not only active aid but much needed supplies. The same offer came from the more numerous Otomís, occupying the western mountain border of the valley, followed by the substantial reinforcement of twenty thousand of their sturdy warriors, with large supplies.[1] Still larger reinforcements arrived just before these from Tezcuco, where ever since Cortés' departure the young king and his brothers had been busily engaged in forwarding supplies[2] and fitting out troops. Fifty thousand were raised and placed under the command of the energetic Ixtlilxochitl, who had great military reputation and possessed far more influence than his ruling brother. He joined Cortés with thirty thousand, and distributed the rest among the other cap-

[1] 'Eran esclavos del señor de Tenuxtitan,' is Cortés' definition of their vassalage to Mexico. *Cartas*, 220.

[2] A service which employed 20,000 carriers, 1000 canoes, and 32,000 convoy warriors, all at the expense of Tezcuco, says Ixtlilxochitl, *Relaciones*, 314.

tains. Cortés praises him for his bravery and good traits, a eulogy which serves only to embitter Mexican writers against one who favored aliens against his own race, and aided to overthrow their liberty and religion. During the campaign he was frequently taunted as a renegade, traitor, and fratricide, but he never swerved in his allegiance, and found ready retorts and excuses, the strongest being that he favored the Christians for introducing the true faith. Yet this strange religion he was in no haste, personally, to adopt. "Curses on his odious memory!" exclaims the rabid Bustamante.[3]

Three days after the last assault a second was made, supported by more allies than ever. Cortés' Spanish forces consisted of twenty horses, three hundred infantry, with three guns. Although he had noticed the operations of the Mexicans, he was hardly prepared to find his work so completely undone. As before, each channel with its intrenchments had to be captured anew, and while the causeway was readily gained with the aid of brigantines, the advance along the street was slower, although the soldiers were somewhat less exposed to roof volleys since the burning of so many of the buildings during the previous entry. The breaches and channels were filled up as they advanced. In the plaza the houses were yet intact and the missile showers severe, so much so that Cortés found

[3] His biographer admits to a certain extent the truth of the invectives, but eager to please his Spanish masters he seeks rather to extol the self-sacrifice and loyalty of his kinsman. He claims that with this reënforcement the Tezcucan auxiliaries reached the improbable number of 250,000 men, of whom 5000 wounded were now sent home. 'Next to God, Cortés owed to Tezcucan aid the conquest and the planting of the faith.' He further assumes that Ixtlilxochitl was already king, and had been with Cortés since the fleet set sail, while his brother Ahuaxpictzoctzin remained at Tezcuco to provide supplies. *Hor. Crueldades*, 21–33. He contradicts himself on several points in his *Relaciones*, 314 et seq. Duran also, as may be expected from a compiler of native records, extols the hero, 'à quien dió una espada dorada que Don Hernando Cortes traia y una rodela.' *Hist. Ind.*, MS., fi. 493. With Ixtlilxochitl came half a dozen out of his hundred brothers. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 198; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 55. Torquemada, i. 548, sends Cohuanacoch as general of the forces, while Clavigero allows King Fernando Ixtlilxochitl to send his brother Cárlos Ixtlilxochitl. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 202. He is evidently confused with respect to the surname.

it necessary to apply the torch, among others to the Axayacatl palace, his former head-quarters, wherein he had sustained so fierce a siege, and to the House of Birds, which formed so prominent and admired a feature in the city. It was of vast extent, and devoted almost wholly to the maintenance of beasts and birds of every species, some kept in the gardens, some in courts, others in galleries, rooms, and cages; altogether a collection which must tend to cast a favorable light on the culture of the race. Both palaces were splendid specimens of Nahua architecture, adorned with marble galleries supported on monolith pillars, with elaborate cornices and stucco work, and surmounted by turrets and battlements, while within and around rose groves of rare trees, choice shrubbery, and flowers, refreshed by ever sparkling fountains. Cortés had rightly concluded that the destruction of such monuments, cherished not alone for their beauty and contents but for their hallowed associations, would be a more severe lesson than the loss of numerous lives; and as the flames rose over all that vast area, fed by the roofs, interior wood-work, and other combustible material, lamentations mingled with the maddened cries of burning animals. Around in the suburbs, also, could be seen column after column of dense smoke started by the torches of the cruisers, and settling in dense masses over the city as if threatening to bury her forever from sight. Fortunately for the inhabitants, the houses thereabout were too wide apart to allow the flames to spread far. Even at this juncture the work of destruction might have been stopped for the reason that Cyrus stopped the sack of Sardis when Crœsus said to him: "These are not my goods, but thine, O Cyrus, that thou art spoiling!"

All this time waged the conflict of arms, the Mexicans seeking by repeated charges and sallies to check the advance of the Spaniards and to harass them. The native chronicles relate that during one of the

countercharges by the cavalry a horseman pierced a warrior with such force that the lance remained fast in the ground. Regarding it as a disgrace to abandon his weapon he rashly dismounted to unfasten it, only to be surrounded by the foe and cut in pieces. His comrades hastened to the rescue, but could recover only the mangled remains.[4]

When evening came and the signal was given for return to camp, the Mexicans fell upon the rear with renewed ardor. It seems as if courage came to them in proportion to their misfortunes. For their fury broke forth anew, fed by the dire conditions round them, by the sight of lately enslaved Otomís, Xochimilcans, and Chalcans, now fighting against them under the sheltering wings of the invaders, and exulting over their misfortunes with bitter taunts. "Behold!" they cried, displaying dismembered limbs of Aztecs, "we shall fill our bellies with your braves, and have enough over wherewith to feed the beasts. Do not starve yourselves, for to-morrow we will return for more." "And in truth they both supped and breakfasted on the limbs," says Cortés.[5] Camp was regained without serious trouble.

The following day the entry was repeated, and early as it was, the channels had been nearly all reopened and provided with the usual intrenchments. This involved a repetition of the previous day's manœuvres, but the Mexicans fought with greater obstinacy, partly because they had become accustomed to the Spanish tactics, and it was one o'clock before the plaza was reached, by which time the archers and arquebusiers had exhausted their quivers and ammunition-pouches. Cortés now advanced beyond the temple along the Tlacopan road, well known to the veterans from the hard fighting there met during the previous siege, and captured two canal crossings, which were filled up,

[4] *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 177–8. Torquemada places the incident earlier, i. 547. Cortés admits no losses of Spaniards this day.

[5] *Cartas*, 222–3. 'Los combidauan a çena, mostrando les piernas y braços.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 199.

while to the buildings on either side the torch was applied. The object of the movement was partly to open intercourse with Alvarado's forces, which were advancing less rapidly, owing to the number of intrenched channels. Progress was slowly increased during the succeeding entries, when Andrés de Tápia and Ávila pushed along adjoining streets with detachments.[6]

One result of the Spanish successes was the submission of all the threatening and neutral lake and island towns to the south and south-west of Mexico, from Iztapalapan and Culhuacan to Cuitlahuac. To this step they had been partly impelled by the repeated raids of the Chalcan confederates, and since their submission was so tardy they were employed chiefly as laborers and purveyors. Gomara now estimates the native auxiliaries at two hundred thousand men, "some engaged intent on fighting, some on eating, some on stealing, and many on gazing."[7] These lake peoples, known as Chinampanecs, from their floating gardens and aquatic life, possessed canoes in abundance, and Cortés availed himself of this to reënforce the blockading fleet with a boat flotilla, three thousand in all, which harassed the city on every side, entering into the canals to burn and pillage, and landing sallying parties to carry desolation all through the suburbs.

Allured by the prospect of spoils, the Chinampanec crews arranged a plan whereby a still richer draught might be made. Before their adhesion to the Spanish cause, or knowledge of it had yet come to Quauhtemotzin, they sent to offer him their services against the invaders, with whom they proposed to deal treacherously. They were assigned a post and played their part well. No sooner were the Mexicans occupied with the Spanish forces than they rushed

[6] Bernal Diaz speaks of a bridge attack which cost the lives of four Spaniards, besides numerous wounded. *Hist. Verdad.*, 145.

[7] He enumerates also the cities of Mexicalcinco and Vitzilopuchtli. *Hist. Mex.*, 202. Herrera adds Mizquic. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xix.

into the dwellings of their pretended allies and began to rob, slay, and carry off women and children. An alarm was given and reënforcements hurried up which speedily overwhelmed the traitorous crews, killing a number, capturing others, and recovering nearly all the booty. The captives were condemned to the stone of sacrifice, those of Cuitlahuac by one of their own caciques, Mayehuatzin, a companion of Quauhtemotzin. The incident cost many lives on both sides, greatly to the delight of the Spaniards, to whom this mutual throat-cutting was the economy of war.[8]

With so large a hostile fleet upon the lake the Mexican crews never ventured abroad by day, but when darkness set in, their canoes sped across, impelled by the demand for food. Informed of this, Cortés detached two brigantines, under Portillo and Pedro Barba, to cruise all night. This proved a severe blow to the poor Mexicans, although a number of canoes still ran the blockade successfully, and it was resolved to entrap the vessels, since open battle could not avail against them. Thirty of the largest canoes, or piraguas, were accordingly manned with stout warriors and strong boatmen, and hidden amongst the rushes near a heavily staked channel, into which some swift canoes were to decoy the brigantines. This succeeded, and no sooner were they fast on the stakes than the canoes attacked them with such spirit that every Spaniard was wounded, while Portillo fell, and Barba died within three days.[9] The brigantines managed to escape. Encouraged by this attempt the Mexicans became more brisk in their blockade-running, and stationed forty piraguas to re-

[8] Mazeoatzi, as Sahagun calls the cacique, sacrificed four chiefs, Quauhtemotzin four more; the rest fell by the hands of priests. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 187. He does not speak of a premeditated plan like Torquemada, i. 551–2, and since the account comes from native sources it may be merely an exaggerated version of a flotilla raid.

[9] This was the lieutenant of Velaźquez at Habana, who joined Cortés during the Tepeaca campaign. Portillo was a soldier from the Italian wars. Bernal Diaz adds that one brig was captured, but this is doubtful. *Hist. Verdad.*, 143; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 214; *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 46.

peat the decoy surprise. Advised of this by two captives, Cortés sent six brigantines by night to hide near the spot, leaving one to cruise about for canoes. Some of these soon appeared, and the sailer pursued them for a distance toward the hiding-place of the Mexicans. Suddenly she turned about as if afraid of stakes. Observing this, the forty piraguas ventured forth and were allured toward the Spanish ambuscade. At the proper moment the six vessels came down upon the pursuers, overturning and sinking a number, and capturing others, together with many warriors. The Mexicans attempted no further naval surprises.[10]

By the night cruisers and the Chinampanecs, supplies were nearly all cut off, and gaunt hunger began to stalk the streets of the fated capital. The ravages of the fleet and the flotilla along the eastern suburbs had rendered these wholly untenable, and the south-eastern district had been desolated by Cortés' divisions, compelling the inhabitants to abandon the greater part of Tenochtitlan and concentrate chiefly in Tlatelulco. These two main divisions of the city had been rivals ever since its foundation, with frequent disputes to sustain the flame of discord. Gradually the Tenochtitlans had assumed the sway, honored by imperial presence, while the other division had assumed a plebeian stamp, patronized by the former. During this common misfortune, however, rivalry was forgotten, and the more warlike Tlatelulcans unhesitatingly aided the others and now welcomed them into their quarter.[11]

Every loss of allies to the Mexicans was a corresponding gain to the Spaniards, less in regard to fresh auxiliaries than to the relief from hostile attitude and to supplies. The Chinampanecs, for instance, were ordered to bring material and construct barracks along

[10] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 144–5.

[11] Cortés exultantly claims that three fourths of the city is now captured. *Cartas*, 227; *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 181; *Torquemada*, i. 550.

the causeway on either side of Fort Xoloc. These afforded shelter for all the Spaniards and two thousand servants, and proved most welcome, for the rainy season had already set in. The same natives were obliged to provide supplies, such as fish and a species of cherry, which together with maize formed the chief sustenance of the army. Frijoles, or beans, cacao, *quilite* herbs, and *nochtli*, afforded variety. The maize was ground by hand and made into tortillas, or pancakes, by the slave women and mistresses of the soldiers, either for their individual lords or for the mess to which they belonged. These duties were also assumed by some of the few Spanish and mulatto women who had accompanied their husbands. Although there was little fear of starvation in the Spanish camps, yet the fare was at times not of the best.[12] The less fastidious auxiliaries were content with a range of eatables which the soldiers would not touch; human meat with them was a *bonne-bouche* for which they were prepared to risk even their own flesh.[13] Alvarado's men enjoyed perhaps the least comfort, for they had moved their camp to a point on the causeway, leaving the auxiliaries at Tlacopan, together with the slaves and tortilla-makers. Nor were their barracks properly constructed, so that exposure to wind and rain was added to poor fare and miry roads, while the situation of the camp added to danger and guard duty.

The camp had been formed round a temple square on the causeway, quite close to Mexico, or rather to Tlatelulco, for Alvarado had tired of having his day's work destroyed every night, and he resolved at least to protect the approach to the suburb. One deep channel yet intervened, beyond which the camp could not well be moved, but a large force was stationed to guard it at night, so that the crossing should be as-

[12] 'No ses hartauan de pescado, que tuuierõ pocos dios: y demas de la hambre con q̃ peleauan, el sol, y el frio no les dio pequeño trabajo.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xix.

[13] 'Soliti sunt hostes in prælio cadentes intra suos ventres sepelire,' explains Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. viii., and with some truth.

sured for the morning's attack.[14] On the other side gleamed the watch-fires of the Mexicans, behind and between which might be seen the flitting figures of their warriors, signalling to one another by whistling. This and other operations were forced upon them to a great extent by Spanish tactics, from which they had copied many features with no little effect.

From Alvarado's camp to the Tlatelulco market, the heart of the enemy's stronghold, the distance was less than from the camp of Cortés, though the first part of the way was more difficult than the Iztapalapan road. The immense stride of the Fort Xoloc party had wholly eclipsed the progress of the others, and Alvarado's men began to fear that, near as they were to the enemy's centre, the more distant comrades might reach it before them. It was therefore resolved to make strenuous efforts to penetrate into the suburb. The assault being on Tlatelulco itself, the Mexicans found no difficulty in offering so strong a resistance that hardly any advance could be made. Several vessels were thereupon directed against the suburb to coöperate with a brisk fire, and to divert attention by landing sallying parties. This succeeded for a while, but inspired by the prowess of two Tlatelulcans named Tzoyetzin and Temoctzin, the warriors rallied and drove back the invaders. Another brave who distinguished himself during the repulse was Tzilacatzin. In the guise of an Otomí warrior, and protected by cotton armor and shield, he rushed toward the Spaniards as if bewildered, in advance of his comrades, and threw his stone, knocking down an opponent at each throw. This man appeared in different guise on different days, and did no little to encourage his companions.[15]

[14] Forty soldiers watched till midnight, when a similar number relieved them, and they again were relieved two hours before dawn; all three divisions camping on the spot. Often every man was kept awake by alarms. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 142–3. The old soldier waxes eloquent over the hardships, for he served at this camp.

[15] The Spaniards tried in vain to despatch him. Sahagun states that during these attacks fifteen soldiers were captured, and shortly after eighteen

Notwithstanding these rebuffs Alvarado persevered, and the Mexicans resolved to take advantage of his zeal to entrap him. Two or three wide channels intervened between the end of the causeway and the great market, and the first of these was now the point of contention, a chasm of sixty feet in width and over ten feet in depth. By great effort a crossing had here been formed with débris. This the Mexicans undermined one night and covered a part with a false ground. In the morning they attacked the Spanish outpost with great demonstration, but retired as soon as the horsemen charged. Flushed with success, the Spaniards followed in divided parties, and one of fifty with a number of allies pursued across the channel. No sooner were they over than the boatmen below tore away the support, while the warriors turned with overwhelming force upon the band. Resistance was impossible, and they retreated only to fall into the opening, where crews were at hand to pounce upon them. Indescribable confusion ensued. Thick fell the blows off the despairing men, as they sought to beat back the triumphant foe. Bernal Diaz, who was among the number trapped, felt himself seized by stout arms, but although badly wounded he managed to cast off the assailant and spring to the bank, where he fell exhausted. Fortunately Alvarado came up at this moment, after driving back a division in another direction, and so startled the assailants that they retreated, though with four captive Spaniards, one or two more being killed, besides a horse and a number of allies.[16]

more, who were sacrificed in a temple of Tlacuchcalco ward, 'donde agora es la iglesia de Santa Ana.' *Hist. Conq.*, 183, ed. 1840, 188–9. One repulse took place in Coyonacazco ward. *Torquemada*, i. 550–2. Spanish versions indicate no such losses, and they may probably belong to the later great defeat.

[16] Such is in main the version of Bernal Diaz; the other accounts differ greatly. This author states that five Spaniards were captured, nearly all the men wounded, and two rowers killed, for the brigantines in seeking to aid had become fast on stakes and exposed to attack. Had the Mexicans not been so frightened by the horsemen the loss would have been very great. *Hist. Verdad.*, 143-4. Cortés allows three or four captured. *Cartas*, 228; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 196. Duran places the scene where rose afterward the San

When Cortés heard of the affair he came over to administer a reprimand, but on learning the particulars he could not withhold his admiration for the valiant deeds performed, and merely exhorted his lieutenant to be more cautious.[17] Great was the exultation of the Mexicans over their success, and tauntingly they hovered round the camp, imitating the cries of the entrapped soldiers. So encouraged did they feel as to make several determined night attacks on the different camps or their advance posts. Alvarado's being nearest and most exposed had to sustain quite a severe fight, losing several men [18]

Although Alvarado had made little advance into the city, the planting of his camp so near it saved much fighting and enabled him to direct daily operations almost at once against the main points. In this he possessed an advantage over Cortés, who was compelled daily to recapture a number of positions already gained. He himself remarks on this loss of time and work. "Your Majesty may blame me for retreating instead of holding what is gained," he writes, but guards at the bridges, which must be large, would be so harassed as to unfit them for the next day's work, while to take up a position within the city would draw the whole of the large population upon them, and might lead to the cutting off of communication and supplies, and probably to a repetition of the great disaster of the previous year. Such a position would besides render it possible for the Mexicans to obtain supplies from the mainland, for the Spanish allies could not be relied on to watch them.

Hipólito hermitage. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 500. But for Quauhtlizcatzin, the prince who led the Tezcucan auxiliaries, all the Spaniards would have been lost, exclaims Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 36. Herrera assumes that the fault lay with Alvarado for neglecting to fill the channel. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xx.

[17] 'No solo no le culpo, mas loole.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 203.

[18] The most serious attacks took place on June 24th and 25th, as if oracles had impelled the Mexicans to seek the destruction of the Spaniards on the anniversary of their reëntry into the city after the Alvarado massacre. The Tlacopan camp lost ten soldiers and had a dozen severely wounded, including Alvarado. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 142, 145.

Cortés' own officers, however, could not fail to observe that Alvarado's course might have been followed with some advantage. They began to tire of the slow progress, attended as it was with so much fighting for so little gain; so much exposure to alternate rain and heat; so much discomfort in rude camps with poor diet and want of proper care for wounded or sick men. This was represented to Cortés, with the request that a general storming be attempted with a view to abbreviate the siege. He represented the danger of advancing over so many channels, along streets lined with houses, against hosts of determined warriors, with the prospect of being caught in the rear. Still he was as eager as any one to end the siege, and would call a council to deliberate on the matter. The result was a decided majority for the proposition to attempt the capture of Tlatelulco market and there establish a permanent camp.[19]

Since Sandoval will not be able to render efficient service on his route for an attack on Tlatelulco, he is ordered to join Alvarado with the weightiest part of his forces, and to take advantage of the movement to entrap the Mexicans. He will pretend to make a general evacuation of his camp, and thus allure the foe to an attack on the baggage-train, during which the ambuscaded cavalry can inflict a lesson which shall also serve to secure the camp against later attack. Sandoval sends another portion of his forces to Cortés, who has more points to cover, and receives instructions to attend in particular to the capture of the channels and their filling, and otherwise to secure the safety of the more impetuous Alvarado.

On the day appointed, the brigantines with their flotillas are sent early to aid in clearing the causeways and approaches. The troops find little trouble in

[19] Bernal Diaz seeks to convey the idea that he or his camp were opposed to the attempt, *id.*, 146, but had it succeeded, he would probably have declared the truth, that Cortés was urged on all sides to make the effort, as stated in *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 203, *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xx., and *Cortés, Cartas*, 228–9. Perhaps the general made objections chiefly to cover his responsibility in case of failure.

reaching the Tlacopan avenue, from which three long roads give access to the market. It is advantageous to push the advance on each of these, and three divisions are accordingly formed, one to follow the main street under command of the comptroller and treasurer, Julian de Alderete, who has been among the foremost to urge the assault; another under Andrés de Tápia and Jorge de Alvarado, brother of the Tlacopan leader, both dashing and able men; the third and somewhat larger body, swelled particularly by auxiliaries, Cortés himself directs along the most dangerous approach, a sort of causeway, lined with houses but bordered with water.[20] Two cannon are placed on the Tlacopan road, guarded by eight horsemen, and Cortés leaves his horse at the entrance of the road taken by him, and gives strict orders to all captains for filling every channel behind them.

Cortés at first leads his men on foot, and with the aid of a field-piece readily gains the first bridge and barricade, carrying all before him, while the auxiliaries swarm into the houses and drive slingers and archers from the roofs. The determination of the assaulting party seems to have disheartened the Mexicans, for the advance is quite rapid, so much so that the captain who has taken Cortés' place at the head of his division soon reports that he is approaching the market and can hear the operations of Alvarado and Sandoval. May he advance? This message reaches Cortés on a section of his causeway to the rear, where he has remained to gain a contested point, and to oppose assaults from the cross-streets. He replies that the captain must first secure his rear and flanks, and look

[20] Alderete's party consisted of 70 infantry, 7 or 8 horsemen, and 15,000 to 20,000 allies, besides a force of laborers to tear down and to fill up; Tápia's of 80 men and over 10,000 allies, and Cortés' of 8 horsemen, 100 infantry, and an immense number of allies. *Cortés, Cartas*, 230–1. Gomara and Herrera differ slightly. Ixtlilxochitl says that his namesake followed Cortés with 8000 Tezcucans. *Hor. Crueldades*, 37. This insignificant number makes it difficult to account for the 250,000 Tezcucans which he lately introduced into the camps. Chimalpain names the three streets Cuahuecatitlan, Tecontlanamacoya, and the later Santa Ana. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 62.

particularly to the channels, of which there are three in that causeway. "They are filled," was the answer, made without a thought as to its accuracy, for flushed with the success of the advance, soldiers and cavaliers alike cast prudence to the winds, and disregarding common ditches bend their eyes alone upon the goal. Immediately after comes the doleful sound of the *teponastli*, and a shrill trumpet blast, the alarm signal of Paynalton, the mythic page of the war-god. Struck on the summit of Tlatelulco temple, the sounds float over the contestants, sending a chill into the heart of the Spaniards and allies as they rush onward filled with visions of success. To the Mexicans, on the other hand, it comes as a magic appeal from Huitzilopochtli, stirring their spirit with fresh energy: a resistless appeal to make a supreme effort for imperilled home, and faith, and liberty.[21]

Cortés also hears the warning, only too deeply impressed since that Sorrowful Night, and with anxious heart he hastens forward to see how matters stand. His anxiety is increased as the jubilant cries of his own men appear to change, while high above them rise the unmistakably triumphant shouts of the Aztecs. Just then he comes to one of the crossings formed by his party at a channel ten to twelve paces wide, and over ten feet deep. It seems insecure, and on looking he finds it constructed of some loosely thrown pieces of wood and reed, covered with a little earth. He at once orders the auxiliaries in his following to rebuild the structure. Scarcely is the order uttered before he sees his forces coming down the causeway in disorderly flight, led by the allies. Cortés makes frantic efforts to stay the current. None heed him. Fears lend wings and drown all appeal. On come the pressing throng, on to the frail bridge, which sinks with its living freight into the deep water. Still onward rush the mass behind, impelled by their mad momentum, tumbling

[21] See *Native Races*, ii. 303; iii. 293 et seq.

on the heads of these, scrambling and wading, adding their cries for help to the shrieks of despair beneath, while from the rear roll the terrifying shouts of hot pursuers. Already the house-tops teem with slingers and archers; the lanes pour forth their warriors with swords and long pikes to pierce the flanks, and the canals are alive with canoes whose crews secure the struggling fugitives for sacrifice, or deal the more grateful *coup de grace*. The Spanish soldiers are among the last to come up, and a terrible gauntlet they have had to run. Regardless of the showering missiles or the pressing foe, Cortés stands on the brink to strike back the hungry crew and lend a helping hand to his floundering men. "I was determined to remain there and die fighting," he writes. But so many are beyond his reach, and there he must stand helpless to watch the struggle; to behold now this soldier felled, now the other carried off; and more, to see the banner torn from the hands of his alférez. *Tlapanecatl* is the name given by the records to the doughty captor of so esteemed a prize.

Standing there conspicuously on the brink, Cortés becomes the target for hundreds of missiles, though protected by his mail; but soon the foe begin to press round him, and even in his rear, separating him from the men.[22] The next moment more than one pair of arms had coiled round his body, and, with triumphant shouts of "Malinche! Malinche!" they seek to drag him into the water to the canoes. Alarmed by the outcry, his body-soldier, Cristóbal de Olea, hastens to his side, and with a sabre-blow severs the arm which was well nigh pulling over the bent form of his master. The next instant he himself falls beneath the furious onslaught roused by the magnitude of the prize, "a glorious death in so good a cause!" exclaims Herrera. Another soldier, named Lerma, rushes to the spot and is nearly overpowered; while a stout

[22] He crossed the channel with fifteen soldiers to sustain the fugitives, says Torquemada, i. 554; but this seems incorrect.

Tlascaltec, Temacatzin, plants himself in front of the leader, half prostrate with exhaustion and wounds, and wards off the blows till Antonio de Quiñones, captain of the guard, manages to force his way forward and sustains him, followed by a number of men whom the report of their general's danger has stirred to fierceness.[23] "Away from here, your worship, and save your person," cries the captain, "for without you all will be lost!" Cortés refuses, "for I desired rather death than life," he writes; but finally by dint of pleading and main force he is induced slowly to retire, seeking to cover the rear of the fleeing. And well it was, for a longer stay would have proved fatal. But for the eagerness of the Mexicans to secure as prisoner so magnificent a prize, they could easily have despatched him. Aztecs made it a point to obtain as many prisoners as possible, particularly chiefs and nobles, and white men, who ranked even above these, in order to do honor to the war-god. This effort was prompted by a deep religious obligation as well as by warrior spirit.

Not far from the disastrous channel a horse was

[23] The claims to the honor of rescuing the general are conflicting. Gomara, followed by Herrera and Torquemada, names 'Francisco' de Olea. Bernal Diaz, who states that this soldier slew four of the captains holding Cortés, lets Lerma dispose of the remainder. After this came other soldiers and Quiñones. Cristóbal de Olea was quite young, 26 years of age, a native of Medina del Campo, muscular, and skilled in arms, and a general favorite. Bernal Diaz adds other particulars. *Hist. Verdad.*, 146, 246. Ixtlilxochitl, on the other hand, claims for his namesake the credit of having done what Spaniards claim for Olea, aided by his Tezcucans, who kept the enemy at bay. This, he adds, is proved by a painting on the gate of the monastery of Santiago Tlatelulco. *Hor. Crueldades*, 38–9. Herrera briefly alludes to Ixtlilxochitl as coming up after Olea, and then relates with some detail that at the same time came the Tlascaltec, Tamaxautzin he calls him, a native of Hueyotlipan. He was afterward baptized as Antonio or Bautista, and became a good Christian, the first native to receive extreme unction. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xx. Torquemada, i. 555, copies, but calls the man Teamacatzin. Both evidently prefer Tlascaltec to Tezcucan records. In fact, Ixtlilxochitl adds certain incredible particulars about the prowess of his wounded hero in pursuing the Mexican general into a temple, although such pursuit could not have taken place under the circumstances. See also *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 503, and *Camargo, Hist. Tlax.*, 130.. Cortés writes that he would have been lost but for Quiñones, and one of his men who lost his life to save him. *Cartas*, 233. A small chapel was erected in the convent de la Concepcion to commemorate the escape. See *Saavedra, Indio Peregrino*, canto 20.

brought, upon which Cortés was mounted, though wounded in the leg. Shortly before, his chamberlain, Cristóbal de Guzman, a great favorite, had ridden up with a charger to the relief of his master, only to be surrounded with warriors and cut down, together with the animal,[24] while another rider was obliged to retreat with a lance-thrust in the throat. On retiring from the section of causeway assigned to the horse, another animal was killed and a third narrowly escaped. Finally the troops reached the broader Tlacopan road, and now Cortés, with the nine horsemen left in his division, was able to take a firm stand against the enemy. Checked in their pursuit, and made timid in their charges by the presence of the bold line of horses and lances, they flung their missiles and insults with increased energy. Suddenly two or three Spanish heads were cast before the horsemen, with the cry: "Tonatiuh!" "Sandoval!" The meaning could not be misunderstood, and as the Spaniards gazed on the gory and disfigured faces a sickening fear crept over them. Could it be that these beloved leaders had fallen! There was no time for deliberation. Finding his own party now comparatively secure, Cortés hurriedly sent messengers to recall the other divisions under Alderete and Tápia.

There was hardly need for this message. The triumphant shouts of the Mexicans in pursuit of the troops of Cortés and the increased attack on their own had already warned these leaders. Still they persevered, although their men manifested some discouragement. It was not long, however, before two or three mutilated, bearded heads were cast before them with the cry, "Malinche is dead!" "Tonatiuh and all their men have fallen!" The leaders saw that farther advance was useless, especially since the Mexicans now attacked with great fury. The leaders kept their men in good order, and were already retiring

[24] Bernal Diaz assumes that Guzman rode up after Cortés was mounted, and fell captive into Aztec hands. *Hist. Verdad*, 147.

when the order of recall reached them. The streets there being wider and easier, and the channels all filled, they found no trouble in rejoining their general. Now jointly they retreated through the plaza and down the Iztapalapan road, furiously pursued by the warriors, who showed themselves more reckless than usual on seeing their prey escape. The central temple was filling with a vast throng to watch the onslaught, and on the summit the priests were already burning incense and chanting in honor of victory, while the rabble railed at the humiliated children of the sun.

Alvarado had meanwhile advanced along the road to Tlatelulco from his causeway, leaving Sandoval to coöperate along the flank and to direct the movements of the brigantines and the filling of the channels. The advance was fiercely resisted by the Mexicans from roofs, cross-lanes, and barricades, and hundreds had been severely wounded, chiefly Tlascaltecs, only too many fatally, yet he persevered. He was already near the market, the aim of all efforts, when the drum and trumpet came to startle his men and to encourage the Mexicans to greater resistance. Progress was now almost checked, and soon came the cry, "Malinche is dead!" "Sandoval and the other captains are dead!" "Behold their faces!" And therewith several heads with gory beards were cast before them. "This shall be your fate!"

Alvarado's men were white with dismay, and but for the intrepid courage of their leader the rout of Cortés' party might have been repeated. Making a bold stand with his Spaniards, he ordered the Tlascaltecs to fall back and leave the retreat open. They needed no second instructions to this end, for the bleeding heads lent wings to their haste. Then grew the onslaught fiercer than ever, for the retreat of Cortés' forces enabled a larger number of enemies to turn against Alvarado and Sandoval. The latter also received his cast of bloody heads with a new string of prominent names, all calculated to inspire terror.

"By this time they had us all killed," adds Bernal Diaz, "but, in truth, we were all wounded, and filled with anguish concerning the fate of our chief. Without God's aid we could never have escaped from the swords and clutches of the Mexicans." Some pious chroniclers, indeed, assert as usual that the virgin appeared in person, together with perennial Santiago, to save the Spaniards from their greatest peril.[25]

Encouraged by the victories on land, the Mexicans had ventured forth also in their canoes to harass the vessels which were occupied in protecting the retreat of the armies. Unable in some instances to leave their position, or impeded in their movement by stakes and other obstacles, many of the brigantines were severely pressed, and one, commanded by Briones, in Alvarado's division, was actually captured, with the loss of four men, one being taken alive. Jaramillo came to the relief of the vessel, however, drove forth the enemy, and kept them at bay.[26] By this time both the forces of Alvarado and Sandoval had reached the causeway, pursued by a great host, reckless in their endeavor to inflict all the injury possible ere the Spaniards escaped. Some delay occurred in crossing the only partly filled channel to the causeway, and a number of soldiers were detained waist-deep in water, seeking to lift a brigantine over the stakes, for the auxiliaries were already away from the front; and all this time the cavalry were compelled to remain before the causeway to cover the infantry and bear the brunt of the terrible onslaught. Charge

[25] 'Como lo hallarán pintado en la Yglesia de Tlatilulco, los cuales Indios confiesan haberle visto.' *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 512. Why these patrons did not give their aid before is a question to which Bernal Diaz answers 'porque Nuestro Señor Iesu Christo lo permitiò.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 146.

[26] Herrera relates how two captains, Flores and Mota, advanced with their vessels up a narrow channel. Flores was severely pressed at one time, and the latter had to sally on the street to relieve him and enable the brigantines to gain more open water. Flores died within a week of his wounds. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xx. Torquemada says that Briones' vessel was lifted through a breach in the causeway. i. 555. Bernal Diaz speaks of several such narrow escapes. loc. cit.

after charge they made to keep back the advancing foe, through the shower of blinding missiles, against the line of bristling lances, amidst the whirling swords and clubs, until not a rider but felt his arm droop and his body grow faint with loss of blood. Sandoval himself had a number of wounds. "For God's sake make haste and retire," he cried to his foot-soldiers, "or we shall all be lost!"

Finally the passage was clear, and they fell back along the causeway, still fighting, and now exposed to the canoe sallies. On reaching his quarters, Alvarado turned two cannon against the swarm which sought to scale the camp, and this with the fusillade procured a much needed respite.[27] It was time, for the increasing darkness would soon have added fresh dangers to the retreat. Sandoval had already hurried away with a solitary companion to seek the camp of Cortés and calm his fears.[28] With a similar object Andrés de Tápia had been sent with three horsemen from Fort Xoloc to Alvarado's camp, where he arrived with some scars from marauding stragglers. Not wishing to discourage the soldiers, he reduced the losses of his party to quite a small number, and made light of the matter.

By this time the enemy had retired, but from the city rose their shouts of triumph, and every temple was ablaze with fires to celebrate the victory. The summit of the Tlatelulco pyramid, the highest of them all, was the scene of great commotion, and soon the sombre notes of the melancholy drum called to it attention. A number of instruments now added their discordant notes, in clash and blast, and a procession

[27] The artillerists being all disabled or dead, Pedro Moreno de Medrano, afterward a settler at Puebla, took their place. *Id.*

[28] Bernal Diaz writes as if Sandoval gained the camp at an early hour, rode over to Fort Xoloc, and came back in time to aid in Alvarado's retreat. But he would never have ventured to leave his command and his comrade in their danger; nor does it seem likely that he could have ridden the long distance to Xoloc and back in time to join in Alvarado's conflict, even if Cortés' defeat took place before 'misa mayor,' as he assumes. *Hist. Verdad.*, 146–8. This author is here very confused, assuming, for instance, that Sandoval was fighting from his own camp instead of coöperating near Alvarado.

with torches, swinging censers, and religious paraphernalia circled round with imposing ceremony. Then a space was cleared, and a long file of naked men stood revealed. A cry of horror burst from the gazing soldiers. There could be no mistake. Distant as was the temple, the glare of fire clearly revealed the white hue and bearded faces of their comrades, bound for sacrifice, and plumed. Now they were made to march forward, and with blows to dance before the idol to whom they had been consecrated. Ah, to be a helpless looker-on at such a time! Again they formed in line exhausted, and then one was seized by several priests and borne struggling to the stone of sacrifice. He was thrown on his back and held down by the limbs while the high-priest with ceremonious flourish raised the glittering blade. The gazing soldiers clutched each other's hands in agony, as their eyes followed the instrument and saw it plunged into the breast of the victim. They seemed to hear his stifled cry, to feel the knife in their own heart, and realizing that they were still safe they thanked heaven for their escape.[29]

Victim after victim was carried to the stone, some with frantic struggles, others resigned, and still others weighed down in helpless fear of what they had beheld. Heart after heart was torn from the gaping breasts and held before the idol, while the bodies were cast down the steps. The skin, particularly of the head and upper body, was removed and used as a dress for festive occasion, and the flesh was hacked to pieces, the limbs for the banquet table, the trunk for the beasts. After a while came darker-hued victims, and now the Tlascaltecs and other allies shuddered. To them the sacrifices were not so terrifying as to the

[29] So deeply affected was Bernal Diaz, among others, by the sight, and by the fear of himself falling captive—twice had he narrowly escaped—that he ever after had an oppressive feeling before battle. He then had recourse to prayer, and this invariably fortified him for the fight, so that he always maintained his reputation as a good soldier. He enumerates several incidents to prove that he was esteemed a brave man. *Hist. Verdad.*, 157. Oviedo, referring to human sacrifices among the Romans, observes that they could not have been half so fearful. iii. 515.

Spaniards, but they could not unmoved behold the cruel death of their countrymen. Then came more processions, music, and idolatrous rites, followed by fresh companies for the sacrifice, white and dark; and so passed the night, until the horror palled on the gazers, and many expressed the opinion that the priests were pretending sacrifice by producing the same bodies upon the stone several times so as to inspire greater fear. This belief was strengthened when they observed similar ceremonies take place on other minor temples, and by the continuance of the sacrifices for several days. The offering at the minor temples consisted chiefly of the lower class of allies. All the pyramids, however, received a quota of heads from Spanish, leading native, and equine victims, wherewith to decorate their summits.[30]

Aware that the sight of the sacrifice, purposely intensified for Spanish edification, must have stirred deeply the breasts of the survivors, the Mexicans took advantage of this to attack the camp of Alvarado during the night. "Behold the fate in store for you all!" they cried, casting in half-roasted pieces of flesh from white and dusky bodies. "Eat, for we are satiated!" The Spaniards were too well prepared to suffer from the assault, but it added to their sorrows. The lesson had been costly, for about sixty men were lost, with six horses, one gun, and a number of small-arms, while the ranks of the allies had been diminished by from one to two thousand, and this without reckoning the vast number of wounded.[31]

[30] 'Sacrificados los Nuestros, en el Momoztli, y Templo de su Maior Dios,' observes Torquemada, i. 553, among other points, though all are not exactly true. Huitzilopochtli's image had been brought with the retreating Mexicans to Tlatelulco. 'Immediatamente sacrificati,' says Clavigero, *Storia Mess.*, iii. 212, probably on authority of Gomara; but Bernal Diaz states that the sacrifices lasted ten days, *Hist. Verdad.*, 150; others write eight; one victim is said to have been kept eighteen days. See also *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 192. Ixtlilxochitl states that three victims were burned. *Hor. Crueldades*, 39.

[31] A count revealed the loss of 62 men and 6 horses, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 146, 152, 241, though he in one place leaves the impression that the men were all captured alive. This could hardly be the case, for a 'count' would reveal only the missing; none could tell how many fell captive. Yet Prescott boldly assumes this number to have been taken, besides

When Sandoval reached Camp Xoloc and learned the news he burst forth, "Señor Capitan, what is this? Where are the fine counsels and warlike skill which you are wont to exhibit?" With tears springing to his eyes, Cortés replied: "Sandoval, my son, my sins I admit, but I am not so guilty in this matter as I appear. The officer whom I charged to fill the channel failed to obey." He further intimated that Alvarado might be led by his daring into difficulties, and bade Sandoval watch carefully over the safety of the western and northern camps, particularly for the present, while Cortés was restrained by his wounds.[32] The injunction

those who fell. Vetancurt divides the figures into 40 captives and 20 dead, *Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 162, and Clavigero also includes dead and captive in that number, while raising the dead horses to 7. *Storia Mess.*, iii. 212. Solis writes that over 40 Spaniards were carried off alive, and that Alvarado and Sandoval lost 20. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 410. Bernal Diaz acknowledges only a third of such loss between these two captains. Gomara gives 40 captives, several killed, 3 or 4 horses lost, and over 30 wounded. *Hist. Mex.*, 205–6. Ixtlilxochitl raises the allied loss to over 2000. *Hor. Crueldades*, 37–9. Fifty-three Spaniards, says Sahagun, *Hist. Conq.*, 192. In the cédula of March 7, 1525, granting a coat-of-arms to Cortés, 50 are mentioned, but in his letter to the sovereign the general acknowledges only 35 to 40 and over 1000 allies. Herrera and Torquemada adopt these figures. Oviedo, iii. 516, lowers the number to 30. Duran, who confounds the late repulse of Alvarado with the Sorrowful Night and this defeat, allows 4 banners to be captured. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 501–4, 508.

[32] Bernal Diaz gives this conversation with some detail, and names Treasurer Alderete as the guilty officer who neglected to fill the channel, intimating that Cortés had been heedlessly allured onward by the Mexicans, leaving Alderete to attend to the filling. He even allows the treasurer to retort to the charge, in Sandoval's presence, that Cortés' eagerness had been the cause of the neglect. This is probably an invented account, based on Gomara's statement that the 'treasurer,' no name being given, neglected to fill a channel on his route. Informed of this, Cortés hastened thither to remedy the fault, only to meet the fleeing. Herrera adopts this version, as do most writers, including Prescott; but it is evidently wrong, for Cortés writes clearly that the misfortune occurred on his own route, some distance above its junction with the Tlacopan road, to which they soon retreated. On reaching this road he sent to recall the 'treasurer and comptroller,' who were leading their division victoriously at the farther end of it. Owing to their care in filling channels 'they received no injury in retreating.' *Cartas*, 233–4. There can be little doubt about this statement, since Cortés would have been only too glad to cast the blame on any other division than his own. He does not even claim to have been at the front, but in the rear, and near the spot where the neglect occurred. The only question then is, who was the guilty officer? The 'treasurer' commanded the centre division, and although there were several treasurers, the royal, late and new, and he who acted for the army, yet the new royal treasurer is undoubtedly meant, and this appears to have been Alderete, according to the statement of several authorities. Hence the accusation against Alderete must be wrong; anything besides this must be conjecture.

was needful in view of the reoccupation by the Mexicans of the channels from which they had lately been driven, and their harassing attacks, chiefly by night, against the camps and fleets. Alvarado's camp, as the nearest to the city, was the most exposed, and Sandoval with his tried prudence could be best relied on to counteract the recklessness of its commander in repelling these attacks. Knowing the signal for the sallies, usually a shot, the enemy were warned in time to retire, or to form some trap or combination, so that the charge of the soldiers carried little advantage.

On one occasion, it is related, a shield-bearer named Peinado stepped outside the camp gate and found himself surrounded by a horde of marauders. Escape was cut off. In this dilemma he began to rattle his shield and sword, and shout, looking at the same time toward the camp. The enemy assumed at once that he was signalling to some party in ambush, and beat a hasty retreat.[33] For several days[34] the Spaniards remained inactive. During this time the Mexicans continued their daily sacrifice of captives, with conspicuous rites and loud demonstrations.

As usual amidst trying scenes, there were here examples of the devotedness of woman. In one of the encounters on the causeway to drive back the prowling Mexicans, Beatriz Bermudez de Velasco, wife of Francisco de Olmos, accompanied the soldiers, in cotton armor, and with sword and shield. Such was the pressure of the enemy that the troops were thrown into disorder and began to turn in flight. With raised sword she planted herself in their path and cried, "Shame upon you, Castilians! turn at once against this vile rabble, for I will kill any man who attempts to pass this way." So abashed were the men by this resolute demeanor that they again fell

[33] 'Bolviò à la grita, Andrés de Tapia [the captain of his party] matò mas de sesenta Mexicanos,' adds Torquemada, i. 558–9.

[34] 'Esto no fue sino cinco dias.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 149.

upon the Mexicans and defeated them.[35] Other women of less valor did equally good service as sisters of mercy, to tend and cheer the many disabled. One, named Isabel de Rodriguez, attained quite a reputation in curing wounds, a success attributed chiefly to her holy invocation, for in applying the bandage she invariably uttered the formula, "In the name of the father, the son, and the holy ghost, one true God; may he cure and restore thee!"[36]

Cortés found it absolutely necessary to resume operations in order to prevent the utter demoralization of his men, although they could advance no farther than the last canal on the Iztapalapan road, which was strongly fortified to protect the plaza. On the Tlatelulco side the channel separating the city from the causeway had been reopened as a barrier. No serious effort was made to pass these points, and the movements were effected with the greatest prudence possible.

For this caution several reasons existed, based on momentous consequences of the late defeat. In their exultation the Mexicans had imprudently published the oracular utterance that within eight days the Spaniards would be destroyed, though many Aztecs would also perish.[37] Care was taken that this divine proclamation should be known in the Spanish camps, with the intent of disheartening the allies and procuring their desertion. This main object accomplished,

[35] Similar women of courage were María de Estrada, the heroine of Otumba, Beatriz de Escobar, Juana Martin, and Beatriz de Palacios. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. i.

[36] Oil was the chief remedy. *Torquemada*, i. 558–60. Bernal Diaz speaks of a soldier named Juan Catalan who performed cures with the sign of the cross and psalm-singing. The Tlascaltecs also besieged the man for his attentions. 'Y verdaderamente digo, que hallauamos que Nuestro Señor Iesu Christo era servido de darnos esfuerço,..y de presto sanauan.' Not twenty of Alvarado's men were free from wounds at this time. *Hist. Verdad.*, 142. Solis allows this wonderful healing power to be attributed to no woman. *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 412. But then he was a strict priest, who saw woman chiefly as a feeble and adoring supplicant.

[37] 'Que de ai a ocho dias no auia de quedar ninguno de nosotros a vida, porque assi le lo auian prometido la noche antes sus Dioses.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 149.

it was hoped that neighboring districts might be again persuaded to join in hostile operations, or at least assume a neutral attitude against the isolated Spaniards. Severely harassed by all the strength of the capital and its allies, the Spaniards would be unable to maintain the siege or even to sustain their own position, particularly if supplies were cut off, and so be obliged to retreat. Many indeed looked upon the Spaniards as doomed, and tired besides of the long siege, so contrary to native ideas of warfare, corps after corps of their allies disappeared, in secret retreat to their homes. Others were sufficiently shaken in their belief to lose all ardor, the more so when they recalled the prophecy of disaster uttered by the hanged Xicotencatl. Cortés and his officers did all they could to counteract this influence by referring to previous failures of oracles, to the comparatively small percentage of the late losses, the critical condition of the besieged, and their efforts to gain advantages by spreading lies. Let the allies but abide till the end of the term mentioned by the oracle and they would be convinced of its falsity. The last argument was perhaps the strongest that could be offered under the circumstances, and it was decided to take no risks that might imperil the proof.[38]

These precautions were imperative in view of the effect of Aztec machinations in the lake districts and outlying provinces. The lake towns last to join the Spaniards relapsed into a frigid neutrality, and might have risen but for the imposing proximity of the fleet and army. Remoter districts assumed a more decided attitude, and from Quauhnahuac came an urgent appeal for help against the attacks of the Malinalcas and Cohuixcas, prompted by Mexico. Immediately

[38] Solis, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 415, states, and Prescott hastily affirms, that nearly all the allies deserted, and Bernal Diaz enumerates the mere handful that remained; but this must be erroneous, as shown by the course of the narratives in general. Two expeditions were sent forth about this time, and the large number of allies which joined therein may account in part for the gaps which gave rise to the above exaggeration. Cortés, indeed, alludes very indirectly to any defection.

after the late victory Quauhtemotzin had sent envoys to these and other provinces, in every direction, bearing heads or flayed skins of Spaniards and horses, and other tokens, wherewith to impress their story that more than half of the white besiegers were slain, and that the remainder would soon perish, as declared by the oracle. It behooved them, therefore, to decide at once whether they would join for a share in the spoils, or be forever excluded from all favor at the hands of victorious Mexico. Thus, while many were frightened into severing their connection with the invaders, secretly or openly, more aggressive provinces like Malinalco hastened to profit by the state of affairs.

To detach troops under the circumstances was not agreeable, and many officers objected, but Cortés considered that it would be far more dangerous to Spanish prestige and prospects to encourage such hostile movements by a passive demeanor. "It was now more necessary than ever," he writes, "to exhibit prowess and spirit, so as to hide our weakness both from friends and foes." Andrés de Tápia was accordingly despatched with ten horse and eighty foot, together with a considerable force of allies.[39] In order to calm the many remonstrances against the expedition, he was instructed to return within ten days. Tápia found the enemy awaiting him in large force near a hamlet not far from Malinalco, and at once prepared to attack, assisted by the Quauhnahuacs. The ground being level, the horses proved of great service, and the hostile army was presently in flight toward Malinalco. This place was strongly situated on a height, well supplied with water, so that Tápia considered it useless to attempt an assault, much less a siege when so short a term had been allowed him, and he accordingly returned.

[39] Forty thousand, says Ixtlilxochitl, obtained chiefly from Quauhnahuac and other towns subject to Tezcuco. *Hor. Crueldades*, 40. Herrera and others mention no auxiliaries from the camp. Bernal Diaz is confused.

The complaint from Quauhnahuac was followed by a deeper wail from Toluca and adjoining Otomí settlements in the mountain region west of the lake. The Matlalzincas, devoted adherents of Quauhtemotzin, had been induced to openly declare for him and to invade their districts, preparatory to advancing against the Spaniards. This intention had been already vauntingly proclaimed by the Aztecs, and since the Matlaltzincas were both powerful and warlike, the necessity for prompt measures became even more apparent in this case. The tried Sandoval was intrusted with the expedition, composed of eighteen cavalry, one hundred infantry, and a large force of allies chiefly Otomís, which soon grew to about seventy thousand. After a quick march he came to the smoking ruins of some settlements and startled into flight a band of marauders, who left behind them a quantity of plunder and provisions, including some tender children still roasting on the spit. He pursued the raiders, and after crossing a river[40] came upon a larger force, which turned as he approached, to seek safety within the town of Matlaltzinco, over two leagues distant. The cavalry made terrible havoc among them, and the infantry following in their wake, killed more than two thousand. Those who escaped made a stand at the town to cover the conveyance of families and effects to a fortified hill close by. This was pretty well accomplished before the infantry came up to assist in capturing the town. The defenders now fled, and the place was entered and burned, after being rifled of what remained to take. Since it was late, the assault on the hill was deferred till the morning. There the natives maintained a loud uproar until some time after midnight, when all became quiet. With early dawn the Spaniards prepared to storm the hill only to learn that it had been abandoned. A number of people were seen in the field, however, and eagerly the soldiers revived the fading expectation for a fray. In a

[40] The Chicuhnauhtla, Ixtlilxochitl calls it.

twinkling they were among the rabble, and a number were slain before the explanation gained ears that these people belonged to the friendly Otomís. Sandoval now advanced on another fortified town, whose cacique threw open the gates on beholding the hosts before him, and not only offered his own submission, but promised to effect the submission of the allied caciques and those of Malinalco and Cohuixco. Regardless of the insinuations of the Otomís that such promises could not be relied on, Sandoval returned to Mexico, and four days later appeared there the caciques of all these provinces to tender allegiance and aid for the siege.[41]

Meanwhile the portentous eighth day had dawned on the Spanish camps. Hardly less concerned than the natives, the soldiers could not control their trepidation as they thought of the oracle, although striving to appear indifferent. Nor were they without tangible reasons for their fears. With a daily growing desertion among the much needed allies, and fading enthusiasm among those who remained; with supplies greatly reduced owing to the neutral attitude assumed by surrounding districts; with fresh wars upon their hands, which demanded not only more hardships but a division of their weakened forces; with constant vigils and alarms amid the harassing attacks of a triumphant foe; with a large number of wounded deprived of needful care and comforts, and above all the ghastly spectacle of a daily sacrifice of late comrades, attended by wild and imposing celebrations—with all this gloom and distress it required stout hearts indeed to remain steadfast. Yet they were firm; they believed in the strength and justice of their cause, and in their ultimate triumph, though momentarily dismayed, prayer

[41] 'Y ellos le siruieron muy biẽ en el cerco.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 207. Ixtlilxochitl claims of course that his Tezcucans formed the chief auxiliaries of Sandoval. Bernal Diaz wrongly gives Tápia this expedition, which Cortés intimates to have been sent about three days after the return of the Quauhnahuac party. *Cartas*, 237.

afforded them relief. It dissipated fear and infused fresh courage.

Thus passed the day, amidst fear and hope, and the Spaniards still existed. The Mexicans do not appear to have made any special effort to support the oracle by a determined attack. Nor had they been able to open any effective communication with the mainland; for although the lake towns had withdrawn their canoe fleet, they offered no aid to the besieged, while the brigantines maintained too strict a guard to permit many boats to gain the capital with supplies.

The ninth day came, and now it was the turn of the Spaniards to exult, for not only did they feel inspired with the belief that providence was protecting them—and nobly the friars helped Cortés to impart that stirring idea—but they were cheered with revived animation among the allies and the early return of most of the deserters. From Tezcuco, indeed, came additional troops under the command of some Spaniards there stationed.[42] Cortés greeted the returning corps with rather cold forgiveness. He showed them that besides carrying on the siege without their aid he had undertaken victorious campaigns, and needed not their assistance. Nevertheless, since they had served so zealously before, he would not only overlook the grave crime of desertion, due partly to ignorance of Spanish laws, but let them again share in the final reduction of the city, and thus gain both revenge and riches. Cortés could adopt no other course, for the siege could not be carried on without the allies.

Under Spanish training the latter had besides grown very efficient, as the following instance will illustrate: No sooner had the eight portentous days passed by than Chichimecatl, the leading Tlascaltec captain serving under Alvarado, disgusted with the idle fears which had unmanned his people, and eager to retrieve

[42] Farfan and Villareal came, says Bernal Diaz, and Tecapaneca, cacique of Topeyanco, led the returning Tlascaltecs. *Hist. Verdad.*, 151.

them in the eyes of the Spaniards, resolved to show both them and the Aztecs what he could do. With the aid of the soldiers the first fortified channel was captured, and the chief advanced into the city with his own people only, the flower of his warriors, after leaving several hundred archers near the passage to keep the route clear for retreat. With unwavering columns he advanced along the main street and captured the next canal passage after a fierce struggle. Then he passed onward to the next, maintaining a sharp contest all the day. Finally came the hour for returning, and the Aztecs bore down with doubled fury on his flank and rear. The retreat was performed in good order, partly owing to the foresight of leaving a rear body; and Chichimecatl came back a lauded hero.[43]

Messengers had been sent to the allies far and wide to encourage them with the news of the non-fulfilment of the oracle. Ojeda and Marquez went in person to Tlascala, partly also with the object of procuring certain supplies. They left Alvarado's camp at midnight with only a few natives, and when about half-way to Tepeyacac they perceived a train of men descending from the hills with heavy burdens, which they deposited in a number of canoes. Information was at once sent to Alvarado, who placed a guard along the shore to check this smuggling that had evidently escaped the cruisers.[44] Ojeda's party proceeded to Tlascala and brought a large train of provisions.[45] In addition to this the camps were cheered by the arrival of a party of recruits with quite a mass of war material, chiefly powder and cross-bows, relics

[43] Cortés leaves the impression that this incident took place during the days when the Spaniards were making desultory entries into the city; but since he does not speak of the oracle or the defection the affair is undecided. Torquemada, i. 557, intimates that Chichimecatl served under Sandoval, but this is wrong.

[44] Ojeda magnifies the train of men to 4000 and the canoes to 3000. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xxii.

[45] Fifteen hundred loads maize, 1000 loads fowl, 300 sides venison, besides other effects, including Xicotencatl's confiscated property and women. *Id.*

of Ponce de Leon's Florida expedition.[46] The war stores were particularly valuable; so low had run the actual stock that Cortés was preparing more Chinantec pikes to cover the deficiency in weapons.

Everything was again ready for a serious revival of hostilities. Over six weeks had passed since the siege began, and the end seemed little nearer than before. On the day of the defeat three fourths of the city might be said to have been reduced; but nearly all this advantage had been lost, owing chiefly to the narrow streets, encompassed by houses which served both for attack and retreat, and the numerous traps in the form of canals and channels. So long as these obstacles remained the progress must not only be slow, ever slower as advance was made, but the troops would be constantly exposed to fresh disaster. One more defeat might ruin all, and Cortés resolved to avoid risks. He would tear down every building as he advanced on both sides of the streets, and fill up every channel; "not take one step in advance without leaving all desolated behind, and convert water into firm land, regardless of the delay." So writes the general, and yet he expresses regret for this destruction of the city, "the most beautiful in the world."[47] In pursuance of this plan he asked the allied chiefs to summon additional forces of laborers with the necessary implements. They eagerly consented, and within a few days the men stood prepared.

[46] Herrera intimates that the material may have been a consignment to Leon, for which the disappointed owner sought a market. A vessel of Aillon's fleet, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 153.

[47] Some time before he had expressed the same intention, and the fear that little or no treasure would be recovered. *Cartas*, 222, 241. Ixtlilxochitl claims that his namesake provided 100,000 men for the task, *Hor. Crueldades*, 42, and Bernal Diaz states that this prince proposed purely a strict blockade as a safe and sure plan. *Hist. Verdad.*, 150. The result proves that this would have been the best and as speedy as the one adopted, while the city would have been saved from destruction. That the plan was ever seriously suggested among this impatient crew is affirmed by no other authority.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE CONQUEST ACHIEVED.

JULY-AUGUST, 1521.

THE DESTROYERS ADVANCE—FIERCE FIGHTING IN THE PLAZA—DISMAL SITUATION OF THE MEXICANS—THE WORK OF DEMOLITION—MOVEMENTS OF ALVARADO—THE EMPEROR REFUSES TO PARLEY—MISERY OF THE AZTECS UNBEARABLE—HORRIBLE MASSACRE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN—THE TENDER-HEARTED CORTÉS MOURNS OVER HIS OWN WORK—CAPTURE OF THE EMPEROR—THE CONQUEST COMPLETED—BANQUETS AND THANKSGIVINGS—DISPERSION OF THE ALLIES TO THEIR HOMES—REFLECTIONS.

WITH a force of over one hundred and fifty thousand men the Spaniards now advanced on the city, a large proportion destined wholly to raze buildings, fill channels, and remove obstacles, while the rest were to drive back the enemy and keep them at bay. At the channel near the plaza the Mexicans detained the forces for an hour with a peace proposal, in order to gain time for some operation, and then suddenly they began to ply their missiles. Cortés was not slow to accept the challenge, and led the attack with a recklessness that caused his followers to remonstrate with him for exposing so valuable a life. It had the effect, however, of so encouraging the charging party that the channel with its intrenchments was quickly captured. On reaching the plaza they found it covered with loose stones, which prevented the horses from running. Several streets leading to it were blocked with stone barricades. The main effort for this day was directed toward opening the approach to the plaza, which was to serve as the starting-point for

subsequent movements. The work was slow, owing to the massive character of the buildings along the leading avenue, and in this imperial centre of the city; but myriads swarmed thereat, and structure after structure was levelled, opening wide access to the southern causeway.

The Mexicans made repeated efforts to stay such ruthless destruction. But their onslaught was futile, for thundering cannon and fiery chargers protected every point. "Burn and raze, you slaves," they shouted to the auxiliaries in their impotent fury; "you will have to rebuild it all, either for us if we win, or for your present masters if they conquer!" And so it happened. With dreary tasks did they pay for the momentary triumph over their enemy. During the withdrawal of the troops to camp in the evening the Mexicans were able to make a forcible demonstration, more so than usual on these occasions, if we may credit the native records. They pushed in front of their lines a fine-looking Spanish cross-bowman, reserved from the late captives, and sought to make him direct his arrows against his countrymen. This he refused to do, always shooting too high, and finally the enraged Aztecs cut him down. His presence naturally interfered with the free operations of the soldiers, as the enemy had expected.

On the following days Cortés ascended the commanding temple pyramid in the plaza, and thence directed more effectively the operations for razing buildings and driving back the Mexicans, who fought with desperation for every foot of ground, so much so that on one day alone fell twenty thousand it is said. On one occasion a corps of Tlascaltecs crossed a canal and were thrown into disorder by the enemy. The Aztecs began to exult, and one of their number, a muscular warrior with enormous bejewelled plumage, armed with a Spanish sword and shield, shouted a challenge to any Spaniard. Several were ready, among them Hernando de Osma, who had just

swum across the canal to sustain the wavering allies. Dripping wet he rushed upon the warrior, but received a blow which cleft his shield. Recovering himself, he dealt the Mexican a thrust from below and stretched him dead, whereupon he snatched the sword and plumage and sprang back in time to escape the pursuing friends of the fallen man. He afterward offered the trophy to Cortés, who accepted, but returned it at once with the remark that none was so worthy thereof as he who had won it. The deed served also to reanimate the Tlascaltecs, and they sustained their position.

Not long after, another powerful warrior, similarly plumed, came forth brandishing a Spanish sword and announcing that he sought the glory of either dying by the hand of a brave Spaniard or defeating him. Cortés, who was present, told him that ten more men like himself were needed to match one soldier. The warrior insisted. "Very well," said the general, "this beardless page of mine shall despatch you, and demonstrate the mettle of our Castilian boys." Juan Nuñez de Mercado, as the youth was called, thereupon stepped forward, and bravely as this Goliah fought, a few passes from the skilled arm of the youngster soon sufficed to lay him low. This feat served not alone to discourage duels with Spaniards, but was regarded by many Mexicans as a bad omen.[1]

Whatever may have been the reverses of the enemy, they usually rallied in the evening to pursue the troops as they returned to camp, the allies being always sent back first so as to leave the road clear for the soldiers, covered by the cavalry. One day the pursuit was not made for some reason, and a few horsemen ventured to look into it, but only to be driven back with two animals badly wounded. Cortés resolved to be avenged. He ordered Sandoval to reenforce him so as to increase the number of horse to

[1] Herrera, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. ii., lib. i. cap. xx., places this incident on the third day of entry into the city.

forty. Thirty of these were posted early in the day in a hiding-place near the plaza, and close by a hundred select soldiers and a corps of Tlascaltecs. When the hour came to return to camp, the Mexicans, as expected, fell upon the retreating lines in stronger force than ever, encouraged by the achievement of the previous evening and by the pretended timidity of the ten horsemen who covered the rear. When the first columns of pursuers had well passed the hiding-place, the signal was given, and with ringing Santiagos the parties in ambush rushed upon the startled warriors. Finding their retreat cut off, the severed section lost presence of mind, and permitted themselves to be butchered like cattle. When the massacre was over, fully five hundred of the flower of the Aztec armies covered the ground.[2] Never again were the Spaniards exposed to pursuit near or beyond the plaza, or indeed to any such fierce charges, and the horses became again an object of awe.[3]

The captives were questioned regarding the condition of the city, and from them a revelation was obtained showing that the majority of the occupants were in favor of capitulation, but afraid to express their views in face of the firmness of Quauhtemotzin and his party, who were resolved to defend their city to the end. And there was still enthusiasm among the Mexican people. Women and cripples could be seen preparing and bringing war material for stronger arms to use; they swept dust from the roofs into the faces of assailants, while children threw tiny stones and lisped an echo of the curse that fell from the lips

[2] 'Todos los mas principales y esforzados y valientes.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 244. And 2000 captives. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hor. Crueldades*, 43. 'Tuuieron bien q̄ cenar aquella noche los Indios nuestros amigos,' observes Gomara, unctuously. *Hist. Mex.*, 209. Bernal Diaz, who claims to have been among the 100 select, intimates that Alvarado also formed an ambuscade that day, though less effective. *Hist. Verdad.*, 153–4. In rushing from the hiding-place, says Cortés, two horses collided, one of them throwing its rider and charging alone amid the foe. After receiving several wounds it sought refuge among the soldiers and was conducted to camp, where it died.

[3] 'Fué bien principal causa para que la ciudad mas presto se ganase,' *Cortés, Cartas*, 245, but this must be regarded as an exaggerated estimate.

of their parents. But all this manifest spirit was slowly but surely subsiding, and deep and dismal woe was settling down upon them.[4] Alas for Mexico, pride of the grand plateau! Alas for thine ancient grandeur! Blotted out forever must be thy culture, crushed thy budding progress! The days of thy glory are ended; and so are thy bloody ceremonies and sacrificial stones!

Long sieges had never suited the native ideas of warfare, and experience could therefore teach little in the preparation for the event. Vast supplies had been accumulated by the Mexicans, but a large influx of fugitives from the lake towns had swelled the number of non-combatants and had helped to diminish the food supply, which had received but scanty additions, owing to the close watch of the cruisers. Nor had any restrictions been placed on consumption, since the provisions were chiefly in private hands. Now famine was raging with rapidly increasing horrors, and jewels were offered by the handful for an equal quantity of food.[5] Excluded from such competition, the poorer classes sought in holes and canals for snails, lizards, and rats, skimmed the surface of the water for its mucilaginous scum, or tore up the earth for roots and weeds, glad even to chew the bark of trees, and anxiously waiting for the scanty allowance of brackish water. Disease was marching hand-in-hand with hunger, and weakened by their sufferings hundreds were left to linger in torment till welcome death relieved them. The frequency of these incidents made the people callous, and the sufferings even of near friends

[4] *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. ii. Torquemada, i. 560, 564, wavers, intimating in one place that all were determined to die. When the people at last inclined to peace, says Gomara, Quauhtemotzin opposed it on the ground that they had once decided for war, 'contra su voluntad y consejo.' *Hist. Mex.*, 213. Most of the revelation was made by a woman of rank, it appears. Carried away by his love for hero-painting, Prescott has either missed or ignored the facts which now reveal his false coloring.

[5] 'Y asi escondidas huvo algunos Principales de las Provincias cercanas que acudieron con algun maiz para sola llevar joyas.' That is, where the cruisers allowed such smuggling. *Duran, Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 497.

were looked on with indifference by the gaunt and hollow-eyed, who were themselves marked for death.

Regardless of the consequences, many crept at night close to the Spanish camps in search of roots and refuse which could no longer be found within their precincts. Advised of such movements, a body of soldiers and allies was sent out before sunrise one day and fell on a large number, slaughtering many of them before discovering them to be starving women and children.[6] It was necessary to take increased measures even against these surreptitious attempts to sustain the defence, and to keep in the useless population, though there was little prospect of any important exodus, since the fear of the savage and cannibal auxiliaries who surrounded the city made its very pest-holes appear attractive places of refuge. The vessels were particularly efficient for this purpose, the more so since the crews had found a ready means to render the submerged stakes and palisades of little hindrance.[7] They were thus enabled to ravage the suburbs, and to coöperate with the other forces by landing and driving the inhabitants toward the narrow quarter in which they were now confined. They had not always an easy task, however, for the Mexicans were growing more reckless, and would sometimes venture to meet even the 'winged houses.'

On one occasion a portion of the fleet was closely beset in a confined place, and the flag-ship happening to strand on some timbers the crew became panic-stricken and sought to abandon her. Martin Lopez, the builder, who was the chief pilot, at once turned against the deserters, and being a large and powerful man he pitched two into the water, beat and bruised half a dozen others, and soon compelled their return to duty. He thereupon led them against the enemy

[6] About 1000 were killed, says Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 44; but Cortés puts the killed and captured at more than 800. *Cartas*, 245.

[7] 'Osauan nuestros vergantines romper las estacadas...remauan con gran fuerça y...a todas velas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 150.

and drove them off, killing the leader, who was a prominent officer. For this important service the brave Lopez was rewarded with a captaincy.[8]

Cortés made quite rapid advance in the work of demolition, considering the immensity of it. The Tlacopan road had been levelled, rendering communication easy with the camp of Alvarado, and on the eve of Santiago's day[9] the greater part of the main street to the market was gained. This thoroughfare bore afterward the name of Guatemotzin,[10] because this emperor's palace was here situated. Strongly fortified, its capture was not effected without a severe struggle, wherein many a brave fellow met his fate. During the fight Alderete's horse became unmanageable from a thrust, and rushed amid the enemy in mad fury, creating more disorder by his pawing and biting than a squad of soldiers could have done.[11]

Equally severe was the struggle on the following days in entering and filling a street with a wide canal, adjoining the main road. At the same time was taken a temple,[12] wherein a number of impaled bearded heads stared the horrified Spaniards in the face. Tears filled the eyes of the beholders, and rev-

[8] 'De la Capitana, que èl havia salvado,' says Herrera, while asserting that the captain Villafuerte abandoned her; but this hardly agrees with his own later statements that Villafuerte remained in charge of the fleet. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xxi.; lib. ii. cap. viii. The slain leader is called the lieutenant-general of Quauhtemotzin, and his death 'fue causa, que mas presto se ganase la Ciudad,' *Torquemada*, i. 558, all of which is doubtful. A similar reward to that of Lopez was accorded on another occasion to a soldier named Andrés Nuñez, who after the captain had abandoned his vessel led her to the rescue of two consorts. When the commander came to resume his post Nuñez refused to admit him, saying that he had forfeited it. On being appealed to, Cortés sustained the brave fellow and gave him the command, in which capacity he rendered important service. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. i.

[9] July 25th, according to Clavigero, while Torquemada less correctly makes it August 5th.

[10] The Spanish corruption of Quauhtemotzin. 'La calle q^{e} ba al tianguiz de Tlatelulco q^{e} se llama de Guatimosa.' *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 88.

[11] Herrera names Magallanes as one of those who succumbed under the onslaught of a chief, but his death was avenged by Diego Castellanos, a noted marksman. dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xx. On this occasion Ixtlilxochitl intimates that his namesake captured his brother, the usurper king of Tezcuco, and surrendering him to Cortés, he was at once secured with shackles. *Hor. Crueldades*, 42–3. 'De manera que de cuatro partes de la ciudad, las tres estaban ya por nosotros.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 246.

[12] At the corner of the street leading to Sandoval's quarter. *Id.*, 247.

erently the ghastly remains were taken down to receive Christian rites.[13]

The progress of Cortés' party in the direction of Tlatelulco market, the objective point of all the movements, had impelled Alvarado to almost superhuman efforts to gain before them a spot lying much nearer to his camp. Once within, he hoped to keep his ground, for it was large and level, twice the size of the market-place in Salamanca, says Cortés, and capable of accommodating sixty thousand persons. It was lined with porticos, wherein more substantial traders had their shops, while the open square was covered with booths, between which the Spaniards had so often wandered to gaze on products of every variety, from field and forest, from river and mountain, as well as from the workshop of artisan and artist.[14] Thus it was formerly; but now were to be displayed only the worst phases of human selfishness, cunning, and brutality; blood and corpses in lieu of fabrics and provisions; fierce war-cries and the clash of arms in place of merry traffickings and the clink of coin. By the day following Santiago's day Alvarado had levelled a wide approach, and now he resolved to direct his whole strength against this plaza, leaving merely a portion of his auxiliaries to attend to further razing operations. Before dawn the next morning he advanced with all his force and took the Aztecs by surprise. He effected an entrance with little trouble, and was able to meet in good order the bands which came to retrieve their neglect by fierce charges. They were led by the renowned orders of Tigers and Eagles, conspicuous in their corresponding gear, and eager to maintain the reputation which had gained for them their insignia. Mayehuatzin, lord of Cuitlahuac, was also among the prominent leaders, but the cavalry soon obliged him to turn in flight, and enabled the

[13] I knew three of them, writes Bernal Diaz. 'Las enterramos en vna Iglesia, que se dize aora los Mártires.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 153.

[14] For a full description see *Native Races*, ii. 382 et seq.

infantry to capture a number of the shops which lined the market, and begin to pillage. Much more determined proved the division under the Tiger captain, Coyohuehuetzin, who fell back and maintained himself on the Momuztli edifice.

While the main portion of the Spanish forces thus fought at different points in the plaza with varying advantage, Captain Gutierre de Badajoz was ordered to capture the great temple which overlooked the market. It was held by Temilotzin and Tlacatecatl, who fiercely disputed his advance. Time and again were his men driven back, or sent tumbling down the steps, bruised and bleeding, many a one never to rise. But Badajoz persevered, and step by step he climbed upward, sustained by reënforcements, till after two hours of hard contest the summit was gained, first by Alférez Montaño. Woe now to the defenders remaining! Not a Spaniard there but had wounds to show, and not one who did not strive to exact blood for blood. It was a repetition of the aerial combat of the year before on the summit of the central temple. The Mexicans neither expected mercy nor asked it; rather longed they to dedicate their last breath to the gods, and gain by glorious death admission into the abode of the blessed. By nine o'clock in the forenoon the two wooden towers holding the altars and idols were gained, and the next moment dense smoke columns rose to announce the victory of the Spaniards.[15] Loud rose the wail of the natives as they witnessed the portentous result, and with the recklessness of despair they renewed their onslaught, led by Axoquentzin and the Eagle captain, Quachic. So severely pressed

[15] Cortés saw the smoke from his camp, from which he was preparing to start. *Cartas*, 247. Herrera leaves the impression that Alférez Montaño captured the temple, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. i., but he was probably only the first to step on the summit. Bernal Diaz, who fought under Alvarado, states distinctly that Badajoz led the party, but he is no doubt incorrect in adding that the fight on the top continued till night. *Hist. Verdad.*, 153. Torquemada, i. 565, refers to the temple as the Acatliyacapan. Duran makes Cortés appeal to the Chalcans, and they 'tomando la delantera del Ejército, y con ellos Yxtlilxachitl...ganaron el Cue grande.' *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 506. This must be a Chalcan version.

was Alvarado that he was obliged to call down Badajoz and to concentrate his forces, abandoning the several temples which surrounded the large pyramid. Encouraged by this success the Mexicans pushed their advantage from all sides, and unable to hold their position the Spaniards retired with considerable loss, including three horses.[16]

Nothing daunted, Alvarado repeated his entry on the following day, and met with comparatively little opposition, the enemy being evidently discouraged by the fall of the temple and the resolute bearing of the Spaniards. He now passed through and came up to Cortés' party, by whom he was received with ringing and repeated cheers. The latter had just captured the last canal and intrenchments near the market-place, after a sharp struggle, and now the general and his doughty lieutenant entered the market and ascended the lofty pyramid, on which the royal banner waved a proud welcome, while beside it the still impaled heads of white and dusky victims recalled the bitter vengeance yet to be exacted. Surveying the city beneath him on all sides, Cortés says: "It seemed undoubted that of eight parts we had gained seven." The late magnificent metropolis, the finest and largest on all the northern continent, displayed now a mass of ruins, through which the broad paths levelled by the invaders led to the one corner which alone remained to the besieged,[17] wherein, amid famine, pest, and putrefying bodies, they huddled in packed masses, sending forth from their midst the groans of dying and loud lamentations, in an atmosphere so pestiferous that the soldiers who entered the lately abandoned lanes were almost stifled. People were found

[16] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 210. Cortés calls them wounded merely. Sahagun's native version of the plaza fight is very confusing, and mixed with that of the struggle against the other divisions, 'y tomaron los bergantines [two] á los españoles, y llevarónlos á una laguna que llaman *Amanalco*.' *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 202–3. But this must be a mistake.

[17] 'Que se llama Atenantitech, donde ahora està edificada la Iglesia de la Concepcion, junto de la Albarrada.' *Torquemada*, i. 553. Tetenamitl ward, says Sahagun in one edition. *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 209.

in different stages of hunger and disease, meeting the soldiers with passive indifference in the recklessness of despair. Beyond on the roofs stalked the warriors, gaunt and yellow, like caged and starving beasts.

Cortés felt painfully oppressed on beholding so much misery, and at once ordering a stay of hostilities he sent some captive chiefs to Quauhtemotzin with peace proposals, showing the utter futility of further resistance, which could involve only a needless infliction of suffering and slaughter, and embitter against him and his the besieging forces. He was prepared to forget all past animosity, and respect the persons and property of the besieged, and his rights as sovereign, and demanded in return only the renewal of allegiance already offered in Montezuma's time. Quauhtemotzin scarcely gave the messengers time to speak, before he answered solemnly: "Tell Malinche that I and mine elect to die. We will intrust ourselves neither to the men who commit, nor to the God who permits, such atrocities!"

Struck by the lofty bearing of the doomed, and desirous of securing the treasure which the besieged assured him would all be cast into the water before his fingers should touch it, Cortés again sent a proposal, formally attested by notary and witnesses, declaring that the responsibility for the terrible consequences which must follow the rejection of his offer would fall wholly on the besieged. But all without avail. And when the priests came and declared the oracle, "Appeased by sacrifice the gods have promised victory after three days," Quauhtemotzin made answer, his council being present: "It is well. And since it is so, let us have a care of the provisions, and if need be die fighting like men. Let no one henceforth speak of peace under pain of death!"

Preparations were accordingly made to renew hostilities at the designated time, on which occasion sacred relics were to be brought into service from the paraphernalia of Huitzilopochtli, one a twisted snake

sceptre set with mosaic, called the Xiuhcoatl, which was said to become alive when launched against the foe and terrify them to flight; the other a war-dress of feathers tipped with an owl's head of fearful aspect, an ægis to scatter the enemy.[18]

Cortés on his side was not impatient to break the truce, for he knew that hunger and disease were efficiently fighting his battle, and he was besides busy constructing in the market-place a catapult which was to soon end his labors there whatever might be the further decision of the Mexicans. The idea had been suggested by a soldier named Sotelo, who boasted of military science acquired during the Italian wars; and since powder was becoming scarce the necessary carpenters were readily furnished to construct the machine. "Behold!" cried the Tlascaltecs, pointing it out to the Mexicans, "behold a monster mechanism which will quickly annihilate you!" But on trial it proved a failure.

Then messengers were again despatched to Quauhtemotzin to talk of peace, and were told that they should have an answer soon. Next day the Spanish sentinels observed a great commotion among the Mexicans and a gathering of armed masses. They gave due notice of this, but before the troops were fully prepared the enemy came rushing from their retreats with a suddenness that threw the first opposing lines in disorder, a number being wounded and several killed, at least among the auxiliaries.[19] The troops quickly rallied, however, under cover of the artillery, and Cortés resolved to inflict chastisement. Alvarado

[18] This or a third relic bore the name of Mamalhuaztli. Sahagun also refers to a divine bow and arrow. *Hist. Conq.*, 53–4. But his editions vary in text; see that of 1840, 210–12. The serpent was invoked even after the conquest, says the pious friar, and he heard Father Tembleque relate that he one day opened his window during a storm and had his left eye injured by a ray of lightning, which damaged the house and adjoining church. This ray, the Mexicans assured him, was the Xiuhcoatl, conjured up by the sorcerers, for they had seen it issue in the form of a big snake through the door. The editor Bustamante tells an equally impressive story in connection with an attempt to account for the snake and lightning.

[19] One being killed and two horses wounded. *Bernal Diaz*, loc. cit.

was ordered to attack a large ward containing over a thousand buildings, while the remaining forces should turn against the main quarter. Incited by the presence of the mystic owl and the sacred snake-bearer, the Mexicans fought with an indifference to fate that turned the war into a butchery. When the survivors were driven back it was ascertained that over twelve thousand Mexicans had been killed or captured.

The promised victory had proved a disastrous defeat, and even the most hopeful Mexican sank into the depths of despair. This feeling was greatly fostered by a strange occurrence about this time, which the native records describe as a fiery whirlwind, resolving into flames and sparks. It rose with great noise in the north, after sunset, revolved over the doomed quarter and disappeared in the lake, leaving the natives overwhelmed with apprehensions.[20]

Their eyes were fully opened to the situation. And in pondering on the dreadful past and present, the dreadful future became dim, even its terrors growing every day fainter. They had been passive under the pain of wounds and under hardships indescribable; but when at last frenzied mothers and fathers seized upon their own offspring to still the pangs of hunger over which sane minds no longer had control; when others began furtively to look about for less closely allied beings whereon to feed, then indeed a stranger and more terrible fear came over them.[21]

When Cortés returned with full force on the following day to renew the fight, crowds of miserable beings came forth, repulsive in their emaciated and haggard appearance, careless of their lives yet clamoring for

[20] *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 213. The editor Bustamante speaks of a similar phenomenon in Michoacan in 1829. *Id.* (ed. 1829), 68.

[21] 'De los niños no quedó nadie, que las mismas madres y padres los comian,' is the statement of the native records. *Id.*, 210. Yet Torquemada, i. 572, assumes that the Mexicans would not eat of their own race. Thousands had already died of starvation without touching the flesh of countrymen, though priests partook of children sacrificed during ordinary festivals; but at last the scruple among the masses was overcome by despair. See *Native Races*, ii. passim.

mercy and for bread. Moved by the appeal, he ordered them not to be injured, and proceeded to answer certain chiefs who had summoned him to a parley. "Son of heaven!" they cried, "within one brief day and night the tireless orb returns. Why dost not thou also finish thy task as quickly? Kill us, so that we may no longer suffer, but enter paradise and join the happy throng already sent thither!"[22] He told them that in their hands was the remedy. They had but to cease their insane opposition, and their suffering would cease, for he would give them food and respect their persons and property. No satisfactory answer was returned. They were evidently afraid to speak of peace, though eager for it. Cortés felt convinced that the emperor and a few leading nobles were the only persons holding back, and willing to spare the people he again resolved on an appeal.

A distinguished captive was prevailed on to carry this message in order to give it more weight,[23] and to use his influence with the emperor. On appearing before Quauhtemotzin the noble began to speak of the kind treatment he had received from the Spaniards. Praise of this nature hardly accorded with the mood of the ruler or with the views he wished to impart, and no sooner did the envoy allude to peace than he was ordered away with an imperious sign to the stone of sacrifice.[24] Any fate for ruler and people was better than to fall into the hands of Christian civilization. At the same time the warriors faintly threw themselves against the Spaniards with shouts of "Death or liberty!" The attack cost the besiegers a horse, and several men were wounded, but the charge was easily repelled, and was followed up by further slaughter. That night the allies encamped within the city.

[22] 'Porque no acabas cõ el que nos acabe?..Desseamos la muerte por yr a descansar cõ Quetçalcouatlh,' adds Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 210–11.

[23] The chroniclers call him an uncle of the Tezcucan king, but this appears to be a misinterpretation of Cortés' text, wherein he says that such an uncle had captured the prisoner.

[24] *Cortés, Cartas*, 251. This was partly in accordance with the law against nobles who returned from captivity, as already instanced.

The following day Cortés again approached some nobles at an intrenchment and asked, "Why remains the emperor so stubborn? Why will he not come and speak with me, and stay the useless slaughter of his subjects?" Bound by superstitious loyalty to their ruler, weepingly they replied, "We know not; we will speak with him; we can but die!" Presently they returned to say that Quauhtemotzin would present himself in the market-place on the following noon. Delighted, Cortés ordered a dais to be prepared on the raised masonry platform recently used for the catapult, together with choice viands. At the appointed hour the Spanish general appeared in state, with the soldiers drawn up in line, ready to do honor to the distinguished guest. After waiting impatiently for some time, they saw five personages approach, who proved to be the bearers of excuses. Quauhtemotzin could not come, but desired to learn the wishes of Malinche.[25]

Concealing his chagrin, Cortés caused the nobles to be entertained, and then he sent them to their master with assurance of good treatment; they soon returned with presents, and said the emperor would not come. Again they were sent, and again their efforts were unavailing. The truth is, Cortés desired with the monarch to secure his treasure; else he would not long have stayed his bloody hand. On the other hand, though Quauhtemotzin's conduct might be attributed to selfish obstinacy, he well knew that even for his people death was to be scarcely more feared than capture; now they might at once enter paradise, but the foreigners sought them but to enslave.

The following day the five nobles again kept Cortés waiting with a promise that the emperor would meet him. The hour having passed without his appearance, the allies, who had been kept in the background

[25] 'Tenia mucho miedo de parecer ante mí, y tambien estaba malo.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 253. 'Empacho,' explains Herrera, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. vii. He feared to be shot. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 164.

during the negotiations, were called forward and the order was given for assault, Sandoval directing the fleet along the shore and up the canals to the rear. "Since they will not have peace, they shall have war!" cried Cortés. Then the carnage became fearful. Spaniards and auxiliaries alike, two hundred thousand strong and more, so it was said, abandoned themselves to the butchery, while Satan smiled approval. In helpless despair, like cooped beasts in the shambles, they received the death-blow as a deliverance.[26] I will not paint the sickening details so often told of chasms filled, and narrow streets blockaded high with the dead bodies of the unoffending, while down upon the living settled desolation. It must indeed have been appalling when he who had brought to pass such horrors writes: "Such was the cry and weeping of children and women that not one amongst us but was moved to the heart." Then he attempts to throw upon the allies the blame of it. "Never," he says, "was such cruelty seen, beyond all bounds of nature, as among these natives." Already, before this massacre of forty thousand[27] the streets and houses were filled with human putridity, so that now the Spaniards were forced to burn that quarter of the city to save themselves from infection.

Another morrow engenders fresh horrors. The three heavy guns are brought forward to assist in dislodging the besieged. Fearful lest the emperor escape him in canoes, Cortés directs Sandoval to place vessels on the watch for fugitives, particularly at the basin of Tlatelulco,[28] into which it is proposed to drive

[26] 'Ni tenian ni hallaban flechas ni varas ni piedras con que nos ofender... No tenian paso por donde andar sino por encima de los muertos y por las azoteas.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 254.

[27] 'Mataron y prendieron mas de cuarenta mil ánimas.' *Id.* Ixtlilxochitl, *Hor. Crueldades*, 48, raises the number to 50,000, while Duran states that over 40,000 men and women perished while fleeing. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 510. What pained the conquerors most, however, was the sight and knowledge of what immense quantity of booty eluded them to pass into the hands of these marauders.

[28] 'Entre la Garita del Peralvillo, la place de Santiago de Tlatelolco et le pont d'Amaxac.' So says Pichardo. *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 193. 'Donde se

the besieged, there to catch the king and nobles with their gold and jewels. Of a truth Cortés does not wish to kill the miserable remnant of this so lately proud race—particularly if thereby he loses the encaged treasure. So he again appeals to them, and the Cihuacoatl,[29] chief adviser of the emperor, appears and is treated with great courtesy. After a time he takes his departure, then for the first time declaring that Quauhtemotzin will on no account present himself. "Return then," exclaims Cortés in ill-suppressed anger, "and prepare for death, invoked, not by high and holy purpose, but by obstinate timidity!"[30]

Five hours are thus gained by the wily monarch for the escape of the women and children, who pour out in swarms, the fainting supported by the feeble, all emaciated and haggard, and many marked by wounds or disease. Seeing which the allies pounce upon them, all stricken and defenceless as they are, and murder them, to the number of fifteen thousand. And the same number perish in the fall of broken bridges, in the choked canals, and from the tread of their fellow fugitives. How glorious is war! How noble the vocation! How truly great the hero of such hellish deeds! Blush, oh sun! for making such tomorrows; for lending thy light to human intelligence by which to do such diabolical wickedness!

Observing no signs of surrender, Cortés opened fire with his cannon and gave the signal of attack. Another massacre followed, the Mexicans displaying the same apathy and sullen indifference to death as on other late occasions. At some points, however, large bodies surrendered, and the remaining Mexican

embarcaban para Atzlapotzalco,' adds Bustamante. *Ixtlilxochitl, Hor. Cruel-dades*, 50.

[29] Chimalpain calls him Tlacotzin, afterward baptized as Juan Velasquez. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 71. 'Ciguacoacin, y era el Capitan y gobernador de todos ellos, é por su consejo se seguian todas las cosas de la guerra,' says Cortés, *Cartas*, 255.

[30] 'Porque les queria combatir y acabar de matar.' *Cartas*, 256. 'Pues eran barbaros, que no queria dexar hombre vivo, q̄ se fuessen.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap vii.

quarters were fast falling into the conqueror's hands. Sandoval on his side was closely guarding the water front and preparing to coöperate. Entering the harbor basin with a portion of the fleet, he bore down on the canoes with a crash, upsetting the greater number, filled chiefly with nobles and their families, of whom a large portion perished. The canoes which escaped scattered in different directions, into canals and corners, most of them however turning toward a nook of the basin with the brigantines in hot pursuit. At this moment a few boats of larger build emerged from a retreat at the other end and paddled rapidly toward the open lake.

Warned by his commander to watch closely for the emperor, Sandoval had not failed to observe the movement, and he immediately directed García de Holguin, captain of the fastest vessel, to overhaul the fugitives, who might be persons of note. Aided both by sails and oars, Holguin speedily gained on them, and they began to scatter in different directions, evidently with a view to confuse him; but a captive on board indicated one as most likely to contain the emperor.[31] On approaching it the archers levelled their cross-bows, whereupon a sign of surrender was made, with the pleading cry that Quauhtemotzin was there. As the overjoyed Holguin stepped down to secure his captives, among whom were the young empress, the king of Tlacopan, and other prominent personages,[32] the monarch bade him respect his con-

[31] The distinguished captive said: 'Capitan señor, dáte buena maña, que aquellos indios... son esclavos de Guatimuçin, é podrá ser quél va allí huyendo, porque su bandera ya no paresçe.' *Oviedo*, iii. 516. A canoe of twenty rowers and bearing a number of people. *Gomara, Hist. Conq.*, 212. See also *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, pt. iii. 164; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 230. A small canoe, says Duran.

[32] Torquemada, i. 570–1, followed by Clavigero, mentions besides Tetlepanquetzaltzin, king of Tlacopan, the fugitive king of Tezcuco; but this is doubtful, as we have seen. He enumerates several dignitaries. Brasseur de Bourbourg names Tlacahuepan, son of Montezuma, while his authority, Ixtlilxochitl, states that his namesake captured him and Tetlepanquetzaltzin in another canoe, and in a third Papantzin Oxomoc, widow of Emperor Cuitlahuatzin. *Hor. Crueldades*, 50. 'Quahutimoc se puso en pie en la popa de su canoa para pelear. Mas como vio ballestas... rindio se.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 213. This probably assumed fact has been elaborated by some writers into an

sort and his retinue. As for himself, he was at his disposal.

Conducted by his captor, he passed along the streets to the presence of the conqueror, the object of ten thousand eyes, for rumor had preceded him. Men rested from the slaughter to gaze at him. In the distance was heard the din of battle, but along the captive's path there fell a hush. His was a striking figure. The grave, careworn face betokened suffering. He wore a dingy blood-stained robe, and the pallor which overspread a naturally fair face was yet more heightened by the feverish brilliancy of the eyes, now bent dejectedly on the ground, now looking straight before him. He walked with a firm step, and young as he was, the majestic dignity of the prince and leader impressed every beholder. "He was quite a gentleman," graciously affirms Bernal Diaz. Cortés had stationed himself on the roof of a high building in the Amaxac ward,[33] thence to direct operations, and now he caused a dais to be prepared, and a table with refreshments. When the emperor approached the guard drew up in line, and the general advanced with benign dignity and led him to a seat by his side. "Malinche," said the captive, "I have done all within my power for the defence of my people, but the gods have not favored me. My empire is gone, my city is destroyed, and my vassals are dead. For what have I to live? Rid me therefore of worthless existence."[34] Saying this, with his hand he touched

heroic act. The incident has been placed by tradition as occurring near the later Puente del Clérigo. But this can hardly be. See note 27. According to Bernal Diaz, Sandoval came up shortly after, on learning the news, and demanded the surrender of the captives to him as the commander of the fleet, who had ordered Holguin to pursue the canoes. The latter refused, and a delay occurred, during which another crew hurried to bear the tidings to Cortés and claim the reward granted for first reports. Two captains were now sent to summon the disputants and captives. *Hist. Verdad.*, 155. Cortés, while according in his letter the credit of the capture to Holguin, promised to refer the claim to the king. Holguin figures some years later as regidor and estate owner in the city.

[33] 'Esta casa era de un principal tlatilulcano que se llamaba Aztacatzin.' *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 55.

[34] The versions of this remarkable speech vary greatly. 'Habia hecho todo lo que de su parte era obligado para defenderse á si y á los suyos hasta

a dagger in the belt of Cortés. The general sought to reassure him, declaring that none could resist the Christian's God. He had performed his duty bravely, like a good prince, and should be treated as such.

Although the great end was thus accomplished, slaughter and pillage were continued until long after vespers. Before the troops withdrew to their respective camps, the prisoners, including the pretty empress, Tecuichpo, were conducted to safe quarters in Coyuhuacan. Shortly afterward a rain set in, aiding the efforts of the Spaniards to check the auxiliaries in their maraudings, and this, developing toward midnight into a furious storm with lightning and thunder, seemed to the homeless Mexicans to be the *xiuhcoatl* of Huitzilopochtli and the tumult of departing deities. To the conquerors this flashing and thundering of heaven's artillery was the salvo attending victory, which was celebrated in feasting and merriment till came late slumber with visions of gold, and lands, and vassals.

Thus ended Tuesday, the 13th of August 1521, sacred to St Hippolytus, and accordingly adopted by the conquerors as patron saint of the city. During colonial *régime* the day was annually celebrated by a solemn festival, wherein the leading citizens and officials rode on horseback in procession round the city,

venir en aquel estado, que ahora ficiese dél lo que yo quisiese.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 257. 'Diçiéndole que le diesse de puñaladas é lo matasse, porque no era raçon que viviesse en el mundo hombre que avia perdido lo que'l avia perdido,' adds Oviedo, iii. 422. 'Preguntáronle por los chripstianos, é dixo: No me preguntés esso; é si me quereys matar; matadme ya: que harto estoy de vivir,' says another version. *Id.*, 517. 'Iria mui consolado adonde sus dioses estaban, especialmente haviendo muerto à manos de tal Capitan.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. vii. 'Why so stubborn?' is the way Duran opens the conversation on Cortés' part. *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 509. 'Toglietemi con questo pugnale una vita, che non perdei nella difesa del mio Regno.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 230. See also Ixtlilxochitl and others. Writers generally go into ecstacy over this utterance. 'Magnanimo,' exclaims Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. viii. 'Heroic,' ejaculates Bustamante in support of Chimalpain's encomium. *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 75. 'Ce trait est digne du plus beau temps de la Grèce et de Rome.' *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 193. 'A spirit worthy of an ancient Roman,' echoes Prescott, *Mex.*, iii. 206. Bernal Dias says the emperor wept, and with him his chiefs. *Hist. Verdad.*, 155.

headed by the viceroy and the alférez mayor bearing a banner commemorative of the conquest.[35] For seventy-five days consecutively, says Cortés,[36] the siege had been wreathing its coils midst almost hourly scenes of bloodshed, wherein nearly one thousand Spaniards and two hundred times that number of allies had taken part, one hundred or thereabout of the former falling, and many thousands among the latter.[37]

As for the Mexicans, most of the early authorities assert that fully one hundred thousand perished, besides those who died from pest and famine.[38] At the order of their sovereign, after the proclamation of peace, the miserable remnant began to evacuate their

[35] Made a few years later by order of the city council. It was not, as many suppose, the original standard, for this was hidden during two centuries among rubbish in the university, as stated in its records. It now exists in the museum, forming a piece about a yard square, which shows on one side the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with hands joined in prayer, and bearing on her head a crown of gold surrounded by a halo and a circle of stars; on the other are the royal arms. *Boturini, Idea*, 157. In his *Catálogo*, 75, this author assumes it to be the standard given to the Tlascaltecs, but Carbajal states that at Tlascala exists another standard of Cortés', with royal arms, *Hist. Mex.*, ii. 637, with a picture of the above named virgin. See also *Beaumont, Crón. Mich.*, ii. 345–6. By order of July 31, 1528, the city council orders bull-fights and other entertainments in honor of the day, 'e q todos cabalguen los q tovieren bestias.' *Libro de Cabildo*, MS., 127, 234. Mexicans are never seen to share in the procession. 'Tan profundo está en sus ánimos la herida.' *Cavo, Tres. Siglos*, i. 3; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 192. A minute account of the ceremonies on the occasion is given in *Monumentos Hist. Admin. Colon.*, MS., 365, copied from the *Archivo General*.

[36] Counting from May 30th, *Cartas*, 257, and so it is stated in the grant to Cortés of Escudo de Armas. Duran and Ixtlilxochitl extend it to 80 and and Bernal Diaz to 93 days. 'Despues de muchos combates, y mas de sessenta peleas peligrosisimas.' *Acosta, Hist. Nat. Ind.*, 525.

[37] Over 60 soldiers were lost in the great defeat, and small numbers now and then, while the auxiliaries, less skilled in fighting and chiefly unarmored, succumbed in hordes. Gomara says about 50 soldiers, 6 horses, and not many Indians; Herrera modifies to 'a little over' 50; Torquemada advances to 'less than 100,' and Clavigero to 'more than 100 Spaniards.' Hernandez, in his *Estadist. Méj.*, 232, computes such curiously exact figures as 107 Spaniards, 18,915 Tlascaltecs, and 33,240 Aztecs. Ixtlilxochitl, ever eager to enlarge upon the services of his race, claims that 30,000 Tezcucans fell out of 200,000 employed, *Hor. Crueldades*, 51; but this is evidently exaggerated.

[38] 'En que murieron infinitos.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 213; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ii. cap. viii.; *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 232–3. Bustamante raises the number killed to '150,000 at least.' *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 74; Ixtlilxochitl, loc. cit., to 240,000, including most of the nobles; while Torquemada, i. 577, observes 'que de veinte partes, no quedò vna, aviendo perecido, y muerto las diez y nueve,' he and several others allowing the estimate of fully 300,000 inhabitants. The survivors are estimated at from 30,000 persons by Torquemada to 70,000 warriors by Oviedo, iii. 516.

pest-holes, and to seek the fields adjacent, now lustrous green under refreshing rains. Ah! it was pitiful, life to them now, this world a great charnel-house filled with the bones of their loved ones, and their hearts dead though still bleeding. What were their sins more than those of others, that they should be so stricken, that they should be so ground to the dust while the conquerors flushed with victory were exulting before God because he had so ordered and accomplished? They had sacrificed human beings on the altars of their gods, sixty thousand in one year, some said. But what were these butcheries of the Spaniards but human sacrifices, of more than six times sixty thousand in one year! Behold them as they file along the causeway, the very sun striking black and stifling on their famine-stricken forms and agonized faces. On them, then, ye conquerors! Complete your work; for in its swift continuance is their earliest rest![39]

The 14th of August the troops entered the surrendered quarters to review their work and its results. "I swear," writes Bernal Diaz, "that the lake and houses and abodes were so full of bodies and heads of dead men that I am unable to convey an idea thereof; for in the streets and courts of Tlatelulco there were no other things, and we could walk only amidst dead bodies."[40] Many became sick from the stench, and Cortés ordered fires to be lighted to purify the air. Natives were sent to bring forth the dead, and with them went Spaniards seeking for gold, silver, precious

[39] 'Hiço herrar algunos Hombres, y Mugeres por Esclavos; à todos los demàs dexò en libertad.' *Torquemada*, 573. 'À muchos indios é indias, porque estaban dados por traydores,' says Oviedo, iii. 517. Cortés stayed and punished those who took slaves, 'aunque todavia herraron en la cara á algunos mancebos y mugeres.' So states the native record of Sahagun, *Hist. Conq.* (ed. 1840), 231. But if he punished slave-takers it was for not declaring the capture to the royal official. Duran reduces his account of Spanish liberality to an absurdity, but more from politic reasons than because he had not at hand better evidence, *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 510.

[40] *Hist. Verdad*, 156. 'Io sospetto, che da' Messicani lasciati fossero a bella posta insepolti i cadaveri, per iscacciar colla puzza gli Assediatori.' *Clavigero, Storia Mess.*, iii. 231. But this is unlikely. A severe siege will produce such results.

stones, and plumage, leaving textile fabrics and other less valued effects to the allies; but the quantity known to have been obtained fell far below their extravagant expectations, and in their disappointment the soldiers searched the persons of fugitives, looking into their very mouths for hidden gold, says a native record. Bernal Diaz complains that the brigantine crews had already plundered the wealthiest persons, who were in the canoes, and had sacked the treasure-houses while the others were fighting. They in their turn affirmed that the Mexicans had cast their treasures into the lake. The mysterious depths harbor many secrets, and beneath the waters, round the famed city of the Aztecs, tradition still places glittering deposits of untold extent.

Three or four days after the fall, Cortés passed over to Coyuhuacan with the greater part of his forces, there more formally to celebrate the end of the siege in banqueting and thanksgiving. A feature of the performance was a solemn procession by all the soldiers, bareheaded, with banners, raising their voices in praise to God, who had given them the victory, and who was so soon to be worshipped from gulf to southern sea.[41]

The services of the allies being at present no longer needed, Cortés assembled them to speak farewell. He dwelt in flattering terms on their brave and effective deeds. He promised they should be duly represented to his majesty, who would reward them with singular privileges. To the chiefs were then given shields, robes, and other articles, with promises of more lands and vassals. Then they went their way, happy in their slaves and spoils, happy in the thought of humbled foe, happy in the promises of the

[41] Bernal Diaz relates that although wine and provisions from Cuba were abundantly dispensed at the banquet, yet there was not room for one third of the soldiers, and much discontent grew out of it, partly from the utterances of drunken men. A dance followed. Father Olmedo complained of so much revelry before the rendering of due thanks to God. Cortés pleaded that soldiers must be allowed some license, but the following day was set apart for religious services. *Hist. Verdad.*, 156.

Spaniards; they did not know, poor simpletons, that all along the days and nights of this terrible siege, with sword and lance on Aztec breast, they had been forging their own fetters, which they and their children long must wear.[42]

The conquest of Mexico was less a subjugation by Spanish soldiers than their skilful manœuvring of New World forces against one another. Had Anáhuac been united it would have succumbed less readily, perhaps never. As it was, while the native nations were slaying each other, fighting out their ancient feuds, the astute Spaniards laid their all-possessing hand upon the country.

Nor was any apology on their part needed before christendom. Mankind to this day have not become so humane and just as not to find excuse for any wrong within the realms of strength and inclination. What then could be expected of an age and nation wherein it was not uncommon to cloak crime under the fair garb of religion. Hitherto came the Spaniards to murder and to rob: to rob and murder in the name of charity and sweet heaven. No excuses were necessary, however convenient to that end came the appeals of the Cempoalans groaning under terrible oppression at the hand of a race delighting in blood and extortion; a race which within two centuries had risen from a degrading servitude largely by means of intrigue and treachery; a race stamped with ignoble characteristics born of serfdom, and eager to retaliate on others for their past humiliation, yet energetic, enterprising, and advancing with rapid strides along the pathway of indigenous culture.

[42] Bustamante comments on the non-fulfilment of the promises to Tlascala, saying that the republic was rightly served for lending herself to the invaders. *Sahagun, Hist. Conq.*, 144. On their way home, says Ixtlilxochitl, the Tlascaltecs and their neighbors plundered Tezcuco and other towns. With the slaves carried home by his namesake, he adds consolingly, the destroyed palaces of Tezcuco were rebuilt. *Hor. Crueldades*, 52–3. The Tlascaltecs 'aun lleuaron hartas cargas de tasajos cecinados de Indios Mexicanos, que repartieron entre sus parientes...por fiestas.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 157.

Ambitious to rule, they sent their armies to bring province after province under the yoke. Rapacious collectors followed to press the substance out of the people, for the appetite of themselves and their masters. Confiscation, enslavement, and desolation marched in the train, and the fairest hopes of the land were dragged away in bondage, and to bleed on the stone of sacrifice.

To all these appalling evils the Totonacs, among others, were exposed, when soldiers appeared on their shores bearing aloft the symbol of charity, of deliverance. The crushed family appealed to them, also the writhing slaves, for from the altars of hideous idols rose the dying shrieks of youths and maidens. But a short time before knights of different orders swarmed over Europe, the professed champions of the oppressed; and the spirit of the crusaders still lingered in Spain, in form if nothing more; and what Christian soldier could unheedingly view such outrages!

Montezuma and his people were inhuman monsters, and Grotius, Montesquieu, and others who should know, say that war in behalf of humanity is a duty;[43] and this notwithstanding the remedy be tenfold more inhuman than the disease.

Not that the Spaniards were insincere in their proffers of such excuses; duty comes to us in the color of our desires. Moreover, they were fresh from the Moorish wars; they were imbued with a religious exaltation and chivalric sentiment that placed before them in varied light duty to their God, their king, and themselves. For centuries they had been trained to devote life and possessions to advance the interests of sovereign and church. Many of the noblest characteristics were interwoven in the nature of Cortés, and also with admirable distinctness in such men as Juan Velazquez, Sandoval, and Puertocarrero. In others we find the dignity of the hidalgo upheld without

[43] 'Non dubitamus quin justa sint bella...in eos qui humanam carnem epulantur,' etc. *De Jure Belli*, lib. ii. cap. xx.

marked stain, and this notwithstanding the tendency to intrigue, the disregard for truth and justice, and a yielding to certain vices on the part of leaders, and the greed and brutality of rank and file. But even among the common soldiers, in fairness we cannot disregard the echo of noble sentiment, the aspiration toward high emprise there present. It is the leader, however, who with all his selfish cruelties and unprincipled trickeries must ever remain the central figure of our admiration. If ever there was a hero, a genius of war worthy the adoration of war worshippers, if ever there were grand conception and achievement, all were vividly displayed in the mind and person of Hernan Cortés.

An able French writer, comparing the siege of Mexico with that of Troy, depicts Cortés as an Achilles in whom were combined the talents of Agamemnon and Ulysses.[44]

In some respects, and as compared with his companions, he indeed approached the deity the Mexicans thought him. Behold him out upon this venture, throwing life to the winds that waft him from Cuba, sinking his ships behind him, plunging into the heart of a hostile country, and with a handful of men opposing powerful armies, quelling insurrections, capturing his captors, turning enemies into allies, balancing upon his finger contending powers, and after the grand cataclysm opened by him on the central plateau has spent itself, he quietly pockets the prize. No Alexander, or Scipio, or Cæsar, or Napoleon ever achieved results so vast with means so insignificant. It was indeed a rare piracy!

Taken as a whole, the testimony of eye-witnesses and the early chroniclers on the conquest may be considered as fully up to the average of historical evidence. While there was no little exaggeration, and some downright mendacity, such were the number of the witnesses, the time, place, and circumstances of their several relations, and the clearness of their testimony, that we find no difficulty with regard to any important matters in determining

[44] Alvarado was Ajax; Maxixcatzin, Nestor; Quauhtemotzin, Hector. *Chevalier, Mex. Ancien*, 232–41.

truth and falsehood. When in addition to the writings of the Spaniards we have native records and architectural remains as collateral evidence, every honest searcher after truth may be satisfied.

In regard to the two writers by the name of Diaz who accompanied the first expedition to Mexico, I have spoken of the *Itinerario de Grijalva* of the priest, and before closing this volume I will review the *Historia Verdadera* of the soldier. Following these were the memorials of the relatives of Velazquez, wholly unreliable; the relation of the Anonymous Conqueror, whose statements were for the most part true; many documents, such as the *Carta del Ejército*, and *Probanza de Lejalde*, as well as the *Cartas de Cortés*, in the main true, but which may properly be accepted only after close scrutiny and careful comparison; the reports of Zurita, and the innumerable papers and documents lately brought to light by Navarrete, Ramirez, Icazbalceta, Ternaux-Compans, and others, and published as *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos, Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, etc.; native and Spanish historians, Tezozomoc, Camargo, and Ixtlilxochitl; Duran, Veytia, Sahagun, Mendieta, and Las Casas; Oviedo, Peter Martyr, and Gomara; Herrera, Torquemada, Solis, and Clavigero; Bustamante, Robertson, Prescott, and Brasseur de Bourbourg. These and others of but little inferior importance offer ample foundation on which the modern historian may safely rear his superstructure.

I say that it is easy enough to determine truth from falsehood in such a study as this, where the evidence is so abundant and the witnesses are so widely separated. When Torquemada enters into a long argument to show that the misery wrought by the conquest was the punishment by God for the vices of the Mexicans, I do not discuss the matter. I willingly admit that the ancient historian knew, if indeed he knew anything about it, more concerning the mind of the deity than the modern, though the latter might ask if the sufferings of the Spaniards were not in like manner on account of their vices.

The books treating of Cortés' achievements, as I have said, form an immense array, as may be expected from the importance and interest of what Robertson justly terms "the most memorable event in the conquest of America," involving the subjugation of the richest and most advanced country therein, the fall of its beautiful and renowned city, and one of the most daring campaigns ever undertaken. The narrative reads indeed like a romance rather than history based on stern facts, and it is not strange that men have arisen who seek to cast doubt, not alone on certain incidents, but on the main features of the achievement and the field.

One method of doubt has been to lower the estimate of native culture and resources; to sneer at the large cities, magnificent palaces, regal state, certain industrial and fine arts, picture-writing, and other evidences of a higher culture. Such statements reveal to the experienced student a lamentable disregard or ignorance of evidence extant, of ruins with their massive form, their beautifully designed ornamentation, their admirable sculptured and plastic delineation of the human figure, both far in advance of the conventional specimens of Egypt, and the former equal in many respects to the productions of the higher Greek art. The picture-writing, again, reveals the phonetic element so developed as to endow the Mexicans with that high proof

of culture, written records, applied not only to historic incidents and common facts, but to abstract subjects of philosophic, scientific, and poetic nature, as instanced in my *Native Races*.

It needed not the official investigation instituted by the Spanish government to confirm the mute testimony of relics, and the vivid declaration of chroniclers. Native records exist in sufficient abundance to speak for themselves; records written by and for the people, and therefore free from any suspicion of misrepresentation; records used by a number of writers for obtaining that insight into esoteric features of Nahua institutions which could not well be acquired by Spaniards. The translation of these records, as reproduced in the volumes of Sahagun, Ixtlilxochitl, Kingsborough, and others, with copies of original paintings, have been carefully used both for the *Native Races* and the histories of Mexico and Guatemala, and introduced indeed more thoroughly in this series as evidence than by any modern writer on the subject, not excepting the learned Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, though unlike this enthusiast I have not allowed myself to accept this evidence with the same non-critical bias. I have merely used it for what it is worth, after applying severe analytic tests. Certain points may be covered by merely one or two authorities; but even then the erudite student will readily determine the value of the testimony from internal evidence, while in the generality of cases he will find a number of versions by natives and Spaniards, by partisans and rivals, whose contradictions will aid him in determining the truth.

In a previous bibliographic note I have pointed out the many internal evidences furnished by the letters of Cortés, of undoubted reliability on most points, in their minuteness, their frank soldierly tone, and other features. They are besides confirmed in all the more essential points by the contemporaneous letters from the municipality of Villa Rica and the army, the sworn depositions before the royal notary by leading officers, the narratives of Andrés de Tápia, and others. Still stronger confirmation is given in the complaints and memorials issued by enemies and rivals of the great captain, who in their efforts to detract from his character and achievements provide the historian with material that enables him to avoid the pitfalls abounding even in the honest narratives of partisans, either from sympathy, from lack of thorough knowledge, or from hearsay. Such testimony is abundant in the residencia investigations of Cortés, Alvarado, Guzman, and others, all which contain voluminous testimony on the most important questions. Prescott's opportunities for consulting new material were vastly superior to those of his predecessors. If mine have been correspondingly greater, it may perhaps to some extent be due to the example set by him in his earnest researches, and because since the publication of his volumes, private individuals and learned societies have striven with increased enthusiasm to bring to light hidden material, notably from the rich archives of Spain and certain Latin-American states.

From this mass of what may be termed documentary evidence we turn to the regular historians and narrators, beginning with Peter Martyr and Oviedo, who both adhere chiefly to Cortés, though the latter adds other versions by different eye-witnesses. Sahagun's account contains a strange admixture of native absurdities and vague recollections of converted soldiers. A more com-

plete version is given by Gomara, the biographer of the great captain, who had access to private and public archives and individual narratives now lost; but he frequently colors the incidents to the credit of his hero and his profession. Nevertheless the value of the text is testified to by his Mexican translator Chimalpain, who adds some interesting facts from native records and personal knowledge. The Tezcucan writer Ixtlilxochitl also follows him pretty closely for the Spanish side, while the archives left him by his royal ancestors and different narratives furnish the other side, frequently absurd and highly colored. Camargo gives a rather brief Tlascaltec version. Gomara's coloring, which, in accordance with the method of most historians, leaves the credit for achievements with the leader, roused the feelings of more than one of the soldiers who had shared in the glories of that period, and Bernal Diaz promptly began to write his celebrated *Historia Verdadera*, which professes to tell the true story and rectify in particular the so-called blunders of Gomara. Although this profession is not always to be relied on, the story is most valuable from its exceeding completeness, its many new facts, and its varied version. Not long after, Herrera, the official historiographer, began his decades, wherein for the conquest he uses the material already printed, with a leaning toward Gomara, yet with several additional narratives to perfect his own revised version, notably that of Ojeda, a leading officer under Cortés, and also no small mass of material from the archives of Spain. Torquemada copies him for the most part, though he adds much native testimony from Sahagun, from a Tezcucan writer, and others, making his account of the conquest the most complete up to that time. Solis elaborates with little critique, and with a verboseness and grandiloquence that tire. Vetancurt's version is comparatively brief, with few additions, and Robertson's is a brilliant summary; but Clavigero, while adding not much to Torquemada's bulky account, presents it in quite a new form, pruned of verboseness, re-arranged in a masterly manner, and invested with a philosophic spirit altogether superior to anything presented till Prescott's time. On the above historians and some of Cortés' letters are founded the immense array of minor accounts and summaries on the conquest, both in separate and embodied form, some of them provided with occasional observations, but for the great part they contain nothing of any value to the student. Those after Prescott's time follow him as a rule. Mexican accounts might naturally be expected to present useful features, but such is hardly the case. Alaman, Ramirez, Icazbalceta, Orozco y Berra, Bustamante, and certain writers in the Boletin of the Mexican Geographical Society, have brought to light several documents and monographs bearing on particular incidents and features; but no complete account of real value has been written, Carbajal's pretentious version being almost wholly a plagiarism from Clavigero, Mora's a hasty compilation, and so on. As for the new bulky Spanish version by Zamacois, it is not only verbose but superficial and narrow in its research, blundering even where Prescott points the way, and representing more a feuilleton issue than a history.

Bernal Diaz del Castillo is, as I have said, the main historian of the conquest, from the exhaustive thoroughness of his material, as compared with other original writers, and from his participation in all its leading scenes,

including the discovery voyages. For about half a century he survives, and sees comrade after comrade disappear from the field till but five of Cortés' original company remain, "all of us very old, suffering from infirmities, and very poor, burdened with sons and daughters to marry, and grandchildren, and with but a small income; and thus we pass our days in toil and misery." He is not so badly off, however, as he would have us believe, for a comfortable encomienda supplies every want, and numerous descendants throng round to minister to his comfort and listen to his tales. But as he recalls the great achievements wherein he participated, he swells with the importance of the events, and dwelling on the multiplied treasures he has assisted to capture, the reward sinks to insignificance. It is but the chronic grumble, however, of an old soldier that half the continent would not satisfy. Springing from a poor and humble family of Medina del Campo, in old Castile, he had embarked at an early age with the expedition of Pedrarias in 1514 to seek fortune in Darien. Failing there, he drifts to Cuba in time to join the discovery parties of Córdoba and Grijalva. Subsequently he enlists under Cortés as a common soldier, yet somewhat above the mass in the favor of his chief. "Soldado distinguido," says Juarros, implying higher birth; but this is doubtful. There is hardly a prominent incident of the conquest in which he does not participate, being present in no less than one hundred and nineteen battles, according to his enumeration, whereof many a scar remains to bear witness, and many a trophy to attest his valor. In due time he receives his share of repartimientos of land and serfs, and settles in Goazacoalco as regidor, with sufficient means to feed a taste that procures for him the not ill-esteemed nickname of Dandy. From his life of contentment, though not equal to his claims, he is torn by the Honduras expedition under Cortés, who gives him at times the command of a small party, whence comes the sported title of captain. Afterward for a time he drifts about, and finally settles in Guatemala city with the rank of regidor perpétuo, and with a respectable encomienda, obtained partly through the representations of Cortés to the king. He marries Teresa, daughter of Bartolomé Becerra, one of the founders of the city, and repeatedly its alcalde, and has several children, whose descendants survive to witness the overthrow of the royal banner planted by their forefather. Grandsons figure as deans of the city church, and an historian of the adopted country rises in Fuentes y Guzman. *Pinelo, Epitome*, ii. 604; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 177; *Memorial de Conquistadores*, in *Monumentos Admin. Munic.*, MS.; *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 338, 350; *Torquemada*, i. 351.

The leisure afforded him in Guatemala, broken by little save the inspection of his estate, gave opportunity for indulging in the reveries of by-gone days. Histories of achievements were nearly all connected with the great Cortés, famed on every lip; yet that fame had been acquired with the aid of soldiers who like himself had been consigned to an obscure corner of the vast domains conquered by them. It did not seem right to the scarred veteran that the fruits of combined toil should fall to one or two alone; that he himself should be regarded far less than hundreds of upstarts whose only deeds had been to reap the field won by him and his comrades. He would tell his tale at all events; and forthwith he began to arrange the notes formed during his career, and to uplift the curtains of memory for retrospec-

tive views. While thus occupied he came upon the history by Gomara, and perceiving "his great rhetoric, and my work so crude, I stopped writing, and even felt ashamed to let it appear among notable persons." But finding that the biographer of Cortés had committed many blunders, and had colored the narrative on behalf of his patron, he again seized the pen, with the double purpose of correcting such errors and of vindicating his slighted comrades. Faithfully he carried out his plan, recording name after name of brave fellows who shed lustre on the flag, who freely risked their lives in gallant encounters, or who gave their last breath for church and king. While dwelling lovingly on humble companions, whose cause he espoused, he detracts little from the leaders and cavaliers. He describes their appearance and traits with a graphic fidelity that seems to bring them before us in person; he freely accords them every credit, and if he spares not their vices they are seldom brought forward in a captious or ill-natured spirit. On the contrary, he frequently covers disagreeable facts in deference to the dead. This general fairness of dealing is particularly noticeable in regard to Cortés, whom nevertheless he sometimes severely criticises; and while Diaz assumes for his side the credit of many a suggestion and deed, yet he is ever the loyal soldier, and frequently takes up the cudgel in behalf of the honored leader when others seek to assail him. He admires the great captain hardly less than himself. Indeed, to say that the old campaigner was vain is stating it mildly. Two licentiates who read the manuscript pointed this out to him, but he replied, "Whom does it harm? No one praises an old, broken-down soldier, so I must even praise myself. It is a duty I owe not only to my fair name but to my descendants." He revives in his narrative and carries us back with him to those stirring days, depicting now the hardships of the march, now the new countries and races that appear; then he enters into the heat of battle with a fidelity that brings the din and turmoil vividly before us; and anon we see the adventurers in camp, in their social relations, relieved by pleasing episodes. He enters thoroughly into their hopes and feelings, deeds and life; he grows eloquent and pathetic by turns, and reveals also the undercurrent of piety and zeal which pervaded the rakish crew. Here is the gossipy frankness of Herodotus, illumined by many a quaint observation and many a blunt sally. Bernal Diaz had but the rudiments of education, which nevertheless was above the average among his fellow-soldiers; but he had evidently read a little in later years, to judge by his allusions to classic history, though not enough to acquire more than a mediocre proficiency in grammar. There is a minuteness of detail at times wearisome, and garrulous digression and repetition; but a simple perspicuity pervades the whole narrative, which makes it easy to follow, while the frankness and frequent animation are pleasing. Much of it appears to have been dictated, perhaps to some one of his children, "cuyo manuscrito se conserva en el archivo de esta municipalidad." *Jil*, in *Gaceta Nic.*, June 24, 1865. It was given for perusal to different persons, and several copies made; but none cared to assume its publication. Sixty years later, however, Friar Alonso Remon, chronicler of the Merced order in Spain, found one set in the library of Ramirez del Prado, of the Council of the Indies, and perceiving the importance of the narrative, he caused it to be printed at Madrid in 1632 under the title of *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva-España.*

Remon dying during the publication, Friar Gabriel Adarzo, "nunc Hydruntinus præsul," *Antonio, Bib. Hisp. Nova*, iii. 224, took it in charge. Several discrepancies indicate that revisions have been made, and Vazquez, *Chron. Guat.*, 524, whose jealousy as a friar was aroused by allusions to Father Olmedo, Cortés' companion, compared the print with the original copy and pointed out several differences. A second edition, bearing the date 1632, though published later probably, contains an additional chapter on omens, which appears in others of the many editions and translations issued in different countries, even of late years.

Perhaps the most clear-sighted writer on Mexico during the last century was Francisco Javier Clavigero, himself a native of that country, and born at Vera Cruz in 1731. His father was a Leonese, whose official duties called him to different parts of the country, and young Francisco profited by this to acquire a knowledge of its resources and idioms. After a novitiate of three years at the Jesuit college of Tepozotlan, he passed to that at Puebla, and there studied philosophy and theology, and showed particular fondness for languages, both classic and native. He taught rhetoric and philosophy in the principal schools of the country, though restricted somewhat by the superiors in his too liberal ideas, for which Mexico was not yet considered ripe. Meanwhile his enthusiasm centred on the study of Aztec history and hieroglyphs, which received a serious check in the expulsion of Jesuits from America in 1767. He sought refuge in Italy, staying chiefly at Bologna, where he founded an academy, and having considerable leisure he began to shape the results of his late studies, impelled in no small degree by the writings of De Pauw and Robertson, which grated on his patriotic spirit. They were prepared in Spanish, but the authorities giving no encouragement for their publication in Spain, an Italian translation was made and issued in four volumes, as *Storia Antica del Messico*, Cesena, 1780, dedicated to the university at Mexico. Subsequently a Spanish version appeared, but not before several editions had been published in England and other countries. The first volume treats of resources and ancient history, the second of manners and customs, the third of the conquest, and the fourth consists of a series of dissertations on the origin of the Americans, on chronology, physique, languages, and other points. They have been widely quoted, and Francisco Carbajal de Espinosa has shown such appreciation of it as to copy almost the whole text in what he calls his *Historia de Mexico*, Mex., 1856, 2 vols. Clavigero's work is based to a great extent on aboriginal records and personal observation, and the old chronicles have been largely used; but their cumbrous and confused material is here arranged in a manner worthy of the liberal-minded philosopher and rhetorician. Indeed, no previous work in this field can at all compare with it for comprehensiveness and correctness, depth of thought and clearness of expression. In the former respect he greatly surpasses Robertson and in the latter he may be classed as his equal. His death, which took place at Bologna in 1787, found him in the midst of a number of literary projects, called forth in part by the success of the *Storia*, and by the different subjects which he had therein touched but lightly. Among these works was the *Storia della California*, issued at Venice two years after his death. It will be noticed in due order.

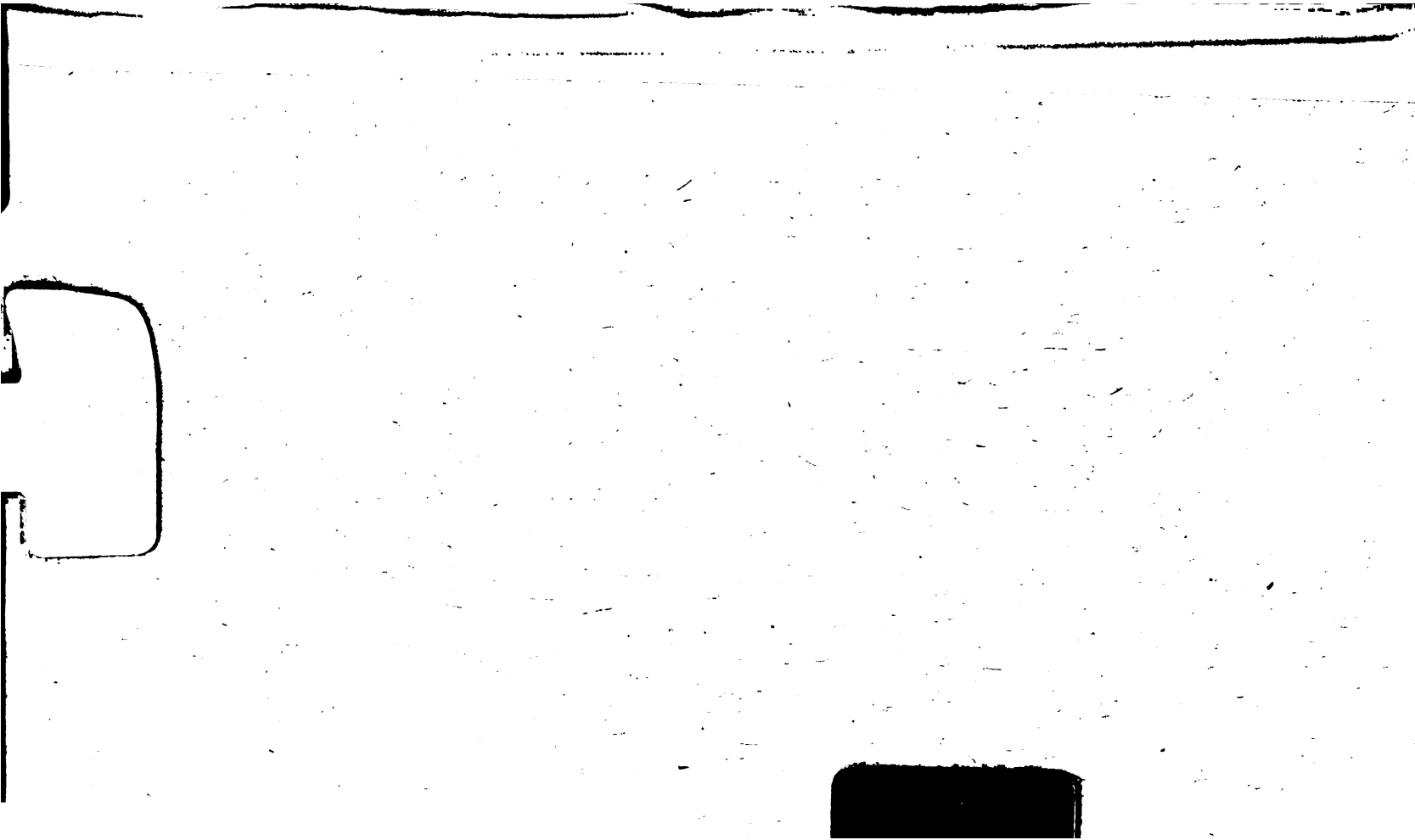
There can be no more fitting close to this volume on the conquest of Mexico than a tribute of esteem to William Hickling Prescott. I have noted in a previous volume his amiable weakness, incident to the times rather than to the man, of intensifying the character of prominent personages so as to present the good better and the bad worse than they truly were, in order to render his narrative stronger and more interesting than it would be otherwise; but this is nothing as compared with his general fairness, united with a magnificent style and philosophic flow of thought. I have noted some inaccuracies and contradictions in his history, but these are nothing as compared with his general care and correctness as a writer. I have mentioned material which he lacked, but this is nothing as compared with the great mass of fresh evidence which he brought to enrich his subject. Words fail to express my admiration of the man, the scholar, the author. Apart from the din and dust of ordinary life, he lived as one in the world but not of it, pure of mind, gentle of heart, and surpassingly eloquent.

Mr Prescott was born at Salem, Massachusetts, May 4, 1796. His father, a lawyer of rising reputation, then thirty-four years of age, removed his family to Boston in 1808. At the age of fifteen William entered Harvard College. While engaged in a boyish frolic one day during his junior year a large hard piece of bread, thrown probably at random, struck full in his left eye, forever depriving him of its use. Pursuing his studies with his wonted cheerfulness, he graduated in 1814, and entered upon the study of law in his father's office. In 1815 a rheumatic inflammation settled in his right eye, now his sole dependence, causing him much pain and anxiety. A change of climate having been determined upon, he embarked for the Azores, on a visit to his grandfather Hickling, then United States consul at Saint Michael. There he remained about six months, confined the greater part of the time to a dark room. In April 1816 he embarked for London, crossed to Paris, made the usual Italian tour, and the following year, his eye becoming worse, he returned home. But hope for the restoration of his sight still lingered, and the marvellous buoyancy of his spirits never deserted him. A devoted sister cheered the long hours of his solitude by readings from his favorite authors. A literary venture made at this time in a contribution to the *North American Review* failed; his manuscript was returned, and his sister, alone in the secret, was enjoined to silence.

Leaving his darkened chamber and mingling again with society, of which he was ever a bright ornament, he became attached to a daughter of Thomas C. Amory, a Boston merchant, whom he married on his twenty-fourth birthday.

Mr Prescott now abandoned the hope of the entire restoration of his eye. If by restrictions of diet and dieting and by persistent open-air exercise he might preserve a partial use of the organ he would rest content. And thus he passed the remainder of his life. At times he was in almost total darkness, but ordinarily he could read and revise his manuscripts; for the purpose of writing, however, he was obliged to use a noctograph.

Possessing strong literary tastes, and an aversion to law, Mr Prescott determined upon literature as a pursuit, and in 1826, with the aid of a secretary, he began a systematic course of reading for a history of Ferdinand and Isabella. For three years and a half he pursued this preparatory labor; in 1829 he began

writing, publishing the work in 1837. Ten of the best years of his life Mr Prescott claims to have devoted to this book; and for the use of the stereotype-plates, which Mr Prescott supplied at his own cost, and the right to publish twelve hundred and fifty copies, the American Stationers' Company agreed to pay the sum of one thousand dollars. But money was not the author's object. The publication in London was offered to John Murray and to the Longmans, and was declined by both. Bentley finally became the London publisher. The work was well received on both sides of the Atlantic; it was translated into several languages, and procured for the author at once a world-wide reputation. The *Conquest of Mexico* was a worthy outgrowth of so splendid a creation as the *Ferdinand and Isabella*. The year following the publication of his first work, and after having sent to Spain and Mexico for materials for histories of the conquests of Mexico and Peru, Mr Prescott learned accidentally that Mr Irving was engaged on similar work. He wrote Irving, acquainting him of the fact, and the latter retired gracefully from the field. In 1843 the *Conquest of Mexico* appeared, under the auspices of the Harpers, who paid $7500 for the use of the plates and the right to publish 5000 copies. The *Conquest of Peru* was published in 1847; *Philip the Second* in 1855–8; and *Robertson's Charles the Fifth* in 1856. Mr Prescott died of apoplexy in the sixty-third year of his age.

For his *Conquest of Mexico*, besides all printed material extant, Mr Prescott drew upon a large mass of new information in manuscript, from several sources, notably from the valuable collection of Muñoz, brought together for an intended history of America; that of Vargas Ponce, obtained chiefly from Seville archives; that of Navarrete, president of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid; and the archives of Cortés' heirs, all of which shed new light on almost every section of the subject. His deep research, manifest throughout in copious foot-notes, is especially displayed in the very appropriate introduction on Mexican civilization, which enables the reader to gain an intimate knowledge of the people whose subjugation he follows. Good judgment is also attested in the dissertation on the moot question of the origin of this culture, wherein he prudently abstains from any decided conclusions. The fact of occasional inaccuracies cannot be severely criticised when we consider the infirmity under which the author labored. Since his time so great a mass of material has been brought to light that the aspect of history is much changed. This new material consists partly of native records, and it is due to his unacquaintance with these records that a great lack is implied in his pages. The fact that Prescott relied too much on Spanish material may account for the marked bias in favor of the conquerors in many instances where strict impartiality might be expected, and for the condemnatory and reflective assertions which at times appear in direct contradiction to previous lines of thought. At times, as if aware of this tendency, he assumes a calmness that ill fits the theme, giving it the very bias he seeks to avoid. Yet with all this it is safe to say that few histories have been written in which the qualities of philosopher and artist are so happily blended.